SIR WILLIAM JONES.

Engraved by Ja.s Heath from a Picture by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

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THE

WORKS

OF

SIR WILLIAM JONES.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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TO THE HONOURABLE

THE DIRECTORS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY,

WHO HAVE HONOURED THE MEMORY

OF THE AUTHOR

WITH DISTINGUISHED MARKS OF RESPECT AND ESTEEM,

THESE VOLUMES

ARE GRATEFULLY DEDICATED

BY THE EDITOR.

" He was a pearl too pure on earth to dwell,
" And waſte his ſplendor in this mortal ſhell."

From the Arabick, Vol. II. p. 520.

PREFACE.

" THE beſt monument that can be erected to a man " of literary talents, is a good edition of his works."

Such was the opinion of Sir William Jones. Intruſted with his Manuſcripts, the Editor has therefore long regarded it as a ſacred duty to publiſh the volumes now offered to the world. Various circumſtances have delayed the publication; but ſhe truſts to the indulgence of the feeling, and the candid, when they conſider the difficulty of collecting papers ſo widely diſperſed; and alſo thoſe habits of inactivity, and indeciſion, which affliction impoſes on a mind that has been deeply wounded.

The

PREFACE.

The Editor reſerves to herſelf the liberty of giving, at a future period, any poſthumous papers, or biographical anecdotes, of a character, which ſhe believes to be ſcarce leſs intereſting to the publick, than dear to herſelf! The preſent collection conſiſts of all the works printed during the Author's life, and of ſome others, which, though not corrected by him for the preſs, evidently appear to have been intended for publication. To theſe, the Editor thinks ſhe may, with much propriety, prefix Sir John Shore's* admirable diſcourſe, delivered before the Aſiatick Society in Calcutta, in May, 1794; both as a mark of her reſpect for the writer, and becauſe it gives the moſt accurate, and comprehenſive account, yet extant, of Sir William Jones's enlarged views, and literary labours; and tends to illuſtrate a character already endeared to mankind, wherever Religion, Science, and Philoſophy, prevail!

A. M. J.

* Lord Teignmouth.

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A DISCOURSE

A

DISCOURSE

DELIVERED AT A MEETING OF THE

ASIATICK SOCIETY,

IN CALCUTTA,

ON THE

TWENTY-SECOND OF MAY, 1794.

BY THE HONOURABLE

SIR JOHN SHORE, BART*.

PRESIDENT.

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* Since Lord TEIGNMOUTH.

A

DISCOURSE, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

IF I had conſulted my competency only, for the ſtation which your choice has conferred upon me, I muſt without heſitation have declined the honour of being the Preſident of this Society; and although I moſt cheerfully accept your invitation, with every inclination to aſſiſt, as far as my abilities extend, in promoting the laudable views of your aſſociation, I muſt ſtill retain the conſciouſneſs of thoſe diſqualifications, which you have been pleaſed to overlook.

It was lately our boaſt to poſſeſs a Preſident, whoſe name, talents, and character, would have been honourable to any inſtitution; it is now our misfortune to lament, that Sir William Jones exiſts, but in the affections of his friends, and in the eſteem, veneration, and regret of all.

 I cannot,

I cannot, I flatter myſelf, offer a more grateful tribute to the Society, than by making his character the ſubject of my firſt addreſs to you; and if in the delineation of it, fondneſs or affection for the man ſhould appear blended with my reverence for his genius and abilities, in the ſympathy of your feelings I ſhall find my apology.

To define with accuracy the variety, value, and extent of his literary attainments, requires more learning than I pretend to poſſeſs, and I am therefore to ſolicit your indulgence for an imperfect ſketch, rather than expect your approbation for a complete deſcription of the talents, and knowledge, of your late and lamented Preſident.

I ſhall begin with mentioning his wonderful capacity for the acquiſition of languages, which has never been excelled. In *Greek* and *Roman* literature, his early proficiency was the ſubject of admiration and applauſe; and knowledge, of whatever nature, once obtained by him, was ever afterwards progreſſive. The more elegant dialects of modern *Europe*, the *French*, the *Spaniſh*, and the *Italian*, he ſpoke and wrote with the greateſt fluency and preciſion; and the *German* and *Portugueſe* were familiar to him. At an early period of life his application to Oriental literature commenced; he ſtudied the *Hebrew* with eaſe and ſucceſs, and many of the moſt learned *Aſiaticks* have the candour to avow, that his knowledge of *Arabick* and *Perſian* was as accurate and extenſive as their own; he was alſo converſant in the *Turkiſh* idiom, and the *Chineſe* had even attracted his notice, ſo far as to induce him to learn the radical characters of that language, with a view perhaps to farther improvements. It was to be expected, after his arrival in *India*, that he would eagerly embrace the opportunity of making himſelf maſter of the *Sanſcrit*; and the moſt enlightened profeſſors of the doctrines of Brahma confeſs with pride, delight, and ſurpriſe, that his knowledge of their ſacred dialect was moſt critically correct and profound. The *Pandits*, who

who were in the habit of attending him, when I ſaw them after his death, at a public *Durbar*, could neither ſurpreſs their tears for his loſs, nor find terms to expreſs their admiration at the wonderful progreſs he had made in their ſciences.

Before the expiration of his twenty-ſecond year, he had completed his Commentaries on the Poetry of the *Aſiaticks*, although a conſiderable time afterwards elapſed before their publication; and this work, if no other monument of his labours exiſted, would at once furniſh proofs of his conſummate ſkill in the Oriental dialects, of his proficiency in thoſe of *Rome* and *Greece*, of taſte and erudition far beyond his years, and of talents and application without example.

But the judgement of Sir William Jones was too diſcerning to conſider language in any other light than as the key of ſcience, and he would have deſpiſed the reputation of a mere linguiſt. Knowledge and truth, were the object of all his ſtudies, and his ambition was to be uſeful to mankind; with theſe views, he extended his reſearches to all languages, nations, and times.

Such were the motives that induced him to propoſe to the Government of this country, what he juſtly denominated a work of national utility and importance, the compilation of a copious digeſt of *Hindu* and *Mahommedan* Law, from *Sanſcrit* and *Arabick* originals, with an offer of his ſervices to ſuperintend the compilation, and with a promiſe to tranſlate it. He had foreſeen, previous to his departure from *Europe*, that without the aid of ſuch a work, the wiſe and benevolent intentions of the legiſlature of *Great Britain*, in leaving, to a certain extent, the natives of theſe provinces in poſſeſſion of their own laws, could not be completely fulfilled; and his experience, after a ſhort reſidence in India, confirmed what his ſagacity had anticipated, that without principles

ciples to refer to, in a language familiar to the judges of the courts, adjudications amongſt the natives muſt too often be ſubject to an uncertain and erroneous expoſition, or wilful miſinterpretation of their laws.

To the ſuperintendance of this work, which was immediately undertaken at his ſuggeſtion, he aſſiduouſly devoted thoſe hours which he could ſpare from his profeſſional duties. After tracing the plan of the digeſt, he preſcribed its arrangement and mode of execution, and ſelected from the moſt learned *Hindus* and *Mahommedans* fit perſons for the taſk of compiling it; flattered by his attention, and encouraged by his applauſe, the *Pandits* proſecuted their labours with cheerful zeal, to a ſatisfactory concluſion. The *Molavees* have alſo nearly finiſhed their portion of the work, but we muſt ever regret, that the promiſed tranſlation, as well as the meditated preliminary diſſertation, have been fruſtrated by that decree, which ſo often intercepts the performance of human purpoſes.

During the courſe of this compilation, and as auxiliary to it, he was led to ſtudy the works of MENU, reputed by the *Hindus* to be the oldeſt, and holieſt of legiſlatures; and finding them to comprize a ſyſtem of religious and civil duties, and of law in all its branches, ſo comprehenſive and minutely exact, that it might be conſidered as the Inſtitutes of *Hindu* law, he preſented a tranſlation of them to the Government of *Bengal*. During the ſame period, deeming no labour exceſſive or ſuperfluous that tended, in any reſpect, to promote the welfare or happineſs of mankind, he gave the public an *Engliſh* verſion of the *Arabick* text of the SIRAJIYAH, or *Mahommedan* Law of Inheritance, with a Commentary. He had already publiſhed in *England*, a tranſlation of a Tract on the ſame ſubject, by another *Mahommedan* Lawyer, containing, as his own words expreſs, "a lively and elegant epitome of the law of Inheritance, according to ZAID."

To

To theſe learned and important works, ſo far out of the road of amuſement, nothing could have engaged his application, but that deſire which he ever profeſſed, of rendering his knowledge uſeful to his nation, and beneficial to the inhabitants of theſe provinces.

Without attending to the chronological order of their publication, I ſhall briefly recapitulate his other performances in *Aſiatick* Literature, as far as my knowledge and recollection of them extend.

The vanity and petulance of ANQUETIL DU PERRON, with his illiberal reflections on ſome of the learned members of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, extorted from him a letter, in the *French* language, which has been admired for accurate criticiſm, juſt ſatire, and elegant compoſition. A regard for the literary reputation of his country, induced him to tranſlate, from a *Perſian* original into *French*, the life of NADIR SHAH, that it might not be carried out of England, with a reflection, that no perſon had been found in the Britiſh dominions capable of tranſlating it. The ſtudents of *Perſian* literature muſt ever be grateful to him, for a grammar of that language, in which he has ſhown the poſſibility of combining taſte, and elegance, with the preciſion of a grammarian; and every admirer of *Arabick* poetry, muſt acknowledge his obligations to him, for an *Engliſh* verſion of the ſeven celebrated poems, ſo well known by the name of *Moallakat*, from the diſtinction to which their excellence had entitled them, of being ſuſpended in the temple of *Mecca:* I ſhould ſcarcely think it of importance to mention, that he did not diſdain the office of Editor of a *Sanſcrit* and *Perſian* work, if it did not afford me an opportunity of adding, that the latter was publiſhed at his own expence, and was ſold for the benefit of inſolvent debtors. A ſimilar application was made of the produce of the SIRAJIYAH.

Of

Of his lighter productions, the elegant amuſements of his leiſure hours, comprehending hymns on the *Hindu* mythology, poems conſiſting chiefly of tranſlations from the *Aſiatick* languages, and the verſion of SACONTALA, an ancient *Indian* drama, it would be unbecoming to ſpeak in a ſtyle of importance which he did not himſelf annex to them. They ſhow the activity of a vigorous mind, its fertility, its genius, and its taſte. Nor ſhall I particularly dwell on the diſcourſes addreſſed to this Society, which we have all peruſed or heard, or on the other learned and intereſting diſſertations, which form ſo large, and valuable a portion of the records of our Reſearches; let us lament, that the ſpirit which dictated them is to us extinct, and that the voice to which we liſtened with improvement, and rapture, will be heard by us no more.

But I cannot paſs over a paper, which has fallen into my poſſeſſion ſince his demiſe, in the hand-writing of Sir William Jones himſelf, entitled DESIDERATA, as more explanatory than any thing I can ſay, of the comprehenſive views of his enlightened mind. It contains, as a peruſal of it will ſhow, whatever is moſt curious, important, and attainable in the ſciences and hiſtories of *India*, *Arabia*, *China*, and *Tartary*; ſubjects, which he had already moſt amply diſcuſſed in the diſquiſitions which he laid before the Society.

DESIDERATA.

INDIA.

1.—The Ancient Geography of India, &c. from the Puranas.

2.—A Botanical Deſcription of Indian Plants, from the Coſhas, &c.

3.—A Grammar of the Sanſcrit Language, from Panini, &c.

4.—A Dictionary of the Sanſcrit Language, from thirty-two original Vocabularies and Niructi.

5.—On

5.—On the Ancient Muſic of the Indians.

6.—On the Medical Subſtances of India, and the Indian Art of Medicine.

7.—On the Philoſophy of the Ancient Indians.

8.—A Tranſlation of the Veda.

9.—On Ancient Indian Geometry, Aſtronomy, and Algebra.

10.—A Tranſlation of the Puranas.

11.—A Tranſlation of the Mahabbarat and Ramayan.

12.—On the Indian Theatre, &c. &c. &c.

13.—On the Indian Conſtellations, with their Mythology, from the Puranas.

14.—The Hiſtory of India before the Mahommedan conqueſt, from the Sanſcrit-Caſhmir Hiſtories.

ARABIA.

15.—The Hiſtory of Arabia before Mahommed.

16.—A Tranſlation of the Hamaſa.

17.—A Tranſlation of Hariri.

18.—A Tranſlation of the Facahatul Khulafa.

Of the Caſiah.

PERSIA.

19.—The Hiſtory of Perſia from Authorities in Sanſcrit, Arabick, Greek, Turkiſh, Perſian, ancient and modern.

Firdauſi's Khoſrau nama.

20.—The five Poems of Nizami, tranſlated in proſe.

A Dictionary of pure Perſian. Jehangire.

CHINA.

21.—A Tranſlation of the Shi-king.

22.—The text of Can-fu-tſu verbally tranſlated.

TARTARY.

23.—A Hiſtory of the Tartar Nations, chiefly of the Moguls and Othmans, from the Turkiſh and Perſian.

We are not authoriſed to conclude, that he had himſelf formed a determination to complete the works which his genius and knowledge had thus ſketched; the taſk ſeems to require a period, beyond the probable duration of any human life; but we, who had the happineſs to know Sir William Jones, who were witneſſes of his indefatigable perſeverance in the purſuit of knowledge, and of his ardour to accompliſh whatever he deemed important; who ſaw the extent of his intellectual powers, his wonderful attainments in literature and ſcience, and the facility with which all his compoſitions were made, cannot doubt, if it had pleaſed Providence to protract the date of his exiſtence, that he would have ably executed much, of what he had ſo extenſively planned.

I have hitherto principally confined my diſcourſe to the purſuits of our late Preſident in Oriental literature, which, from their extent, might appear to have occupied all his time; but they neither precluded his attention to profeſſional ſtudies, nor to ſcience in general: amongſt his publications in *Europe*, in polite literature, excluſive of various compoſitions in proſe and verſe, I find a tranſlation of the ſpeeches of Isæus, with a learned comment; and, in law, an Eſſay on the Law of Bailments: upon the ſubject of this laſt work, I cannot deny myſelf the gratification of quoting the ſentiments of a celebrated hiſtorian: "Sir "William Jones has given an ingenious and rational eſſay on the law "of Bailments. He is perhaps the only lawyer equally converſant with "the

" the year books of *Weſtminſter*, the commentaries of ULPIAN, the " Attic pleadings of ISÆUS, and the ſentences of *Arabian* and *Perſian* " *Cadhis.*"

His profeſſional ſtudies did not commence before his twenty-ſecond year, and I have his own authority for aſſerting, that the firſt book of *Engliſh* juriſprudence which he ever ſtudied, was FORTESCUE's eſſay in praiſe of the laws of *England.*

Of the ability and conſcientious integrity, with which he diſcharged the functions of a Magiſtrate, and the duties of a Judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature in this ſettlement, the public voice and public regret bear ample and merited teſtimony. The ſame penetration which marked his ſcientific reſearches, diſtinguiſhed his legal inveſtigations and deciſions; and he deemed no inquiries burthenſome, which had for their object ſubſtantial juſtice under the rules of law.

His addreſſes to the jurors, are not leſs diſtinguiſhed for philanthropy, and liberality of ſentiment, than for juſt expoſitions of the law, perſpicuity, and elegance of diction; and his oratory was as captivating as his arguments were convincing.

In an epilogue to his commentaries on *Aſiatick* poetry, he bids farewell to polite literature, without relinquiſhing his affection for it; and concludes with an intimation of his intention to ſtudy law, expreſſed in a wiſh, which we now know to have been prophetic.

Mihi ſit, oro, non inutilis toga,
Nec indiſerta lingua, nec turpis manus!

 I have

I have already enumerated attainments and works, which, from their diverſity and extent, ſeem far beyond the capacity of the moſt enlarged minds; but the catalogue may yet be augmented. To a proficiency in the languages of *Greece*, *Rome*, and *Aſia*, he added the knowledge of the philoſophy of thoſe countries, and of every thing curious and valuable that had been taught in them. The doctrines of the *Academy*, the *Lyceum*, or the *Portico*, were not more familiar to him than the tenets of the *Vedas*, the myſticiſm of the *Sufis*, or the religion of the ancient *Perſians*; and whilſt with a kindred genius he peruſed with rapture the heroic, lyric, or moral compoſitions, of the moſt renowned poets of *Greece*, *Rome*, and *Aſia*, he could turn with equal delight and knowledge, to the ſublime ſpeculations, or mathematical calculations, of Barrow and Newton. With them alſo, he profeſſed his conviction of the truth of the *Chriſtian* religion, and he juſtly deemed it no inconſiderable advantage, that his reſearches had corroborated the multiplied evidence of revelation, by confirming the *Moſaic* account of the primitive world. We all recollect, and can refer to, the following ſentiments in his eighth anniverſary diſcourſe.

" Theological inquiries are no part of my preſent ſubject; but I can-
" not refrain from adding, that the collection of tracts, which we call
" from their excellence the Scriptures, contain, independently of a di-
" vine origin, more true ſublimity, more exquiſite beauty, purer mo-
" rality, more important hiſtory, and finer ſtrains both of poetry and
" eloquence, than could be collected within the ſame compaſs from all
" other books, that were ever compoſed in any age, or in any idiom.
" The two parts, of which the Scriptures conſiſt, are connected by a
" chain of compoſitions, which bear no reſemblance in form or ſtyle
" to any that can be produced from the ſtores of *Grecian*, *Indian*, *Perſian*,
" or even *Arabian* learning; the antiquity of thoſe compoſitions no
" man

" man doubts, and the unſtrained application of them to events long " ſubſequent to their publication, is a ſolid ground of belief, that they " were genuine predictions, and conſequently inſpired."

There were in truth few ſciences, in which he had not acquired conſiderable proficiency; in moſt, his knowledge was profound. The theory of muſic was familiar to him; nor had he neglected to make himſelf acquainted with the intereſting diſcoveries lately made in chymiſtry; and I have heard him aſſert, that his admiration of the ſtructure of the human frame, had induced him to attend for a ſeaſon to a courſe of anatomical lectures delivered by his friend, the celebrated HUNTER.

His laſt and favourite purſuit, was the ſtudy of *Botany*, which he originally began under the confinement of a ſevere and lingering diſorder, which with moſt minds, would have proved a diſqualification from any application. It conſtituted the principal amuſement of his leiſure hours. In the arrangements of LINNÆUS he diſcovered ſyſtem, truth, and ſcience, which never failed to captivate and engage his attention; and from the proofs which he has exhibited of his progreſs in *Botany*, we may conclude that he would have extended the diſcoveries in that ſcience. The laſt compoſition which he read in this Society, was a deſcription of ſelect *Indian* plants, and I hope his Executors will allow us to fulfil his intention of publiſhing it, as a number in our Reſearches.

It cannot be deemed uſeleſs or ſuperfluous to inquire, by what arts or method he was enabled to attain to a degree of knowledge almoſt univerſal, and apparently beyond the powers of man, during a life little exceeding forty-ſeven years.

The

The faculties of his mind, by nature vigorous, were improved by conſtant exerciſe; and his memory, by habitual practice, had acquired a capacity of retaining whatever had once been impreſſed upon it. To an unextinguiſhed ardour for univerſal knowledge, he joined a perſeverance in the purſuit of it, which ſubdued all obſtacles; his ſtudies began with the dawn, and during the intermiſſions of profeſſional duties, were continued throughout the day; reflection and meditation ſtrengthened and confirmed what induſtry and inveſtigation had accumulated. It was a fixed principle with him, from which he never voluntarily deviated, not to be deterred by any difficulties that were ſurmountable, from proſecuting to a ſucceſsful termination, what he had once deliberately undertaken.

But what appears to me more particularly to have enabled him to employ his talents ſo much to his own and the public advantage, was the regular allotment of his time to particular occupations, and a ſcrupulous adherence to the diſtribution which he had fixed; hence, all his ſtudies were purſued without interruption or confuſion: nor can I here omit remarking, what may probably have attracted your obſervation as well as mine, the candour and complacency with which he gave his attention to all perſons, of whatſoever quality, talents, or education; he juſtly concluded, that curious or important information, might be gained even from the illiterate; and wherever it was to be obtained, he ſought and ſeized it.

Of the private and ſocial virtues of our lamented Preſident, our hearts are the beſt records; to you, who knew him, it cannot be neceſſary for me to expatiate on the independance of his integrity, his humanity, probity, or benevolence, which every living creature participated; on the affability of his converſation and manners, or his modeſt unaſſuming deportment: nor need I remark, that he was totally

totally free from pedantry, as well as from arrogance and ſelf-ſufficiency, which ſometimes accompany and diſgrace the greateſt abilities; his preſence was the delight of every ſociety, which his converſation exhilarated and improved; and the public have not only to lament the loſs of his talents and abilities, but that of his example.

To him, as the founder of our Inſtitution, and whilſt he lived, its firmeſt ſupport, our reverence is more particularly due; inſtructed, animated, and encouraged by him, genius was called forth into exertion, and modeſt merit was excited to diſtinguiſh itſelf. Anxious for the reputation of the Society, he was indefatigable in his own endeavours to promote it, whilſt he cheerfully aſſiſted thoſe of others. In loſing him, we have not only been deprived of our brighteſt ornament, but of a guide and patron, on whoſe inſtructions, judgment, and candour, we could implicitly rely.

But it will, I truſt, be long, very long, before the remembrance of his virtues, his genius, and abilities, loſe that influence over the members of this Society, which his living example had maintained; and if previous to his demiſe he had been aſked, by what poſthumous honours or attentions we could beſt ſhow our reſpect for his memory? I may venture to aſſert he would have replied, "By exerting "yourſelves to ſupport the credit of the Society;" applying to it, perhaps, the dying wiſh of father Paul, "eſto perpetua!"

In this wiſh we muſt all concur, and with it, I cloſe *this addreſs to you.*

A

DISCOURSE

ON THE

INSTITUTION OF A SOCIETY,

FOR INQUIRING INTO THE

HISTORY, CIVIL AND NATURAL, THE ANTIQUITIES, ARTS, SCIENCES, AND LITERATURE,

OF

ASIA.

BY THE PRESIDENT.

GENTLEMEN,

WHEN I was at ſea laſt Auguſt, on my voyage to this country, which I had long and ardently deſired to viſit, I found one evening, on inſpecting the obſervations of the day, that *India* lay before us, and *Perſia* on our left, whilſt a breeze from *Arabia* blew nearly on our ſtern. A ſituation ſo pleaſing in itſelf, and to me ſo new, could not fail to awaken a train of reflections in a mind, which had early been accuſtomed to contemplate with delight the eventful hiſtories and agreeable fictions of this eaſtern world. It gave me inexpreſſible plea-

ſure to find myſelf in the midſt of ſo noble an amphitheatre, almoſt encircled by the vaſt regions of *Aſia*, which has ever been eſteemed the nurſe of ſciences, the inventreſs of delightful and uſeful arts, the ſcene of glorious actions, fertile in the productions of human genius, abounding in natural wonders, and infinitely diverſified in the forms of religion and government, in the laws, manners, cuſtoms, and languages, as well as in the features and complexions, of men. I could not help remarking, how important and extenſive a field was yet unexplored, and how many ſolid advantages unimproved; and when I conſidered, with pain, that, in this fluctuating, imperfect, and limited condition of life, ſuch inquiries and improvements could only be made by the united efforts of many, who are not eaſily brought, without ſome preſſing inducement or ſtrong impulſe, to converge in a common point, I conſoled myſelf with a hope, founded on opinions which it might have the appearance of flattery to mention, that, if in any country or community, ſuch an union could be effected, it was among my countrymen in *Bengal*, with ſome of whom I already had, and with moſt was deſirous of having, the pleaſure of being intimately acquainted.

You have realized that hope, gentlemen, and even anticipated a declaration of my wiſhes, by your alacrity in laying the foundation of a ſociety for inquiring into the hiſtory and antiquities, the natural productions, arts, ſciences, and literature of *Aſia*. I may confidently foretel, that an inſtitution ſo likely to afford entertainment, and convey knowledge, to mankind, will advance to maturity by ſlow, yet certain, degrees; as the Royal Society, which at firſt was only a meeting of a few literary friends at *Oxford*, roſe gradually to that ſplendid zenith, at which a *Halley* was their ſecretary, and a *Newton* their preſident.

Although

Although it is my humble opinion, that, in order to enſure our ſucceſs and permanence, we muſt keep a middle courſe between a languid remiſſneſs, and an over zealous activity, and that the tree, which you have auſpiciouſly planted, will produce fairer bloſſoms, and more exquiſite fruit, if it be not at firſt expoſed to too great a glare of ſunſhine, yet I take the liberty of ſubmitting to your conſideration a few general ideas on the plan of our ſociety; aſſuring you, that, whether you reject or approve them, your correction will give me both pleaſure and inſtruction, as your flattering attentions have already conferred on me the higheſt honour.

It is your deſign, I conceive, to take an ample ſpace for your learned inveſtigations, bounding them only by the geographical limits of *Aſia*; ſo that, conſidering *Hinduſtan* as a centre, and turning your eyes in idea to the North, you have on your right, many important kingdoms in the Eaſtern peninſula, the ancient and wonderful empire of *China* with all her *Tartarian* dependencies, and that of *Japan*, with the cluſter of precious iſlands, in which many ſingular curioſities have too long been concealed: before you lies that prodigious chain of mountains, which formerly perhaps were a barrier againſt the violence of the ſea, and beyond them the very intereſting country of *Tibet*, and the vaſt regions of *Tartary*, from which, as from the *Trojan* horſe of the poets, have iſſued ſo many conſummate warriors, whoſe domain has extended at leaſt from the banks of the *Iliſſus* to the mouths of the *Ganges:* on your left are the beautiful and celebrated provinces of *Iran* or *Perſia*, the unmeaſured, and perhaps unmeaſurable deſerts of *Arabia*, and the once flouriſhing kingdom of *Yemen*, with the pleaſant iſles that the *Arabs* have ſubdued or colonized; and farther weſtward, the *Aſiatick* dominions of the *Turkiſh* ſultans, whoſe moon ſeems approaching rapidly to its wane.—By this great circumference, the field of your uſeful reſearches will be incloſed; but, ſince *Egypt* had unqueſtionably

an old connexion with this country, if not with *China*, ſince the language and literature of the *Abyſſinians* bear a manifeſt affinity to thoſe of *Aſia*, ſince the *Arabian* arms prevailed along the *African* coaſt of the *Mediterranean*, and even erected a powerful dynaſty on the continent of *Europe*, you may not be diſpleaſed occaſionally to follow the ſtreams of *Aſiatick* learning a little beyond its natural boundary; and, if it be neceſſary or convenient, that a ſhort name or epithet be given to our ſociety, in order to diſtinguiſh it in the world, that of *Aſiatick* appears both claſſical and proper, whether we conſider the place or the object of the inſtitution, and preferable to *Oriental*, which is in truth a word merely relative, and, though commonly uſed in *Europe*, conveys no very diſtinct idea.

If now it be aſked, what are the intended objects of our inquiries within theſe ſpacious limits, we anſwer, MAN and NATURE; whatever is performed by the one, or produced by the other. Human knowledge has been elegantly analyſed according to the three great faculties of the mind, *memory*, *reaſon*, and *imagination*, which we conſtantly find employed in arranging and retaining, comparing and diſtinguiſhing, combining and diverſifying, the ideas, which we receive through our ſenſes, or acquire by reflection; hence the three main branches of learning are *hiſtory*, *ſcience*, and *art*: the firſt comprehends either an account of natural productions, or the genuine records of empires and ſtates; the ſecond embraces the whole circle of pure and mixed mathematicks, together with ethicks and law, as far as they depend on the reaſoning faculty; and the third includes all the beauties of imagery and the charms of invention, diſplayed in modulated language, or repreſented by colour, figure, or ſound.

Agreeably to this analyſis, you will inveſtigate whatever is rare in the ſtupendous fabrick of nature, will correct the geography of *Aſia* by

by new obſervations and diſcoveries; will trace the annals, and even traditions, of thoſe nations, who from time to time have peopled or deſolated it; and will bring to light their various forms of government, with their inſtitutions civil and religious; you will examine their improvements and methods in arithmetick and geometry, in trigonometry, menſuration, mechanicks, opticks, aſtronomy, and general phyſicks; their ſyſtems of morality, grammar, rhetorick, and dialectick; their ſkill in chirurgery and medicine, and their advancement, whatever it may be, in anatomy and chymiſtry. To this you will add reſearches into their agriculture, manufactures, trade; and, whilſt you inquire with pleaſure into their muſick, architecture, painting, and poetry, will not neglect thoſe inferiour arts, by which the comforts and even elegances of ſocial life are ſupplied or improved. You may obſerve, that I have omitted their languages, the diverſity and difficulty of which are a ſad obſtacle to the progreſs of uſeful knowledge; but I have ever conſidered languages as the mere inſtruments of real learning, and think them improperly confounded with learning itſelf: the attainment of them is, however, indiſpenſably neceſſary; and if to the *Perſian*, *Armenian*, *Turkiſh*, and *Arabick*, could be added not only the *Sanſcrit*, the treaſures of which we may now hope to ſee unlocked, but even the *Chineſe*, *Tartarian*, *Japaneſe*, and the various inſular dialects, an immenſe mine would then be open, in which we might labour with equal delight and advantage.

Having ſubmitted to you theſe imperfect thoughts on the *limits* and *objects* of our future ſociety, I requeſt your permiſſion to add a few hints on the *conduct* of it in its preſent immature ſtate.

Lucian begins one of his ſatirical pieces againſt hiſtorians, with declaring that the only true propoſition in his work was, that it ſhould contain nothing true; and perhaps it may be adviſable at firſt, in order

order to prevent any difference of ſentiment on particular points not immediately before us, to eſtabliſh but one rule, namely, to have no rules at all. This only I mean, that, in the infancy of any ſociety, there ought to be no confinement, no trouble, no expenſe, no unneceſſary formality. Let us, if you pleaſe, for the preſent, have weekly evening meetings in this hall, for the purpoſe of hearing original papers read on ſuch ſubjects, as fall within the circle of our inquiries. Let all curious and learned men be invited to ſend their tracts to our ſecretary, for which they ought immediately to receive our thanks; and if, towards the end of each year, we ſhould be ſupplied with a ſufficiency of valuable materials to fill a volume, let us preſent our *Aſiatick* miſcellany to the literary world, who have derived ſo much pleaſure and information from the agreeable work of *Kæmpfer*, than which we can ſcarce propoſe a better model, that they will accept with eagerneſs any freſh entertainment of the ſame kind. You will not perhaps be diſpoſed to admit mere tranſlations of conſiderable length, except of ſuch unpubliſhed eſſays or treatiſes as may be tranſmitted to us by native authors; but, whether you will enrol as members any number of learned natives, you will hereafter decide, with many other queſtions as they happen to ariſe; and you will think, I preſume, that all queſtions ſhould be decided on a ballot, by a majority of two thirds, and that nine members ſhould be requiſite to conſtitute a board for ſuch deciſions. Theſe points, however, and all others I ſubmit entirely, gentlemen, to your determination, having neither wiſh nor pretenſion to claim any more than my ſingle right of ſuffrage. One thing only, as eſſential to your dignity, I recommend with earneſtneſs, on no account to admit a new member, who has not expreſſed a voluntary deſire to become ſo; and in that caſe, you will not require, I ſuppoſe, any other qualification than a love of knowledge, and a zeal for the promotion of it.

Your

Your inſtitution, I am perſuaded, will ripen of itſelf, and your meetings will be amply ſupplied with intereſting and amuſing papers, as ſoon as the object of your inquiries ſhall be generally known. There are, it may not be delicate to name them, but there are many, from whoſe important ſtudies I cannot but conceive high expectations; and, as far as mere labour will avail, I ſincerely promiſe, that, if in my allotted ſphere of juriſprudence, or in any intellectual excurſion, that I may have leiſure to make, I ſhould be ſo fortunate as to collect, by accident, either fruits or flowers, which may ſeem valuable or pleaſing, I ſhall offer my humble *Nezr* to your ſociety with as much reſpectful zeal as to the greateſt potentate on earth.

THE SECOND

ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED 24 FEBRUARY, 1785,

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

GENTLEMEN,

IF the Deity of the *Hindus*, by whom all their juſt requeſts are believed to be granted with ſingular indulgence, had propoſed laſt year to gratify my warmeſt wiſhes, I could have deſired nothing more ardently than the ſucceſs of your inſtitution; becauſe I can deſire nothing in preference to the general good, which your plan ſeems calculated to promote, by bringing to light many uſeful and intereſting tracts, which, being too ſhort for ſeparate publication, might lie many years concealed, or, perhaps, irrecoverably periſh: my wiſhes are accompliſhed, without an invocation to CA'MADHE'NU; and your Society, having already paſſed its infant ſtate, is advancing to maturity with every mark of a healthy and robuſt conſtitution. When I reflect, indeed, on the variety of ſubjects, which have been diſcuſſed before you, concerning the hiſtory, laws, manners, arts, and antiquities of *Aſia*, I am unable to decide whether my pleaſure or my ſurpriſe be the

greater; for I will not diſſemble, that your progreſs has far exceeded my expectations; and, though we muſt ſeriouſly deplore the loſs of thoſe excellent men, who have lately departed from this Capital, yet there is a proſpect ſtill of large contributions to your ſtock of *Aſiatick* learning, which, I am perſuaded, will continually increaſe. My late journey to *Benares* has enabled me to aſſure you, that many of your members, who reſide at a diſtance, employ a part of their leiſure in preparing additions to your archives; and, unleſs I am too ſanguine, you will ſoon receive light from them on ſeveral topicks entirely new in the republick of letters.

It was principally with a deſign to open ſources of ſuch information, that I long had meditated an expedition up the *Ganges* during the ſuſpenſion of my buſineſs; but, although I had the ſatisfaction of viſiting two ancient ſeats of *Hindu* ſuperſtition and literature, yet, illneſs having detained me a conſiderable time in the way, it was not in my power to continue in them long enough to purſue my inquiries; and I left them, as ÆNEAS is feigned to have left the ſhades, when his guide made him recollect *the ſwift flight of irrevocable time*, with a curioſity raiſed to the height, and a regret not eaſy to be deſcribed.

Whoever travels in *Aſia*, eſpecially if he be converſant with the literature of the countries through which he paſſes, muſt naturally remark the ſuperiority of *European* talents: the obſervation, indeed, is at leaſt as old as ALEXANDER; and, though we cannot agree with the ſage preceptor of that ambitious Prince, that "the *Aſiaticks* are born to be ſlaves," yet the *Athenian* poet ſeems perfectly in the right, when he repreſents *Europe* as a *ſovereign Princeſs*, and *Aſia* as *her Handmaid:* but, if the miſtreſs be tranſcendently majeſtick, it cannot be denied that the attendant has many beauties, and ſome advantages peculiar to herſelf. The ancients were accuſtomed to pronounce *panegyricks* on their

their own countrymen at the expenſe of all other nations, with a political view, perhaps, of ſtimulating them by praiſe, and exciting them to ſtill greater exertions; but ſuch arts are here unneceſſary; nor would they, indeed, become a ſociety, who ſeek nothing but truth unadorned by rhetorick; and, although we muſt be conſcious of our ſuperior advancement in all kinds of uſeful knowledge, yet we ought not therefore to contemn the people of *Aſia*, from whoſe reſearches into nature, works of art, and inventions of fancy, many valuable hints may be derived for our own improvement and advantage. If that, indeed, were not the principal object of your inſtitution, little elſe could ariſe from it but the mere gratification of curioſity; and I ſhould not receive ſo much delight from the humble ſhare, which you have allowed me to take, in promoting it.

To form an exact parallel between the works and actions of the Weſtern and Eaſtern worlds, would require a tract of no inconſiderable length; but we may decide on the whole, that reaſon and taſte are the grand prerogatives of *European* minds, while the *Aſiaticks* have ſoared to loftier heights in the ſphere of imagination. The civil hiſtory of their vaſt empires, and of *India* in particular, muſt be highly intereſting to our common country; but we have a ſtill nearer intereſt in knowing all former modes of ruling *theſe ineſtimable provinces*, on the proſperity of which ſo much of our national welfare, and individual benefit, ſeems to depend. A minute *geographical* knowledge, not only of *Bengal* and *Bahar*, but, for evident reaſons, of *all the kingdoms bordering on them*, is cloſely connected with an account of their many revolutions: but the *natural* productions of theſe territories, eſpecially in the *vegetable* and *mineral* ſyſtems, are momentous objects of reſearch to an *imperial*, but, which is a character of equal dignity, a *commercial*, people.

If *Botany* may be deſcribed by metaphors drawn from the ſcience itſelf, we may juſtly pronounce a minute acquaintance with *plants*, their *claſſes*, *orders*, *kinds*, and *ſpecies*, to be its *flowers*, which can only produce *fruit* by an application of that knowledge to the purpoſes of life, particularly to *diet*, by which diſeaſes may be avoided, and to *medicine*, by which they may be remedied: for the improvement of the laſt mentioned art, than which none ſurely can be more beneficial to mankind, the virtues of *minerals* alſo ſhould be accurately known. So highly has medical ſkill been prized by the ancient *Indians*, that one of the *fourteen Retna's*, or *precious things*, which their Gods are believed to have produced by churning the ocean with the mountain *Mandara*, was *a learned phyſician*. What their old books contain on this ſubject, we ought certainly to diſcover, and that without loſs of time; leſt the venerable but abſtruſe language, in which they are compoſed, ſhould ceaſe to be perfectly intelligible, even to the beſt educated natives, through a want of powerful invitation to ſtudy it. Bernier, who was himſelf of the Faculty, mentions approved medical books in *Sanſcrit*, and cites a few aphoriſms, which appear judicious and rational; but we can expect nothing ſo important from the works of *Hindu* or *Muſelman* phyſicians, as the knowledge, which experience muſt have given them, of *ſimple* medicines. I have ſeen an *Indian* preſcription of *fifty-four*, and another of *ſixty-ſix*, ingredients; but ſuch compoſitions are always to be ſuſpected, ſince the effect of one ingredient may deſtroy that of another; and it were better to find certain accounts of a ſingle leaf or berry, than to be acquainted with the moſt elaborate compounds, unleſs they too have been proved by a multitude of ſucceſsful experiments. The noble deobſtruent oil, extracted from the *Eranda* nut, the whole family of *Balſams*, the incomparable ſtomachick root from *Columbo*, the fine aſtringent ridiculouſly called *Japan* earth, but in truth produced by the decoction of an *Indian* plant, have long been uſed in *Aſia*; and who can foretel what glorious diſcoveries

coveries of other oils, roots, and ſalutary juices, may be made by your ſociety? If it be doubtful whether the *Peruvian* bark be *always* efficacious in this country, its place may, perhaps, be ſupplied by ſome indigenous vegetable equally antiſeptick, and more congenial to the climate. Whether any treatiſes on *Agriculture* have been written by experienced natives of theſe provinces, I am not yet informed; but ſince the court of *Spain* expect to find uſeful remarks in an *Arabick* tract preſerved in the *Eſcurial*, on *the cultivation of land in that kingdom*, we ſhould inquire for ſimilar compoſitions, and examine the contents of ſuch as we can procure.

The ſublime ſcience of Chymiſtry, which I was on the point of calling *divine*, muſt be added, as a key to the richeſt treaſuries of nature; and it is impoſſible to foreſee how greatly it may improve our *manufactures*, eſpecially if it can fix thoſe brilliant *dyes*, which want nothing of perfect beauty but a longer continuance of their ſplendour; or how far it may lead to new methods of *fluxing and compounding metals*, which the *Indians*, as well as the *Chineſe*, are thought to have practiſed in higher perfection than ourſelves.

In thoſe elegant arts, which are called *fine* and *liberal*, though of leſs general utility than the labours of the mechanick, it is really wonderful how much a ſingle nation has excelled the whole world: I mean the ancient *Greeks*, whoſe *Sculpture*, of which we have exquiſite remains both on gems and in marble, no modern tool can equal; whoſe *Architecture* we can only imitate at a ſervile diſtance, but are unable to make one addition to it, without deſtroying its graceful ſimplicity; whoſe *Poetry* ſtill delights us in youth, and amuſes us at a maturer age; and of whoſe *Painting* and *Muſick* we have the concurrent relations of ſo many grave authors, that it would be ſtrange incredulity to doubt their excellence. *Painting*, as an art belonging to the powers

of

of the imagination, or what is commonly called *Genius*, appears to be yet in its infancy among the people of the Eaſt: but the *Hindu* ſyſtem of *muſick* has, I believe, been formed on truer principles than our own; and all the ſkill of the native compoſers is directed to the great object of their art, *the natural expreſſion of ſtrong paſſions*, to which *melody*, indeed, is often ſacrificed: though ſome of their tunes are pleaſing even to an *European* ear. Nearly the ſame may be truly aſſerted of the *Arabian* or *Perſian* ſyſtem; and, by a correct explanation of the beſt books on that ſubject, much of the old *Grecian* theory may probably be recovered.

The *poetical* works of the *Arabs* and *Perſians*, which differ ſurpriſingly in their ſtyle and form, are here pretty generally known; and, though taſtes, concerning which there can be no diſputing, are divided in regard to their merit, yet we may ſafely ſay of them, what ABULFAZL pronounces of the *Mahábhárat*, that, "although they "abound with extravagant images and deſcriptions, they are in the "higheſt degree entertaining and inſtructive." Poets of the greateſt genius, PINDAR, ÆSCHYLUS, DANTE, PETRARCA, SHAKESPEAR, SPENSER, have moſt abounded in images not far from the brink of abſurdity; but, if their luxuriant fancies, or thoſe of ABULOLA, FIRDAUSI, NIZA'MI, were pruned away at the hazard of their ſtrength and majeſty, we ſhould loſe many pleaſures by the amputation. If we may form a juſt opinion of the *Sanſcrit* poetry from the ſpecimens already exhibited, (though we can only judge perfectly by conſulting the originals), we cannot but thirſt for the whole work of VYA'SA, with which a member of our ſociety, whoſe preſence deters me from ſaying more of him, will in due time gratify the publick. The poetry of *Mathurà*, which is the *Parnaſſian* land of the *Hindus*, has a ſofter and leſs elevated ſtrain; but, ſince the inhabitants of the diſtricts near *Agra*, and principally of the *Duab*, are ſaid to ſurpaſs all other *Indians* in

in eloquence, and to have compoſed many agreeable tales and love-ſongs, which are ſtill extant, the *Bháſhá*, or *vernacular idiom* of *Vraja*, in which they are written, ſhould not be neglected. No ſpecimens of genuine *Oratory* can be expected from nations, among whom the form of government precludes even the idea of *popular eloquence*; but the art of writing, in elegant and modulated periods, has been cultivated in *Aſia* from the earlieſt ages: the *Véda's*, as well as the *Alcoran*, are written in meaſured proſe; and the compoſitions of Isocrates are not more highly poliſhed than thoſe of the beſt *Arabian* and *Perſian* authors.

Of the *Hindu* and *Muſelman* architecture there are yet many noble remains in *Bahar*, and ſome in the vicinity of *Malda*; nor am I unwilling to believe, that even thoſe ruins, of which you will, I truſt, be preſented with correct delineations, may furniſh our own architects with new ideas of beauty and ſublimity.

Permit me now to add a few words on the *Sciences*, properly ſo named; in which it muſt be admitted, that the *Aſiaticks*, if compared with our Weſtern nations, are mere children. One of the moſt ſagacious men in this age, who continues, I hope, to improve and adorn it, Samuel Johnson, remarked in my hearing, that, "if "Newton had flouriſhed in ancient *Greece*, he would have been "worſhipped as a divinity:" how zealouſly then would he be adored in *Hinduſtan*, if his incomparable writings could be read and comprehended by the *Pandits* of *Caſhmír* or *Benares!* I have ſeen a mathematical book in *Sanſcrit* of the higheſt antiquity; but ſoon perceived from the diagrams, that it contained only ſimple elements: there may, indeed, have been, in the favourable atmoſphere of *Aſia*, ſome diligent obſervers of the celeſtial bodies, and ſuch obſervations, as are recorded, ſhould indiſputably be made publick; but let us not expect any

any new *methods*, or the analyſis of new *curves*, from the geometricians of *Iran*, *Turkiſtan*, or *India*. Could the works of ARCHIMEDES, the NEWTON of *Sicily*, be reſtored to their genuine purity by the help of *Arabick* verſions, we might then have reaſon to triumph on the ſucceſs of our ſcientifical inquiries; or could the ſucceſſive improvements and various rules of *Algebra* be traced through *Arabian* channels, to which CARDAN boaſted that he had acceſs, the modern Hiſtory of *Mathematicks* would receive conſiderable illuſtration.

The Juriſprudence of the *Hindus* and *Muſelmans* will produce more immediate advantage; and, if ſome ſtandard *law-tracts* were accurately tranſlated from the *Sanſcrit* and *Arabick*, we might hope in time to ſee ſo complete a Digeſt of *Indian* Laws, that all diſputes among the natives might be decided without *uncertainty*, which is in truth a diſgrace, though ſatirically called a *glory*, to the forenſick ſcience.

All theſe objects of inquiry muſt appear to you, Gentlemen, in ſo ſtrong a light, that bare intimations of them will be ſufficient; nor is it neceſſary to make uſe of *emulation* as an incentive to an ardent purſuit of them: yet I cannot forbear expreſſing a wiſh, that the activity of the *French* in the ſame purſuits may not be ſuperior to ours, and that the reſearches of M. SONNERAT, whom the court of *Verſailles* employed for ſeven years in theſe climates, merely to collect ſuch materials as we are ſeeking, may kindle, inſtead of abating, our own curioſity and zeal. If you aſſent, as I flatter myſelf you do, to theſe opinions, you will alſo concur in promoting the object of them; and a few ideas having preſented themſelves to my mind, I preſume to lay them before you, with an entire ſubmiſſion to your judgement.

No

No contributions, except thoſe of the literary kind, will be requiſite for the ſupport of the ſociety; but, if each of us were occaſionally to contribute a ſuccinct deſcription of ſuch manuſcripts as he had peruſed or inſpected, with their dates and the names of their owners, and to propoſe for ſolution ſuch *queſtions* as had occurred to him concerning *Aſiatick* Art, Science, and Hiſtory, natural or civil, we ſhould poſſeſs without labour, and almoſt by imperceptible degrees, a fuller catalogue of Oriental books, than has hitherto been exhibited, and our correſpondents would be appriſed of thoſe points, to which we chiefly direct our inveſtigations. Much may, I am confident, be expected from the communications of *learned natives*, whether lawyers, phyſicians, or private ſcholars, who would eagerly, on the firſt invitation, ſend us their *Mekámát* and *Riſálahs* on a variety of ſubjects; ſome for the ſake of advancing general knowledge, but moſt of them from a deſire, neither uncommon nor unreaſonable, of attracting notice, and recommending themſelves to favour. With a view to avail ourſelves of this diſpoſition, and to bring their latent ſcience under our inſpection, it might be adviſable to print and circulate a ſhort memorial, in *Perſian* and *Hindi*, ſetting forth, in a ſtyle accommodated to their own habits and prejudices, the deſign of our inſtitution; nor would it be impoſſible hereafter, to give a medal annually, with inſcriptions, in *Perſian* on one ſide, and on the reverſe in *Sanſcrit*, as the prize of merit, to the writer of the beſt eſſay or diſſertation. To inſtruct others is the preſcribed duty of learned *Brahmans*, and, if they be men of ſubſtance, without reward; but they would all be flattered with an honorary mark of diſtinction; and the *Mahomedans* have not only the permiſſion, but the poſitive command, of their law-giver, *to ſearch for learning even in the remoteſt parts of the globe*. It were ſuperfluous to ſuggeſt, with how much correctneſs and facility their compoſitions might be tranſlated for our uſe, ſince their languages are now more generally

and perfectly underſtood than they have ever been by any nation of *Europe*.

I have detained you, I fear, too long by this addreſs, though it has been my endeavour to reconcile comprehenſiveneſs with brevity: the ſubjects, which I have lightly ſketched, would be found, if minutely examined, to be inexhauſtible; and, ſince no limits can be ſet to your reſearches but the boundaries of *Aſia* itſelf, I may not improperly conclude with wiſhing for your ſociety, what the Commentator on the Laws, prays for the conſtitution, of our country, that IT MAY BE PERPETUAL.

THE

THE THIRD

ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED 2 FEBRUARY, 1786.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

IN the former diſcourſes, which I had the honour of addreſſing to you, Gentlemen, on the *inſtitution* and *objects* of our Society, I confined myſelf purpoſely to general topicks; giving in the firſt a diſtant proſpect of the vaſt career, on which we were entering, and, in the ſecond, exhibiting a more diffuſe, but ſtill ſuperficial, ſketch of the various diſcoveries in Hiſtory, Science, and Art, which we might juſtly expect from our inquiries into the literature of *Aſia*. I now propoſe to fill up that outline ſo comprehenſively as to omit nothing eſſential, yet ſo conciſely as to avoid being tedious; and, if the ſtate of my health ſhall ſuffer me to continue long enough in this climate, it is my deſign, with your permiſſion, to prepare for our annual meetings a ſeries of ſhort diſſertations, unconnected in their titles and ſubjects, but all tending to a common point of no ſmall importance in the purſuit of intereſting truths.

Of all the works, which have been publiſhed in our own age, or, perhaps, in any other, on the Hiſtory of the Ancient World, and *the firſt population of this habitable globe*, that of Mr. JACOB BRYANT, whom I name with reverence and affection, has the beſt claim to the praiſe of deep erudition ingeniouſly applied, and new theories happily illuſtrated by an aſſemblage of numberleſs converging rays from a moſt extenſive circumference: it falls, nevertheleſs, as every human work muſt fall, ſhort of perfection; and the leaſt ſatisfactory part of it ſeems to be that, which relates to the derivation of words from *Aſiatick* languages. Etymology has, no doubt, ſome uſe in hiſtorical reſearches; but it is a medium of proof ſo very fallacious, that, where it elucidates one fact, it obſcures a thouſand, and more frequently borders on the ridiculous, than leads to any ſolid concluſion: it rarely carries with it any *internal* power of conviction from a reſemblance of ſounds or ſimilarity of letters; yet often, where it is wholly unaſſiſted by thoſe advantages, it may be indiſputably proved by *extrinſick* evidence. We know *à poſteriori*, that both *fitz* and *hijo*, by the nature of two ſeveral dialects, are derived from *filius*; that *uncle* comes from *avus*, and *ſtranger* from *extra*; that *jour* is deducible, through the *Italian*, from *dies*; and *roſſignol* from *luſcinia*, or the *ſinger in groves*; that *ſciuro*, *écureuil*, and *ſquirrel* are compounded of two *Greek* words deſcriptive of the animal; which etymologies, though they could not have been demonſtrated *à priori*, might ſerve to confirm, if any ſuch confirmation were neceſſary, the proofs of a connection between the members of one great Empire; but, when we derive our *hanger*, or *ſhort pendent ſword*, from the *Perſian*, becauſe ignorant travellers thus mis-ſpell the word *khanjar*, which in truth means a different weapon, or *ſandal-wood* from the *Greek*, becauſe we ſuppoſe, that *ſandals* were ſometimes made of it, we gain no ground in proving the affinity of nations, and only weaken arguments, which might otherwiſe be firmly ſupported. That CU's then, or, as it certainly is written in

one

one ancient dialect, Cu'T, and in others, probably, CA'S, enters into the compoſition of many proper names, we may very reaſonably believe; and that *Algeziras* takes its name from the *Arabick* word for an *iſland*, cannot be doubted; but, when we are told from *Europe*, that places and provinces in *India* were clearly denominated from thoſe words, we cannot but obſerve, in the firſt inſtance, that the town, in which we now are aſſembled, is properly written and pronounced *Calicátà*; that both *Cátá* and *Cút* unqueſtionably mean *places of ſtrength*, or, in general, any *incloſures*; and that *Gujaràt* is at leaſt as remote from *Jezirah* in ſound, as it is in ſituation.

Another exception (and a third could hardly be diſcovered by any candid criticiſm) to the *Analyſis of Ancient Mythology*, is, that the *method* of reaſoning and arrangement of topicks adopted in that learned work are not quite agreeable to the title, but almoſt wholly *ſynthetical*; and, though *ſyntheſis* may be the better mode in pure *ſcience*, where the principles are undeniable, yet it ſeems leſs calculated to give complete ſatisfaction in *hiſtorical* diſquiſitions, where every poſtulatum will perhaps be refuſed, and every definition controverted: this may ſeem a ſlight objection, but the ſubject is in itſelf ſo intereſting, and the full conviction of all reaſonable men ſo deſirable, that it may not be loſt labour to diſcuſs the ſame or a ſimilar theory in a method purely analytical, and, after beginning with facts of general notoriety or undiſputed evidence, to inveſtigate ſuch truths, as are at firſt unknown or very imperfectly diſcerned.

The *five* principal nations, who have in different ages divided among themſelves, as a kind of inheritance, the vaſt continent of *Aſia*, with the many iſlands depending on it, are the *Indians*, the *Chineſe*, the *Tartars*, the *Arabs*, and the *Perſians: who* they ſeverally were, *whence*, and *when* they came, *where* they now are ſettled, and *what*

advantage

advantage a more perfect knowledge of them all may bring to our *European* world, will be ſhown, I truſt, in *five* diſtinct eſſays; the laſt of which will demonſtrate the connexion or diverſity between them, and ſolve the great problem, whether they had *any* common origin, and whether that origin was *the ſame*, which we generally aſcribe to them.

I begin with *India*, not becauſe I find reaſon to believe it the true centre of population or of knowledge, but, becauſe it is the country, which we now inhabit, and from which we may beſt ſurvey the regions around us; as, in popular language, we ſpeak of the *riſing* ſun, and of his *progreſs through the Zodiack*, although it had long ago been imagined, and is now demonſtrated, that he is himſelf the centre of our planetary ſyſtem. Let me here premiſe, that, in all theſe inquiries concerning the hiſtory of *India*, I ſhall confine my reſearches downwards to the *Mohammedan* conqueſts at the beginning of the *eleventh* century, but extend them upwards, as high as poſſible, to the earlieſt authentick records of the human ſpecies.

India then, on its moſt enlarged ſcale, in which the ancients appear to have underſtood it, compriſes an area of near *forty* degrees on each ſide, including a ſpace almoſt as large as all *Europe*; being divided on the weſt from *Perſia* by the *Arachoſian* mountains, limited on the eaſt by the *Chineſe* part of the farther peninſula, confined on the north by the wilds of *Tartary*, and extending to the ſouth as far as the iſles of *Java*. This trapezium, therefore, comprehends the ſtupendous hills of *Potyid* or *Tibet*, the beautiful valley of *Caſhmír*, and all the domains of the old *Indoſcythians*, the countries of *Népál* and *Butánt*, *Cámrùp* or *Aſàm*, together with *Siam*, *Ava*, *Racan*, and the bordering kingdoms, as far as the *China* of the *Hindus* or *Sín* of the *Arabian* Geographers; not to mention the whole weſtern peninſula with the celebrated iſland of *Sinhala*,

Sinhala, or *Lion-like men*, at its ſouthern extremity. By *India*, in ſhort, I mean that whole extent of country, in which the primitive religion and languages of the *Hindus* prevail at this day with more or leſs of their ancient purity, and in which the *Nágarì* letters are ſtill uſed with more or leſs deviation from their original form.

The *Hindus* themſelves believe their own country, to which they give the vain epithets of *Medhyama* or *Central*, and *Punyabhúmi*, or the *Land of Virtues*, to have been the portion of BHARAT, one of *nine* brothers, whoſe father had the dominion of the whole earth; and they repreſent the mountains of *Himálaya* as lying to the north, and, to the weſt, thoſe of *Vindhya*, called alſo *Vindian* by the *Greeks*; beyond which the *Sindhu* runs in ſeveral branches to the ſea, and meets it nearly oppoſite to the point of *Dwáracà*, the celebrated ſeat of their Shepherd God: in the *ſouth-eaſt* they place the great river *Saravatya*; by which they probably mean that of *Ava*, called alſo *Airávati* in part of its courſe, and giving perhaps its ancient name to the gulf of *Sabara*. This domain of *Bharat* they conſider as the middle of the *Jambudwípa*, which the *Tibetians* alſo call the Land of *Zambu*; and the appellation is extremely remarkable; for *Jambu* is the *Sanſcrit* name of a delicate fruit called *Jáman* by the *Muſelmans*, and by us *roſe-apple*; but the largeſt and richeſt ſort is named *Amrita*, or *Immortal*; and the Mythologiſts of *Tibet* apply the ſame word to a celeſtial tree bearing *ambroſial fruit*, and adjoining to *four* vaſt rocks, from which as many ſacred rivers derive their ſeveral ſtreams.

The inhabitants of this extenſive tract are deſcribed by Mr. LORD with great exactneſs, and with a pictureſque elegance peculiar to our ancient language: "A people, ſays he, preſented themſelves to mine "eyes, clothed in linen garments ſomewhat low deſcending, of a "geſture and garb, as I may ſay, maidenly and well nigh effeminate,

"of

" of a countenance ſhy and ſomewhat eſtranged, yet ſmiling out a " glozed and baſhful familiarity." Mr. ORME, the Hiſtorian of *India*, who unites an exquiſite taſte for every fine art with an accurate knowledge of *Aſiatick* manners, obſerves, in his elegant preliminary Diſſertation, that this " country has been inhabited from the earlieſt an- " tiquity by a people, who have no reſemblance, either in their figure " or manners, with any of the nations contiguous to them," and that, " although conquerors have eſtabliſhed themſelves at different times " in different parts of *India*, yet the original inhabitants have loſt very " little of their original character." The ancients, in fact, give a deſcription of them, which our early travellers confirmed, and our own perſonal knowledge of them nearly verifies; as you will perceive from a paſſage in the Geographical Poem of DIONYSIUS, which the Analyſt of Ancient Mythology has tranſlated with great ſpirit:

" To th' eaſt a lovely country wide extends,
" INDIA, whoſe borders the wide ocean bounds;
" On this the ſun, new riſing from the main,
" Smiles pleas'd, and ſheds his early orient beam.
" Th' inhabitants are ſwart, and in their locks
" Betray the tints of the dark hyacinth.
" Various their functions; ſome the rock explore,
" And from the mine extract the latent gold;
" Some labour at the woof with cunning ſkill,
" And manufacture linen; others ſhape
" And poliſh iv'ry with the niceſt care:
" Many retire to rivers ſhoal, and plunge
" To ſeek the beryl flaming in its bed,
" Or glitt'ring diamond. Oft the jaſper's found
" Green, but diaphanous; the topaz too
" Of ray ſerene and pleaſing; laſt of all

" The

" The lovely amethyſt, in which combine
" All the mild ſhades of purple. The rich ſoil,
" Waſh'd by a thouſand rivers, from all ſides
" Pours on the natives wealth without control."

Their ſources of wealth are ſtill abundant even after ſo many revolutions and conqueſts; in their manufactures of cotton they ſtill ſurpaſs all the world; and their features have, moſt probably, remained unaltered ſince the time of DIONYSIUS; nor can we reaſonably doubt, how degenerate and abaſed ſo ever the *Hindus* may now appear, that in ſome early age they were ſplendid in arts and arms, happy in government, wiſe in legiſlation, and eminent in various knowledge: but, ſince their civil hiſtory beyond the middle of the *nineteenth* century from the preſent time, is involved in a cloud of fables, we ſeem to poſſeſs only *four* general media of ſatisfying our curioſity concerning it; namely, firſt, their *Languages* and *Letters*; ſecondly, their *Philoſophy* and *Religion*; thirdly, the actual remains of their old *Sculpture* and *Architecture*; and fourthly, the written memorials of their *Sciences* and *Arts*.

I. It is much to be lamented, that neither the *Greeks*, who attended ALEXANDER into *India*, nor thoſe who were long connected with it under the *Bactrian* Princes, have left us any means of knowing with accuracy, what vernacular languages they found on their arrival in this Empire. The *Mohammedans*, we know, heard the people of proper *Hinduſtan*, or *India* on a limited ſcale, ſpeaking a *Bhâſhâ*, or living tongue of a very ſingular conſtruction, the pureſt dialect of which was current in the diſtricts round *Agrà*, and chiefly on the poetical ground of *Mat'hurà*; and this is commonly called the idiom of *Vraja*. Five words in ſix, perhaps, of this language were derived from the *Sanſcrit*, in which books of religion and ſcience were compoſed, and which appears to have been formed by an exquiſite grammatical

 arrangement,

arrangement, as the name itſelf implies, from ſome unpoliſhed idiom; but the baſis of the *Hinduſtánì*, particularly the inflexions and regimen of verbs, differed as widely from both thoſe tongues, as *Arabick* differs from *Perſian*, or *German* from *Greek*. Now the general effect of conqueſt is to leave the current language of the conquered people unchanged, or very little altered, in its ground-work, but to blend with it a conſiderable number of exotick names both for things and for actions; as it has happened in every country, that I can recollect, where the conquerors have not preſerved their own tongue unmixed with that of the natives, like the *Turks* in *Greece*, and the *Saxons* in *Britain*; and this analogy might induce us to believe, that the pure *Hindì*, whether of *Tartarian* or *Chaldean* origin, was primeval in Upper *India*, into which the *Sanſcrit* was introduced by conquerors from other kingdoms in ſome very remote age; for we cannot doubt that the language of the *Véda's* was uſed in the great extent of country, which has before been delineated, as long as the religion of *Brahmà* has prevailed in it.

The *Sanſcrit* language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful ſtructure; more perfect than the *Greek*, more copious than the *Latin*, and more exquiſitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a ſtronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could poſſibly have been produced by accident; ſo ſtrong indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have ſprung from ſome common ſource, which, perhaps, no longer exiſts: there is a ſimilar reaſon, though not quite ſo forcible, for ſuppoſing that both the *Gothick* and the *Celtick*, though blended with a very different idiom, had the ſame origin with the *Sanſcrit*; and the old *Perſian* might be added to the ſame family, if this were the place for diſcuſſing any queſtion concerning the antiquities of *Perſia*.

The

The *characters*, in which the languages of *India* were originally written, are called *Nágarí*, from *Nagara*, a City, with the word *Déva* ſometimes prefixed, becauſe they are believed to have been taught by the Divinity himſelf, who preſcribed the artificial order of them in a voice from heaven. Theſe letters, with no greater variation in their form by the change of ſtraight lines to curves, or converſely, than the *Cufick* alphabet has received in its way to *India*, are ſtill adopted in more than twenty kingdoms and ſtates, from the borders of *Caſhgar* and *Khoten*, to *Ráma's* bridge, and from the *Sindhu* to the river of *Siam*; nor can I help believing, although the poliſhed and elegant *Dévanágarí* may not be ſo ancient as the monumental characters in the caverns of *Jaraſandha*, that the ſquare *Chaldaick* letters, in which moſt *Hebrew* books are copied, were originally the ſame, or derived from the ſame prototype, both with the *Indian* and *Arabian* characters: that the *Phenician*, from which the *Greek* and *Roman* alphabets were formed by various changes and inverſions, had a ſimilar origin, there can be little doubt; and the inſcriptions at *Canárah*, of which you now poſſeſs a moſt accurate copy, ſeem to be compounded of *Nágarí* and *Ethiopick* letters, which bear a cloſe relation to each other, both in the mode of writing from the left hand, and in the ſingular manner of connecting the vowels with the conſonants. Theſe remarks may favour an opinion entertained by many, that all the ſymbols of *ſound*, which at firſt, probably, were only rude outlines of the different organs of ſpeech, had a common origin: the ſymbols of *ideas*, now uſed in *China* and *Japan*, and formerly, perhaps, in *Egypt* and *Mexico*, are quite of a diſtinct nature; but it is very remarkable, that the order of *ſounds* in the *Chineſe* grammars correſponds nearly with that obſerved in *Tibet*, and hardly differs from that, which the *Hindus* conſider as the invention of their Gods.

II. Of the *Indian* Religion and Philoſophy, I ſhall here ſay but little; becauſe a full account of each would require a ſeparate volume: it will be ſufficient in this diſſertation to aſſume, what might be proved beyond controverſy, that we now live among the adorers of thoſe very deities, who were worſhipped under different names in old *Greece* and *Italy*, and among the profeſſors of thoſe philoſophical tenets, which the *Ionick* and *Attick* writers illuſtrated with all the beauties of their melodious language. On one hand we ſee the trident of NEPTUNE, the eagle of JUPITER, the ſatyrs of BACCHUS, the bow of CUPID, and the chariot of the *Sun*; on another we hear the cymbals of RHEA, the ſongs of the *Muſes*, and the paſtoral tales of APOLLO NOMIUS. In more retired ſcenes, in groves, and in ſeminaries of learning, we may perceive the *Bráhmans* and the *Sarmanes*, mentioned by CLEMENS, diſputing in the forms of *logick*, or diſcourſing on the vanity of human enjoyments, on the immortality of the ſoul, her emanation from the eternal mind, her debaſement, wanderings, and final union with her ſource. The *ſix* philoſophical ſchools, whoſe principles are explained in the *Derſana Sáſtra*, compriſe all the metaphyſicks of the old *Academy*, the *Stoa*, the *Lyceum*; nor is it poſſible to read the *Védánta*, or the many fine compoſitions in illuſtration of it, without believing, that PYTHAGORAS and PLATO derived their ſublime theories from the ſame fountain with the ſages of *India*. The *Scythian* and *Hyperborean* doctrines and mythology may alſo be traced in every part of theſe eaſtern regions; nor can we doubt, that WOD or ODEN, whoſe religion, as the northern hiſtorians admit, was introduced into *Scandinavia* by a foreign race, was the ſame with BUDDH, whoſe rites were probably imported into *India* nearly at the ſame time, though received much later by the *Chineſe*, who ſoften his name into FO'.

This may be a proper place to aſcertain an important point in the Chronology of the *Hindus*; for the prieſts of BUDDHA left in *Tibet* and

and *China* the preciſe epoch of his appearance, real or imagined, in this Empire; and their information, which had been preſerved in writing, was compared by the *Chriſtian* Miſſionaries and ſcholars with our own era. COUPLET, DE GUIGNES, GIORGI, and BAILLY, differ a little in their accounts of this epoch, but that of *Couplet* ſeems the moſt correct: on taking, however, the medium of the four ſeveral dates, we may fix the time of BUDDHA, or the *ninth* great incarnation of VISHNU, in the year one *thouſand* and *fourteen* before the birth of CHRIST, or *two thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-nine* years ago. Now the *Cáſhmirians*, who boaſt of his deſcent in their kingdom, aſſert that he appeared on earth about *two* centuries after CRISHNA the *Indian* APOLLO, who took ſo decided a part in the war of the *Mahábhárat*; and, if an Etymologiſt were to ſuppoſe, that the *Athenians* had embelliſhed their poetical hiſtory of PANDION's expulſion and the reſtoration of ÆGEUS with the *Aſiatick* tale of the PA'NDUS and YUDHISHTIR, neither of which words they could have articulated, I ſhould not haſtily deride his conjecture: certain it is, that *Pándumandel* is called by the *Greeks* the country of PANDION. We have, therefore, determined another intereſting epoch, by fixing the age of CRISHNA near the *three thouſandth* year from the preſent time; and, as the three firſt *Avatàrs*, or deſcents of VISHNU, relate no leſs clearly to *an* Univerſal Deluge, in which eight perſons only were ſaved, than the *fourth* and *fifth* do to the *puniſhment of impiety* and the *humiliation* of the *proud*, we may for the preſent aſſume, that the *ſecond*, or *ſilver*, age of the *Hindus* was ſubſequent to the diſperſion from *Babel*; ſo that we have only a dark interval of about a *thouſand* years, which were employed in the ſettlement of nations, the foundation of ſtates or empires, and the cultivation of civil ſociety. The great incarnate Gods of this intermediate age are both named RA'MA but with different epithets; one of whom bears a wonderful reſemblance to the *Indian* BACCHUS, and his wars are the ſubject of ſeveral heroick poems.

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He is repreſented as a deſcendent from SU'RYA, or the SUN, as the huſband of SI'TA', and the ſon of a princeſs named CAU'SELYA': it is very remarkable, that the *Peruvians*, whoſe *Incas* boaſted of the ſame deſcent, ſtyled their greateſt feſtival *Ramaſitoa*; whence we may ſuppoſe, that South *America* was peopled by the ſame race, who imported into the fartheſt parts of *Aſia* the rites and fabulous hiſtory of RA'MA. Theſe rites and this hiſtory are extremely curious; and, although I cannot believe with NEWTON, than ancient mythology was nothing but hiſtorical truth in a poetical dreſs, nor, with BACON, that it conſiſted ſolely of moral and metaphyſical allegories, nor with BRYANT, that all the heathen divinities are only different attributes and repreſentations of the Sun or of deceaſed progenitors, but conceive that the whole ſyſtem of religious fables roſe, like the *Nile*, from ſeveral diſtinct ſources, yet I cannot but agree, that one great ſpring and fountain of all idolatry in the four quarters of the globe was the veneration paid by men to the vaſt body of fire, which "looks from his ſole dominion like the God of this world;" and another, the immoderate reſpect ſhown to the memory of powerful or virtuous anceſtors, eſpecially the founders of kingdoms, legiſlators, and warriors, of whom the *Sun* or the *Moon* were wildly ſuppoſed to be the parents.

III. The remains of *architecture* and *ſculpture* in *India*, which I mention here as mere monuments of antiquity, not as ſpecimens of ancient art, ſeem to prove an early connection between this country and *Africa:* the pyramids of *Egypt*, the coloſſal ſtatues deſcribed by PAUSANIAS and others, the ſphinx, and the HERMES *Canis*, which laſt bears a great reſemblance to the *Varáhávatár*, or the incarnation of VISHNU in the form of a *Boar*, indicate the ſtyle and mythology of the ſame indefatigable workmen, who formed the vaſt excavations of *Cánárah*, the various temples and images of BUDDHA, and the idols, which are continually dug up at *Gayá*, or in its vicinity. The letters

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on many of thoſe monuments appear, as I have before intimated, partly of *Indian*, and partly of *Abyſſinian* or *Ethiopick*, origin; and all theſe indubitable facts may induce no ill-grounded opinion, that *Ethiopia* and *Hinduſtàn* were peopled or colonized by the ſame extraordinary race; in confirmation of which, it may be added, that the mountaineers of *Bengal* and *Bahàr* can hardly be diſtinguiſhed in ſome of their features, particularly their lips and noſes, from the modern *Abyſſinians*, whom the *Arabs* call the children of CU'SH: and the ancient *Hindus*, according to STRABO, differed in nothing from the *Africans*, but in the ſtraitneſs and ſmoothneſs of their hair, while that of the others was criſp or woolly; a difference proceeding chiefly, if not entirely, from the reſpective humidity or dryneſs of their atmoſpheres: hence the people who *received the firſt light of the riſing ſun*, according to the limited knowledge of the ancients, are ſaid by APULEIUS to be the *Arii* and *Ethiopians*, by which he clearly meant certain nations of *India*; where we frequently ſee figures of BUDDHA with *curled hair* apparently deſigned for a repreſentation of it in its natural ſtate.

IV. It is unfortunate, that the *Silpi Sáſtra*, or *collection of treatiſes on Arts* and *Manufactures*, which muſt have contained a treaſure of uſeful information on *dying*, *painting*, and *metallurgy*, has been ſo long neglected, that few, if any, traces of it are to be found; but the labours of the *Indian* loom and needle have been univerſally celebrated; and *fine linen* is not improbably ſuppoſed to have been called *Sindon*, from the name of the river near which it was wrought in the higheſt perfection: the people of *Colchis* were alſo famed for this manufacture, and the *Egyptians* yet more, as we learn from ſeveral paſſages in ſcripture, and particularly from a beautiful chapter in EZEKIAL containing the moſt authentick delineation of ancient commerce, of which *Tyre* had been the principal mart. Silk was fabricated immemorially by the *Indians*, though commonly aſcribed to the people of *Serica* or *Tancùt*,

Tancùt, among whom probably the word *Sèr*, which the *Greeks* applied to the *ſilk-worm*, ſignified *gold*; a ſenſe, which it now bears in *Tibet*. That the *Hindus* were in early ages a *commercial* people, we have many reaſons to believe; and in the firſt of their ſacred law-tracts, which they ſuppoſe to have been revealed by MENU many *millions* of years ago, we find a curious paſſage on the legal *intereſt* of money, and the limited rate of it in different caſes, with an exception in regard to *adventures* at *ſea*; an exception, which the ſenſe of mankind approves, and which commerce abſolutely requires, though it was not before the reign of CHARLES I. that our own juriſprudence fully admitted it in reſpect of maritime contracts.

We are told by the *Grecian* writers, that the *Indians* were the wiſeſt of nations; and in moral wiſdom, they were certainly eminent: their *Níti Sáſtra*, or *Syſtem* of *Ethicks*, is yet preſerved, and the Fables of VISHNUSERMAN, whom we ridiculouſly call *Pilpay*, are the moſt beautiful, if not the moſt ancient, collection of apologues in the world: they were firſt tranſlated from the *Sanſcrit*, in the *ſixth* century, by the order of BUZERCHUMIHR, or *Bright as the Sun*, the chief phyſician and afterwards *Vezír* of the great ANU'SHIREVA'N, and are extant under various names in more than twenty languages; but their original title is *Hitópadéſa*, or *Amicable Inſtruction*; and, as the very exiſtence of ESOP, whom the *Arabs* believe to have been an *Abyſſinian*, appears rather doubtful, I am not diſinclined to ſuppoſe, that the firſt *moral fables*, which appeared in *Europe*, were of *Indian* or *Ethiopian* origin.

The *Hindus* are ſaid to have boaſted of *three* inventions, all of which, indeed, are admirable, the method of inſtructing by *apologues*, the *decimal ſcale* adopted now by all civilized nations, and the game of *Cheſs*, on which they have ſome curious treatiſes; but, if their numerous works on Grammar, Logick, Rhetorick, Muſick, all which are extant

extant and acceſſible, were explained in ſome language generally known, it would be found, that they had yet higher pretenſions to the praiſe of a fertile and inventive genius. Their lighter Poems are lively and elegant; their Epick, magnificent and ſublime in the higheſt degree; their *Purána's* compriſe a ſeries of mythological Hiſtories in blank verſe from the *Creation* to the ſuppoſed incarnation of BUDDHA; and their *Védas*, as far as we can judge from that compendium of them, which is called *Upaniſhat*, abound with noble ſpeculations in metaphyſicks, and fine diſcourſes on the being and attributes of GOD. Their moſt ancient medical book, entitled *Chereca*, is believed to be the work of SIVA; for each of the divinities in their *Triad* has at leaſt one *ſacred* compoſition aſcribed to him; but, as to mere human works on *Hiſtory* and *Geography*, though they are ſaid to be extant in *Caſhmír*, it has not been yet in my power to procure them. What their *aſtronomical* and *mathematical* writings contain, will not, I truſt, remain long a ſecret: they are eaſily procured, and their importance cannot be doubted. The Philoſopher, whoſe works are ſaid to include a ſyſtem of the univerſe founded on the principle of *Attraction* and the *Central* poſition of the ſun, is named YAVAN ACHA'RYA, becauſe he had travelled, we are told, into *Ionia:* if this be true, he might have been one of thoſe, who converſed with PYTHAGORAS; this at leaſt is undeniable, that a book on aſtronomy in *Sanſcrit* bears the title of *Yavana Jática*, which may ſignify the *Ionic Sect*; nor is it improbable, that the names of the planets and *Zodiacal* ſtars, which the *Arabs* borrowed from the *Greeks*, but which we find in the oldeſt *Indian* records, were originally deviſed by the ſame ingenious and enterprizing race, from whom both *Greece* and *India* were peopled; the race, who, as DIONYSIUS deſcribes them,

——— ‘ firſt aſſayed the deep,
‘ And wafted merchandize to coaſts unknown,

‘ Thoſe, who digeſted firſt the ſtarry choir,
‘ Their motions mark’d, and call’d them by their names.’

Of theſe curſory obſervations on the *Hindus*, which it would require volumes to expand and illuſtrate, this is the reſult: that they had an immemorial affinity with the old *Perſians*, *Ethiopians*, and *Egyptians*, the *Phenicians*, *Greeks*, and *Tuſcans*, the *Scythians* or *Goths*, and *Celts*, the *Chineſe*, *Japaneſe*, and *Peruvians*; whence, as no reaſon appears for believing, that they were a colony from any one of thoſe nations, or any of thoſe nations from them, we may fairly conclude that they all proceeded from ſome *central* country, to inveſtigate which will be the object of my future Diſcourſes; and I have a ſanguine hope, that your collections during the preſent year will bring to light many uſeful diſcoveries; although the departure for *Europe* of a very ingenious member, who firſt opened the ineſtimable mine of *Sanſcrit* literature, will often deprive us of accurate and ſolid information concerning the languages and antiquities of *India*.

THE FOURTH

ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED 15 FEBRUARY, 1787.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAD the honour laſt year of opening to you my intention, to diſcourſe at our annual meetings on the *five* principal nations, who have peopled the continent and iſlands of *Aſia*; ſo as to trace, by an hiſtorical and philological analyſis, the number of ancient ſtems, from which thoſe five branches have ſeverally ſprung, and the central region, from which they appear to have proceeded: you may, therefore, expect, that, having ſubmitted to your conſideration a few general remarks on the old inhabitants of *India*, I ſhould now offer my ſentiments on ſome other nation, who, from a ſimilarity of *language*, *religion*, *arts*, and *manners*, may be ſuppoſed to have had an early connection with the *Hindus*; but, ſince we find ſome *Aſiatick* nations totally diſſimilar to them in all or moſt of thoſe particulars, and ſince the difference will ſtrike you more forcibly by an immediate and cloſe compariſon, I deſign at preſent to give a ſhort account of a wonderful people, who ſeem in

every reſpect ſo ſtrongly contraſted to the original natives of this country, that they muſt have been for ages a diſtinct and ſeparate race.

For the purpoſe of theſe diſcourſes, I conſidered *India* on its largeſt ſcale, deſcribing it as lying between *Perſia* and *China*, *Tartary* and *Java*; and, for the ſame purpoſe, I now apply the name of *Arabia*, as the *Arabian* Geographers often apply it, to that extenſive Peninſula, which the Red Sea divides from *Africa*, the great *Aſſyrian* river from *Irân*, and of which the *Erythrean* Sea waſhes the baſe; without excluding any part of its weſtern ſide, which would be completely maritime, if no iſthmus intervened between the *Mediterranean*, and the Sea of *Kolzom*: that country in ſhort I call *Arabia*, in which the *Arabick* language and letters, or ſuch as have a near affinity to them, have been immemorially current.

Arabia, thus divided from *India* by a vaſt ocean, or at leaſt by a broad bay, could hardly have been connected in any degree with this country, until navigation and commerce had been conſiderably improved: yet, as the *Hindus* and the people of *Yemen* were both commercial nations in a very early age, they were probably the firſt inſtruments of conveying to the weſtern world the gold, ivory, and perfumes of *India*, as well as the fragrant wood, called *álluwwa* in *Arabick* and *aguru* in *Sanſcrit*, which grows in the greateſt perfection in *Anam* or *Cochinchina*. It is poſſible too, that a part of the *Arabian* Idolatry might have been derived from the ſame ſource with that of the *Hindus*; but ſuch an intercourſe may be conſidered as partial and accidental only; nor am I more convinced, than I was fifteen years ago, when I took the liberty to animadvert on a paſſage in the Hiſtory of Prince KANTEMIR, that the *Turks* have any juſt reaſon for holding the coaſt of *Yemen* to be a part of *India*, and calling its inhabitants *Yellow Indians*.

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The *Arabs* have never been entirely ſubdued; nor has any impreſſion been made on them, except on their borders; where, indeed, the *Phenicians*, *Perſians*, *Ethiopians*, *Egyptians*, and, in modern times, the *Othmàn Tartars*, have ſeverally acquired ſettlements; but, with theſe exceptions, the natives of *Hejàz* and *Yemen* have preſerved for ages the ſole dominion of their deſerts and paſtures, their mountains and fertile valleys: thus, apart from the reſt of mankind, this extraordinary people have retained their primitive manners and language, features and character, as long and as remarkably as the *Hindus* themſelves. All the genuine *Arabs* of *Syria* whom I knew in *Europe*, thoſe of *Yemen*, whom I ſaw in the iſle of *Hinzuàn*, whither many had come from *Maſkat* for the purpoſe of trade, and thoſe of *Hejàz*, whom I have met in *Bengal*, form a ſtriking contraſt to the *Hindu* inhabitants of theſe provinces: their eyes are full of vivacity, their ſpeech voluble and articulate, their deportment manly and dignified, their apprehenſion quick, their minds always preſent and attentive; with a ſpirit of independence appearing in the countenances even of the loweſt among them. Men will always differ in their ideas of civilization, each meaſuring it by the habits and prejudices of his own country; but, if courteſy and urbanity, a love of poetry and eloquence, and the practice of exalted virtues be a juſter meaſure of perfect ſociety, we have certain proof, that the people of *Arabia*, both on plains and in cities, in republican and monarchical ſtates, were eminently civilized for many ages before their conqueſt of *Perſia*.

It is deplorable, that the ancient Hiſtory of this majeſtick race ſhould be as little known in detail before the time of *Dhú Yezen*, as that of the *Hindus* before *Vicramáditya*; for, although the vaſt hiſtorical work of *Alnuwairì*, and the *Murújuldhahab*, or *Golden Meadows*, of *Almaſúúdì*, contain chapters on the kings of *Himyar*, *Ghaſàn*, and *Hírah*, with liſts of them and ſketches of their ſeveral reigns, and although

although Genealogical Tables, from which chronology might be better aſcertained, are prefixed to many compoſitions of the old *Arabian* Poets, yet moſt manuſcripts are ſo incorrect, and ſo many contradictions are found in the beſt of them, that we can ſcarce lean upon tradition with ſecurity, and muſt have recourſe to the ſame media for inveſtigating the hiſtory of the *Arabs*, that I before adopted in regard to that of the *Indians*; namely, their *language*, *letters*, and *religion*, their ancient *monuments*, and the certain remains of their *arts*; on each of which heads I ſhall touch very conciſely, having premiſed, that my obſervations will in general be confined to the ſtate of *Arabia* before that ſingular revolution, at the beginning of the *ſeventh century*, the effects of which we feel at this day from the *Pyrenean* mountains and the *Danube*, to the fartheſt parts of the *Indian Empire*, and even to the Eaſtern Iſlands.

I. For the knowledge, which any *European*, who pleaſes, may attain of the *Arabian* language, we are principally indebted to the univerſity of *Leyden*; for, though ſeveral *Italians* have aſſiduouſly laboured in the ſame wide field, yet the fruit of their labours has been rendered almoſt uſeleſs by more commodious and more accurate works printed in *Holland*; and, though Pocock certainly accompliſhed much, and was able to accompliſh any thing, yet the *Academical* eaſe, which he enjoyed, and his theological purſuits, induced him to leave unfiniſhed the valuable work of *Maidáni*, which he had prepared for publication; nor, even if that rich mine of *Arabian* Philology had ſeen the light, would it have borne any compariſon with the fifty diſſertations of *Harírì*, which the firſt Albert Schultens tranſlated and explained, though he ſent abroad but few of them, and has left his worthy grandſon, from whom perhaps *Maidáni* alſo may be expected, the honour of publiſhing the reſt: but the palm of glory in this branch of literature is due to Golius, whoſe works are equally profound

profound and elegant; ſo perſpicuous in method, that they may always be conſulted without fatigue, and read without languor, yet ſo abundant in matter, that any man, who ſhall begin with his noble edition of the Grammar compiled by his maſter ERPENIUS, and proceed, with the help of his incomparable dictionary, to ſtudy his Hiſtory of *Taimùr* by *Ibni Arabſhàh*, and ſhall make himſelf complete maſter of that ſublime work, will underſtand the learned *Arabick* better than the deepeſt ſcholar at *Conſtantinople* or at *Mecca*. The *Arabick* language, therefore, is almoſt wholly in our power; and, as it is unqueſtionably one of the moſt ancient in the world, ſo it yields to none ever ſpoken by mortals in the number of its words and the preciſion of its phraſes; but it is equally true and wonderful, that it bears not the leaſt reſemblance, either in words or the ſtructure of them, to the *Sanſcrit*, or great parent of the *Indian* dialects; of which diſſimilarity I will mention two remarkable inſtances: the *Sanſcrit*, like the *Greek*, *Perſian*, and *German*, delights in compounds, but, in a much higher degree, and indeed to ſuch exceſs, that I could produce words of more than twenty ſyllables, not formed ludicrouſly, like that by which the buffoon in ARISTOPHANES deſcribes a feaſt, but with perfect ſerioufneſs, on the moſt ſolemn occaſions, and in the moſt elegant works; while the *Arabick*, on the other hand, and all its ſiſter dialects, abhor the compoſition of words, and invariably expreſs very complex ideas by circumlocution; ſo that, if a compound word be found in any genuine language of the *Arabian* Peninſula, *(zenmerdah* for inſtance, which occurs in the *Hamáſah)* it may at once be pronounced an exotick. Again; it is the genius of the *Sanſcrit*, and other languages of the ſame ſtock, that the roots of verbs be almoſt univerſally *biliteral*, ſo that *five and twenty hundred* ſuch roots might be formed by the compoſition of the *fifty Indian* letters; but the *Arabick* roots are as univerſally *triliteral*, ſo that the compoſition of the *twenty-eight Arabian* letters would give near *two and twenty thouſand elements* of the language: and this

this will demonſtrate the ſurpriſing extent of it; for, although great numbers of its roots are confeſſedly loſt, and ſome, perhaps, were never in uſe, yet, if we ſuppoſe ten thouſand of them (without reckoning *quadriliterals)* to exiſt, and each of them to admit only *five* variations, one with another, in forming *derivative nouns*, even then a perfect *Arabick* dictionary ought to contain *fifty thouſand* words, each of which may receive a multitude of changes by the rules of grammar. The derivatives in *Sanſcrit* are conſiderably more numerous: but a farther compariſon between the two languages is here unneceſſary; ſince, in whatever light we view them, they ſeem totally diſtinct, and muſt have been invented by two different races of men; nor do I recollect a ſingle word in common between them, except *Suruj*, the plural of *Siràj*, meaning both a *lamp* and the *ſun*, the *Sanſcrit* name of which is, in *Bengal*, pronounced *Súrja*; and even this reſemblance may be purely accidental. We may eaſily believe with the *Hindus*, that *not even* INDRA *himſelf and his heavenly bands, much leſs any mortal, ever comprehended in his mind ſuch an ocean of words as their ſacred language contains*, and with the *Arabs*, that no man uninſpired was ever a complete maſter of *Arabick:* in fact no perſon, I believe, now living in *Europe* or *Aſia*, can read without ſtudy an hundred couplets together in any collection of ancient *Arabian* poems; and we are told, that the great author of the *Kámùs* learned by accident from the mouth of a child, in a village of *Arabia*, the meaning of three words, which he had long ſought in vain from grammarians, and from books, of the higheſt reputation. It is by approximation alone, that a knowledge of theſe two venerable languages can be acquired; and, with moderate attention, enough of them both may be known, to delight and inſtruct us in an infinite degree: I conclude this head with remarking, that the nature of the *Ethiopick* dialect ſeems to prove an early eſtabliſhment of the *Arabs* in part of *Ethiopia*, from which they were afterwards expelled, and attacked even in their own country

country by the *Abyſſinians*, who had been invited over as auxiliaries againſt the tyrant of *Yemen* about a century before the birth of MUHAMMED.

Of the characters, in which the old compoſitions of *Arabia* were written, we know but little; except that the *Koràn* originally appeared in thoſe of *Cúfah*, from which the modern *Arabian* letters, with all their elegant variations, were derived, and which unqueſtionably had a common origin with the *Hebrew* or *Chaldaick*; but, as to the *Himyarick* letters, or thoſe which we ſee mentioned by the name of *Almuſnad*, we are ſtill in total darkneſs; the traveller NIEBUHR having been unfortunately prevented from viſiting ſome ancient monuments in *Yemen*, which are ſaid to have inſcriptions on them: if thoſe letters bear a ſtrong reſemblance to the *Nágarì*, and if a ſtory current in *India* be true, that ſome *Hindu* merchants heard the *Sanſcrit* language ſpoken in *Arabia* the *Happy*, we might be confirmed in our opinion, that an intercourſe formerly ſubſiſted between the two nations of oppoſite coaſts, but ſhould have no reaſon to believe, that they ſprang from the ſame immediate ſtock. The firſt ſyllable of *Hamyar*, as many *Europeans* write it, might perhaps induce an Etymologiſt to derive the *Arabs* of *Yemen* from the great anceſtor of the *Indians*; but we muſt obſerve, that *Himyar* is the proper appellation of thoſe *Arabs*; and many reaſons concur to prove, that the word is purely *Arabick*: the ſimilarity of ſome proper names on the borders of *India* to thoſe of *Arabia*, as the river *Arabius*, a place called *Araba*, a people named *Aribes* or *Arabies*, and another called *Sabai*, is indeed remarkable, and may hereafter furniſh me with obſervations of ſome importance, but not at all inconſiſtent with my preſent ideas.

II. It is generally aſſerted, that the old religion of the *Arabs* was entirely *Sabian*; but I can offer ſo little accurate information concern-

ing the *Sabian* faith, or even the meaning of the word, that I dare not yet ſpeak on the ſubject with confidence. This at leaſt is certain, that the people of *Yemen* very ſoon fell into the common, but fatal, errour of adoring the Sun and the Firmament; for even the *third* in deſcent from YOKTAN, who was conſequently as old as NAHOR, took the ſurname of ABDUSHAMS, or *Servant of the Sun*; and his family, we are aſſured, paid particular honours to that luminary: other tribes worſhipped the planets and fixed ſtars; but the religion of the poets at leaſt ſeems to have been pure Theiſm; and this we know with certainty, becauſe we have *Arabian* verſes of unſuſpected antiquity, which contain pious and elevated ſentiments on the goodneſs and juſtice, the power and omnipreſence, of ALLAH, or THE GOD. If an inſcription, ſaid to have been found on marble in *Yemen*, be authentick, the ancient inhabitants of that country preſerved the religion of EBER, and profeſſed a belief *in miracles and a future ſtate*.

We are alſo told, that a ſtrong reſemblance may be found between the religions of the pagan *Arabs* and the *Hindus*; but, though this may be true, yet an agreement in worſhipping the ſun and ſtars will not prove an affinity between the two nations: the *powers* of God repreſented as *female* deities, the adoration of *ſtones*, and the name of the Idol WUDD, may lead us indeed to ſuſpect, that ſome of the *Hindu* ſuperſtitions had found their way into *Arabia*; and, though we have no traces in *Arabian* Hiſtory of ſuch a conqueror or legiſlator as the great SESAC, who is ſaid to have raiſed pillars in *Yemen* as well as at the mouth of the *Ganges*, yet, ſince we know, that SA'CYA is a title of BUDDHA, whom I ſuppoſe to be WODEN, ſince BUDDHA was not a native of *India*, and ſince the age of SESAC perfectly agrees with that of SA'CYA, we may form a plauſible conjecture, that they were in fact the ſame perſon, who travelled eaſtward from *Ethiopia*, either as a warriour or as a lawgiver, about a thouſand years before CHRIST, and whoſe rites

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we now ſee extended as far as the country of *Niſon*, or, as the *Chineſe* call it, *Japuen*, both words ſignifying the *Riſing Sun*. SA'CYA may be derived from a word meaning *power*, or from another denoting *vegetable food*; ſo that this epithet will not determine, whether he was a hero or a philoſopher; but the title BUDDHA, or *wiſe*, may induce us to believe, that he was rather a benefactor, than a deſtroyer, of his ſpecies: if his religion, however, was really introduced into any part of *Arabia*, it could not have been general in that country; and we may ſafely pronounce, that before the *Mohammedan* revolution, the noble and learned *Arabs* were Theiſts, but that a ſtupid idolatry prevailed among the lower orders of the people.

I find no trace among them, till their emigration, of any Philoſophy but *Ethicks*; and even their ſyſtem of morals, generous and enlarged as it ſeems to have been in the minds of a few illuſtrious chieftains, was on the whole miſerably depraved for a century at leaſt before MUHAMMED: the diſtinguiſhing virtues, which they boaſted of inculcating and practiſing, were a contempt of riches and even of death; but, in the age of the *Seven Poets*, their liberality had deviated into mad profuſion, their courage into ferocity, and their patience into an obſtinate ſpirit of encountering fruitleſs dangers; but I forbear to expatiate on the manners of the *Arabs* in that age, becauſe the poems, entitled *Almoállakát*, which have appeared in our own language, exhibit an exact picture of their virtues and their vices, their wiſdom and their folly; and ſhow what may be conſtantly expected from men of open hearts and boiling paſſions, with no law to control, and little religion to reſtrain, them.

III. Few monuments of antiquity are preſerved in *Arabia*, and of thoſe few the beſt accounts are very uncertain; but we are aſſured, that inſcriptions on rocks and mountains are ſtill ſeen in various parts of the

Peninſula; which, if they are in any known language, and if correct copies of them can be procured, may be decyphered by eaſy and infallible rules.

The firſt ALBERT SCHULTENS has preſerved in his Ancient Memorials of *Arabia*, the moſt pleaſing of all his works, two little poems in an elegiack ſtrain, which are ſaid to have been found, about the middle of the ſeventh century, on ſome fragments of ruined edifices in *Hadramùt* near *Aden*, and are ſuppoſed to be of an indefinite, but very remote, age. It may naturally be aſked: In what characters were they written? Who decyphered them? Why were not the original letters preſerved in the book, where the verſes are cited? What became of the marbles, which *Abdurrahman*, then governor of *Yemen*, moſt probably ſent to the *Khalifah* at *Bagdad?* If they be genuine, they prove the people of *Yemen* to have been 'herdſmen and warriours, inhabiting a fertile and 'well-watered country full of game, and near a fine ſea abounding with 'fiſh, under a monarchical government, and dreſſed in green ſilk or 'veſts of needlework,' either of their own manufacture or imported from *India*. The meaſure of theſe verſes is perfectly regular, and the dialect undiſtinguiſhable, at leaſt by me, from that of *Kuraiſh*; ſo that, if the *Arabian* writers were much addicted to literary impoſtures, I ſhould ſtrongly ſuſpect them to be modern compoſitions on the inſtability of human greatneſs, and the conſequences of irreligion, illuſtrated by the example of the *Himyarick* princes; and the ſame may be ſuſpected of the firſt poem quoted by SCHULTENS, which he aſcribes to an *Arab* in the age of SOLOMON.

The ſuppoſed houſes of the people called *Thamùd* are alſo ſtill to be ſeen in excavations of rocks; and, in the time of TABRIZI the Grammarian, a caſtle was extant in *Yemen*, which bore the name of ALADBAT, an old bard and warriour, who firſt, we are told, formed his army, thence

thence called *álkhamìs*, in *five* parts, by which arrangement he defeated the troops of *Himyar* in an expedition againſt *Sanâà*.

Of pillars erected by SESAC, after his invaſion of *Yemen*, we find no mention in *Arabian* hiſtories; and, perhaps, the ſtory has no more foundation than another told by the *Greeks* and adopted by NEWTON, that the *Arabs* worſhipped URANIA, and even BACCHUS by name, which, they ſay, means *great* in *Arabick*; but where they found ſuch a word, we cannot diſcover: it is true, that *Beccah* ſignifies *a great and tumultuous crowd*, and, in this ſenſe, is one name of the ſacred city commonly called *Meccah*.

The *Câbah*, or *quadrangular* edifice at *Meccah*, is indiſputably ſo ancient, that its original uſe, and the name of its builder, are loſt in a cloud of idle traditions. An *Arab* told me gravely, that it was raiſed by ABRAHAM, who, as I aſſured him, was never there: others aſcribe it, with more probability, to ISMAIL, or one of his immediate deſcendants; but whether it was built as a place of divine worſhip, as a fortreſs, as a ſepulchre, or as a monument of the treaty between the old poſſeſſors of *Arabia* and the ſons of KIDAR, antiquaries may diſpute, but no mortal can determine. It is thought by RELAND to have been *the manſion of ſome ancient Patriarch, and revered on that account by his poſterity*; but the room, in which we now are aſſembled, would contain the whole *Arabian* edifice; and, if it were large enough for the dwelling-houſe of a patriarchal family, it would ſeem ill adapted to the paſtoral manners of the *Kedarites*: a *Perſian* author inſiſts, that the true name of *Meccah* is *Mahcadah*, or the *Temple of the Moon*; but, although we may ſmile at his etymology, we cannot but think it probable, that the *Câbah* was originally deſigned for religious purpoſes. Three couplets are cited in an *Arabick* Hiſtory of this Building, which, from their extreme ſimplicity, have leſs appearance of impoſture than other

other verſes of the ſame kind: they are aſcribed to ASAD, a *Tobbâ*, or king *by ſucceſſion*, who is generally allowed to have reigned in *Yemen* an hundred and twenty-eight years before CHRIST's birth, and they commemorate, without any poetical imagery, the magnificence of the prince *in covering the holy temple with ſtriped cloth and fine linen, and in making keys for its gate*. This temple, however, the ſanctity of which was reſtored by MUHAMMED, had been ſtrangely profaned at the time of his birth, when it was uſual to decorate its walls with poems on all ſubjects, and often on the triumphs of *Arabian* gallantry and the praiſes of *Grecian* wine, which the merchants of *Syria* brought for ſale into the deſerts.

From the want of materials on the ſubject of *Arabian* antiquity, we find it very difficult to fix the Chronology of the *Iſmailites* with accuracy beyond the time of ADNAN, from whom the impoſtor was deſcended in the *twenty-firſt* degree; and, although we have genealogies of ALKAMAH and other *Himyarick* bards as high as the *thirtieth* degree, or for a period of *nine hundred* years at leaſt, yet we can hardly depend on them ſo far, as to eſtabliſh a complete chronological ſyſtem: by reaſoning downwards, however, we may aſcertain ſome points of conſiderable importance. The univerſal tradition of *Yemen* is, that YOKTAN, the ſon of EBER, firſt ſettled his family in that country; which ſettlement, by the computation admitted in *Europe*, muſt have been above *three thouſand ſix hundred* years ago, and nearly at the time, when the *Hindus*, under the conduct of RAMA, were ſubduing the firſt inhabitants of theſe regions, and extending the *Indian* Empire from *Ayódhyà* or *Audh* as far as the iſle of *Sinhal* or *Silàn*. According to this calculation, NUUMAN, king of *Yemen* in the *ninth* generation from EBER, was contemporary with JOSEPH; and, if a verſe compoſed by that prince, and quoted by ABULFEDA, was really preſerved, as it might eaſily have been, by oral tradition, it proves the great antiquity of

of the *Arabian* language and metre. This is a literal verſion of the couplet: ‘ When thou, who art in power, conducteſt affairs with ‘ courteſy, thou attaineſt the high honours of thoſe, who are moſt ex- ‘ alted, *and* whoſe mandates are obeyed.’ We are told, that, from an elegant verb in this diſtich, the royal poet acquired the ſurname of *Almuâáfer*, or the *Courteous*. Now the reaſons for believing this verſe genuine are its brevity, which made it eaſy to be remembered, and the good ſenſe comprized in it, which made it become proverbial; to which we may add, that the dialect is apparently old, and differs in three words from the idiom of *Hejàz:* the reaſons for doubting are, that ſentences and verſes of indefinite antiquity are ſometimes aſcribed by the *Arabs* to particular perſons of eminence; and they even go ſo far as to cite a pathetick elegy of ADAM himſelf on the death of ABEL, but in very good *Arabick* and correct meaſure. Such are the doubts, which neceſſarily muſt ariſe on ſuch a ſubject; yet we have no need of ancient monuments or traditions to prove all that our analyſis requires, namely, that the *Arabs*, both of *Hejàz* and *Yemen*, ſprang from a ſtock entirely different from that of the *Hindus*, and that their firſt eſtabliſhments in the reſpective countries, where we now find them, were nearly coeval.

I cannot finiſh this article without obſerving, that, when the King of *Denmark's* miniſters inſtructed the *Daniſh* travellers to collect *hiſtorical* books in *Arabick*, but not to buſy themſelves with procuring *Arabian poems*, they certainly were ignorant, that the only monuments of old *Arabian* Hiſtory are collections of poetical pieces and the commentaries on them; that all memorable tranſactions in *Arabia* were recorded in verſe; and that more certain facts may be known by reading the *Hamáſah*, *the Dìwàn* of *Hudhail*, and the valuable work of *Obaidullah*, than by turning over a hundred volumes in proſe, unleſs indeed thoſe poems are cited by the hiſtorians as their authorities.

IV. The

IV. The manners of the *Hejázì Arabs*, which have continued, we know, from the time of SOLOMON to the preſent age, were by no means favourable to the cultivation of *arts*; and, as to *ſciences*, we have no reaſon to believe, that they were acquainted with any; for the mere amuſement of giving names to ſtars, which were uſeful to them in their paſtoral or predatory rambles through the deſerts, and in their obſervations on the weather, can hardly be conſidered as a material part of aſtronomy. The only arts, in which they pretended to excellence, (I except horſemanſhip and military accompliſhments) were *poetry* and *rhetorick*: that we have none of their compoſitions in proſe before the *Koràn*, may be aſcribed, perhaps, to the little ſkill, which they ſeem to have had, in writing; to their predilection in favour of poetical meaſure, and to the facility, with which verſes are committed to memory; but all their ſtories prove, that they were eloquent in a high degree, and poſſeſſed wonderful powers of ſpeaking without preparation in flowing and forcible periods. I have never been able to diſcover, what was meaned by their books, called *Rawásìm*, but ſuppoſe, that they were collections of their common, or cuſtomary, law. Writing was ſo little practiſed among them, that their old poems, which are now acceſſible to us, may almoſt be conſidered as originally unwritten; and I am inclined to think, that SAMUEL JOHNSON's reaſoning, on the extreme imperfection of unwritten languages, was too general; ſince a language, that is only ſpoken, may nevertheleſs be highly poliſhed by a people, who, like the ancient *Arabs*, make the improvement of their idiom a national concern, appoint ſolemn aſſemblies for the purpoſe of diſplaying their poetical talents, and hold it a duty to exerciſe their children in getting by heart their moſt approved compoſitions.

The people of *Yemen* had poſſibly more *mechanical arts*, and, perhaps, more *ſcience*; but, although their ports muſt have been the emporia of conſiderable commerce between *Egypt* and *India* or part of *Perſia*, yet we

we have no certain proofs of their proficiency in navigation or even in manufactures. That the *Arabs* of the deſert had muſical inſtruments, and names for the different notes, and that they were greatly delighted with melody, we know from themſelves; but their lutes and pipes were probably very ſimple, and their muſick, I ſuſpect, was little more than a natural and tuneful recitation of their elegiack verſes and love-ſongs. The ſingular property of their language, in ſhunning compound words, may be urged, according to BACON's idea, as a proof, that they had made no progreſs in *arts*, 'which require, ſays he, a variety 'of combinations to expreſs the complex notions ariſing from them;' but the ſingularity may perhaps be imputed wholly to the genius of the language, and the taſte of thoſe, who ſpoke it; ſince the old *Germans*, who knew no art, appear to have delighted in compound words, which poetry and oratory, one would conceive, might require as much as any meaner art whatſoever.

So great, on the whole, was the ſtrength of parts or capacity, either natural or acquired from habit, for which the *Arabs* were ever diſtinguiſhed, that we cannot be ſurprized, when we ſee that blaze of genius, which they diſplayed, as far as their arms extended, when they burſt, like their own dyke of *Arim*, through their ancient limits, and ſpread, like an inundation, over the great empire of *Iràn*. That a race of *Tázìs*, or *Courſers* as the *Perſians* call them, 'who drank the 'milk of camels and fed on lizards, ſhould entertain a thought of ſub-'duing the kingdom of FERIDUN' was conſidered by the General of YEZDEGIRD's army as the ſtrongeſt inſtance of fortune's levity and mutability; but FIRDAUSI, a complete maſter of *Aſiatick* manners, and ſingularly impartial, repreſents the *Arabs*, even in the age of FERIDUN, as 'diſclaiming any kind of dependence on that monarch, exulting in 'their liberty, delighting in eloquence, acts of liberality, and martial 'achievements, and thus making the whole earth, ſays the poet, red as

'wine with the blood of their foes, and the air like a foreſt of canes with 'their tall ſpears.' With ſuch a character they were likely to conquer any country, that they could invade; and, if ALEXANDER had invaded their dominions, they would unqueſtionably have made an obſtinate, and probably a ſucceſsful, reſiſtance.

But I have detained you too long, gentlemen, with a nation, who have ever been my favourites, and hope at our next anniverſary meeting to travel with you over a part of *Aſia*, which exhibits a race of men diſtinct both from the *Hindus* and from the *Arabs*. In the mean time it ſhall be my care to ſuperintend the publication of your tranſactions, in which, if the learned in *Europe* have not raiſed their expectations too high, they will not, I believe, be diſappointed: my own imperfect eſſays I always except; but, though my other engagements have prevented my attendance on your ſociety for the greateſt part of laſt year, and I have ſet an example of that freedom from reſtraint, without which no ſociety can flouriſh, yet, as my few hours of leiſure will now be devoted to *Sanſcrit* literature, I cannot but hope, though my chief object be a knowledge of *Hindu* Law, to make ſome diſcovery in other ſciences, which I ſhall impart with humility, and which you will, I doubt not, receive with indulgence.

THE

THE FIFTH

ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED 21 FEBRUARY, 1788.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

AT the cloſe of my laſt addreſs to you, Gentlemen, I declared my deſign of introducing to your notice a people of *Aſia*, who ſeemed as different in moſt reſpects from the *Hindus* and *Arabs*, as thoſe two nations had been ſhown to differ from each other; I meaned the people, whom we call *Tartars:* but I enter with extreme diffidence on my preſent ſubject, becauſe I have little knowledge of the *Tartarian* dialects; and the groſs errours of *European* writers on *Aſiatick* literature have long convinced me, that no ſatisfactory account can be given of any nation, with whoſe language we are not perfectly acquainted. Such evidence, however, as I have procured by attentive reading and ſcrupulous inquiries, I will now lay before you, interſperſing ſuch remarks as I could not but make on that evidence, and ſubmitting the whole to your impartial deciſion.

 Conformably

Conformably to the method before adopted in deſcribing *Arabia* and *India*, I conſider *Tartary* alſo, for the purpoſe of this diſcourſe, on its moſt extenſive ſcale, and requeſt your attention, whilſt I trace the largeſt boundaries that are aſſignable to it: conceive a line drawn from the mouth of the *Oby* to that of the *Dnieper*, and, bringing it back eaſtward acroſs the *Euxine*, ſo as to include the peninſula of *Krim*, extend it along the foot of *Caucaſus*, by the rivers *Cur* and *Aras*, to the *Caſpian* lake, from the oppoſite ſhore of which follow the courſe of the *Jaihun'* and the chain of *Caucaſean* hills as far as thoſe of *Imaus:* whence continue the line beyond the *Chineſe* wall to the White Mountain and the country of *Yetſo*; ſkirting the borders of *Perſia*, *India*, *China*, *Corea*, but including part of *Ruſſia*, with all the diſtricts which lie between the Glacial ſea, and that of *Japan*. M. De Guignes, whoſe great work on the *Huns* abounds more in ſolid learning than in rhetorical ornaments, preſents us, however, with a magnificent image of this wide region; deſcribing it as a ſtupendous edifice, the beams and pillars of which are many ranges of lofty hills, and the dome, one prodigious mountain, to which the *Chineſe* give the epithet of *Celeſtial*, with a conſiderable number of broad rivers flowing down its ſides: if the manſion be ſo amazingly ſublime, the land around it is proportionably extended, but more wonderfully diverſified; for ſome parts of it are incruſted with ice, others parched with inflamed air and covered with a kind of lava; here we meet with immenſe tracts of ſandy deſerts and foreſts almoſt impenetrable; there, with gardens, groves, and meadows, perfumed with muſk, watered by numberleſs rivulets, and abounding in fruits and flowers; and, from eaſt to weſt, lie many conſiderable provinces, which appear as valleys in compariſon of the hills towering above them, but in truth are the flat ſummits of the higheſt mountains in the world, or at leaſt the higheſt in *Aſia*. Near one fourth in latitude of this extraordinary region is in the ſame charming climate with *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Provence*; and another fourth in that of

of *England*, *Germany*, and the northern parts of *France*; but the *Hyperborean* countries can have few beauties to recommend them, at leaſt in the preſent ſtate of the earth's temperature: to the ſouth, on the frontiers of *Irân* are the beautiful vales of *Soghd* with the celebrated cities of *Samarkand* and *Bokhárà*; on thoſe of *Tibet* are the territories of *Caſhghar*, *Khoten*, *Chegil* and *Khátà*, all famed for perfumes and for the beauty of their inhabitants; and on thoſe of *China* lies the country of *Chín*, anciently a powerful kingdom, which name, like that of *Khátà*, has in modern times been given to the whole *Chineſe* empire, where ſuch an appellation would be thought an inſult. We muſt not omit the fine territory of *Tancùt*, which was known to the *Greeks* by the name of *Serica*, and conſidered by them as the fartheſt eaſtern extremity of the habitable globe.

Scythia ſeems to be the general name, which the ancient *Europeans* gave to as much as they knew of the country thus bounded and deſcribed; but, whether that word be derived, as PLINY ſeems to intimate, from *Sacai*, a people known by a ſimilar name to the *Greeks* and *Perſians*, or, as BRYANT imagines, from *Cuthia*, or, as Colonel VALLANCEY believes, from words denoting *navigation*, or, as it might have been ſuppoſed, from a *Greek* root implying *wrath* and ferocity, this at leaſt is certain, that as *India*, *China*, *Perſia*, *Japan*, are not appellations of thoſe countries in the languages of the nations, who inhabit them, ſo neither *Scythia* nor *Tartary* are names, by which the inhabitants of the country now under our conſideration have ever diſtinguiſhed themſelves. *Tátáriſtàn* is, indeed, a word uſed by the *Perſians* for the ſouth-weſtern part of *Scythia*, where the muſk-deer is ſaid to be common; and the name *Tátàr* is by ſome conſidered as that of a particular tribe; by others, as that of a ſmall river only; while *Túràn*, as oppoſed to *Irân*, ſeems to mean the ancient dominion of AFRA'SIA'B to the north and eaſt of the *Oxus*. There is nothing more idle

idle than a debate concerning names, which after all are of little conſequence, when our ideas are diſtinct without them: having given, therefore, a correct notion of the country, which I propoſed to examine, I ſhall not ſcruple to call it by the general name of *Tartary*; though I am conſcious of uſing a term equally improper in the pronunciation and the application of it.

Tartary then, which contained, according to PLINY, *an innumerable multitude of nations*, by whom the reſt of *Aſia* and all *Europe* has in different ages been over-run, is denominated, as various images have preſented themſelves to various fancies, the *great hive of the northern ſwarms*, the *nurſery of irreſiſtible legions*, and, by a ſtronger metaphor, the *foundery of the human race*; but M. BAILLY, a wonderfully ingenious man and a very lively writer, ſeems firſt to have conſidered it as the *cradle of our ſpecies*, and to have ſupported an opinion, that the whole ancient world was enlightened by ſciences brought from the moſt northern parts of *Scythia*, particularly from the banks of the *Jeniſea*, or from the *Hyperborean* regions: all the fables of old *Greece*, *Italy*, *Perſia*, *India*, he derives from the north; and it muſt be owned, that he maintains his paradox with acuteneſs and learning. Great learning and great acuteneſs, together with the charms of a moſt engaging ſtyle, were indeed neceſſary to render even tolerable a ſyſtem, which places an earthly paradiſe, the gardens of *Heſperus*, the iſlands of the *Macares*, the groves of *Elyſium*, if not of *Eden*, the heaven of INDRA, the *Periſtàn*, or fairy-land, of the *Perſian* poets, with its city of diamonds and its country of *Shádcàm*, ſo named from *Pleaſure* and *Love*, not in any climate, which the common ſenſe of mankind conſiders as the ſeat of delights, but beyond the mouth of the *Oby*, in the Frozen Sea, in a region equalled only by that, where the wild imagination of DANTE led him to fix the worſt of criminals in a ſtate of puniſhment after death, and of which *he could not*, he ſays, *even think without ſhivering*. A very

very curious paſſage in a tract of PLUTARCH on *the figure in the Moon's orb*, naturally induced M. BAILLY to place *Ogygia* in the north, and he concludes that iſland, as others have concluded rather fallaciouſly, to be the *Atlantis* of PLATO, but is at a loſs to determine, whether it was *Iſeland* or *Grœnland*, *Spitzberg* or *New Zembla:* among ſo many charms it was difficult, indeed, to give a preference; but our philoſopher, though as much perplexed by an option of beauties as the ſhepherd of *Ida*, ſeems on the whole to think *Zembla* the moſt worthy of the *golden fruit*; becauſe it is indiſputably an iſland, and lies oppoſite to a gulph near a continent, from which a great number of rivers deſcend into the ocean. He appears equally diſtreſſed among five nations, real and imaginary, to fix upon that, which the *Greeks* named *Atlantes*; and his concluſion in both caſes muſt remind us of the ſhowman at *Eton*, who, having pointed out in his box all the crowned heads of the world, and being aſked by the ſchoolboys, who looked through the glaſs, which was the Emperor, which the Pope, which the Sultan, and which the Great Mogul, anſwered eagerly, 'which you pleaſe, 'young gentlemen, which you pleaſe.' His letters, however, to VOLTAIRE, in which he unfolds his new ſyſtem to his friend, whom he had not been able to convince, are by no means to be derided; and his general propoſition, that arts and ſciences had their ſource in *Tartary*, deſerves a longer examination than can be given to it in this diſcourſe: I ſhall, nevertheleſs, with your permiſſion, ſhortly diſcuſs the queſtion under the ſeveral heads, that will preſent themſelves in order.

Although we may naturally ſuppoſe, that the numberleſs communities of *Tartars*, ſome of whom are eſtabliſhed in great cities, and ſome encamped on plains in ambulatory manſions, which they remove from paſture to paſture, muſt be as different in their features as in their dialects, yet, among thoſe who have not emigrated into another country and mixed with another nation, we may diſcern a family likeneſs,

neſs, eſpecially in their eyes and countenance, and in that configuration of lineaments, which we generally call a *Tartar* face; but, without making anxious inquiries, whether all the inhabitants of the vaſt region before deſcribed have ſimilar features, we may conclude from thoſe, whom we have ſeen, and from the original portraits of TAIMU'R and his deſcendants, that the *Tartars* in general differ wholly in complexion and countenance from the *Hindus* and from the *Arabs*; an obſervation, which tends in ſome degree to confirm the account given by modern *Tartars* themſelves of their deſcent from a common anceſtor. Unhappily their lineage cannot be proved by authentick pedigrees or hiſtorical monuments; for all their writings extant, even thoſe in the *Mogul* dialect, are long ſubſequent to the time of MUHAMMED; nor is it poſſible to diſtinguiſh their genuine traditions from thoſe of the *Arabs*, whoſe religious opinions they have in general adopted. At the beginning of the *fourteenth* century, *Khwájah* RASHI'D, ſurnamed FAD'LU'LLAH, a native of *Kazvìn*; compiled his account of the *Tartars* and *Mongals* from the papers of one PU'LA'D, whom the great grandſon of HOLACU' had ſent into *Tátáriſtàn* for the ſole purpoſe of collecting hiſtorical information; and the commiſſion itſelf ſhows, how little the *Tartarian* Princes really knew of their own origin. From this work of RASHI'D, and from other materials, ABU''LGHA'ZI', King of *Khwárezm*, compoſed in the *Mogul* language his *Genealogical Hiſtory*, which, having been purchaſed from a merchant of *Bokhárà* by ſome *Swediſh* officers, priſoners of war in *Siberia*, has found its way into ſeveral *European* tongues: it contains much valuable matter, but, like all MUHAMMEDAN hiſtories, exhibits tribes or nations as individual ſovereigns; and, if Baron DE TOTT had not ſtrangely neglected to procure a copy of the *Tartarian* hiſtory, for the original of which he unneceſſarily offered a large ſum, we ſhould probably have found, that it begins with an account of the deluge taken from the *Korán*, and proceeds to rank TURC, CHI'N, TATA'R, and MONGAL, among the

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ſons of YA'FET. The genuine traditional hiſtory of the *Tartars*, in all the books that I have inſpected, ſeems to begin with OGHU'Z, as that of the *Hindus* does with RA'MA: they place their miraculous Hero and Patriarch *four thouſand* years before CHENGIZ KHA'N, who was born in the year 1164, and with whoſe reign their hiſtorical period commences. It is rather ſurprizing, that M. BAILLY, who makes frequent appeals to Etymological arguments, has not derived OGYGES from OGHU'Z and ATLAS from *Altai*, or the *Golden* mountain of *Tartary:* the *Greek* terminations might have been rejected from both words; and a mere tranſpoſition of letters is no difficulty with an Etymologiſt.

My remarks in this addreſs, gentlemen, will be confined to the period preceding CHENGIZ; and, although the learned labours of M. DE GUIGNES and the fathers VISDELOU, DEMAILLA, and GAUBIL, who have made an incomparable uſe of their *Chineſe* literature, exhibit probable accounts of the *Tartars* from a very early age, yet the old hiſtorians of *China* were not only foreign, but generally hoſtile, to them, and for both thoſe reaſons, either through ignorance or malignity, may be ſuſpected of miſrepreſenting their tranſactions: if they ſpeak truth, the ancient hiſtory of the *Tartars* preſents us, like moſt other hiſtories, with a ſeries of aſſaſſinations, plots, treaſons, maſſacres, and all the natural fruits of ſelfiſh ambition. I ſhould have no inclination to give you a ſketch of ſuch horrors, even if the occaſion called for it; and will barely obſerve, that the firſt king of the *Hyumnu's* or *Huns* began his reign, according to VISDELOU, about *three thouſand five hundred and ſixty years ago*, not long after the time fixed in my former diſcourſes for the firſt regular eſtabliſhments of the *Hindus* and *Arabs* in their ſeveral countries.

I. Our firſt inquiry, concerning the *languages* and *letters* of the *Tartars*, preſents us with a deplorable void, or with a proſpect as barren and dreary as that of their deſerts. The *Tartars*, in general, had no literature: (in this point all authorities appear to concur) the *Turcs* had no letters: the *Huns*, according to PROCOPIUS, had not even heard of them: the magnificent CHENGIZ, whoſe Empire included an area of near eighty ſquare degrees, could find none of his own *Mongals*, as the beſt authors inform us, able to write his diſpatches; and TAI'MU'R, a ſavage of ſtrong natural parts and paſſionately fond of hearing hiſtories read to him, could himſelf neither write nor read. It is true, that IBNU ARABSHAH mentions a ſet of characters called *Dilberjìn*, which were uſed in *Khátà*: 'he had ſeen them, he ſays, and found them to 'conſiſt of *forty-one* letters, a diſtinct ſymbol being appropriated to each 'long and ſhort vowel, and to each conſonant hard or ſoft, or otherwiſe 'varied in pronunciation;' but *Khátà* was in ſouthern *Tartary* on the confines of *India*; and, from his deſcription of the characters there in uſe, we cannot but ſuſpect them to have been thoſe of *Tibet*, which are manifeſtly *Indian*, bearing a greater reſemblance to thoſe of *Bengal* than to *Dévanágarì*. The learned and eloquent *Arab* adds, 'that the '*Tatàrs* of *Khátà* write, in the *Dilberjìn* letters, all their tales and 'hiſtories, their journals, poems, and miſcellanies, their diplomas, re-'cords of ſtate and juſtice, the laws of CHENGIZ, their publick re-'giſters and their compoſitions of every ſpecies:' if this be true, the people of *Khátà* muſt have been a poliſhed and even a lettered nation; and it may be true, without affecting the *general* poſition, that the *Tartars* were illiterate; but IBNU ARABSHA'H was a profeſſed rhetorician, and it is impoſſible to read the original paſſage, without full conviction that his object in writing it, was to diſplay his power of words in a flowing and modulated period. He ſays further, that in *Jaghatáï* the people of *Oighùr*, as he calls them, 'have a ſyſtem of '*fourteen* letters only, denominated from themſelves *Oighúrì*;' and thoſe

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are the characters, which the *Mongals* are ſuppoſed by moſt authors to have borrowed: ABU'L'GHAZI' tells us only, that CHENGIZ employed the natives of *Eighùr* as excellent penmen; but the *Chineſe* aſſert, that he was forced to employ them, becauſe he had no writers at all among his natural-born ſubjects; and we are aſſured by many, that KUBLAIKHA'N ordered letters to be invented for his nation by a *Tibetian*, whom he rewarded with the dignity of chief *Lama*. The ſmall number of *Eighúrì* letters might induce us to believe, that they were *Zend* or *Pahlavì*, which muſt have been current in that country, when it was governed by the ſons of FERIDU'N; and, if the alphabet aſcribed to the *Eighurians* by M. DES HAUTESRAYES be correct, we may ſafely decide, that in many of its letters it reſembles both the *Zend* and the *Syriack*, with a remarkable difference in the mode of connecting them; but, as we can ſcarce hope to ſee a genuine ſpecimen of them, our doubt muſt remain in regard to their form and origin: the page, exhibited by HYDE as *Khatáyan* writing, is evidently a ſort of broken *Cúfick*; and the fine manuſcript at *Oxford*, from which it was taken, is more probably a *Mendean* work on ſome religious ſubject than, as he imagined, a code of *Tartarian* laws. That very learned man appears to have made a worſe miſtake in giving us for *Mongal* characters a page of writing, which has the appearance of *Japaneſe*, or mutilated *Chineſe*, letters.

If the *Tartars* in general, as we have every reaſon to believe, had no written memorials, it cannot be thought wonderful, that their *languages*, like thoſe of *America*, ſhould have been in perpetual fluctuation, and that more than fifty dialects, as HYDE had been credibly informed, ſhould be ſpoken between *Moſcow* and *China*, by the many kindred tribes or their ſeveral branches, which are enumerated by ABU'LGHA'ZI'. What thoſe dialects are, and whether they really ſprang from a common ſtock, we ſhall probably learn from Mr. PALLAS, and other indefatigable men employed by the *Ruſſian* court; and it is from the *Ruſſians*, that

that we muſt expect the moſt accurate information concerning their *Aſiatick* ſubjects: I perſuade myſelf, that, if their inquiries be judiciouſly made and faithfully reported, the reſult of them will prove, that all the languages properly *Tartarian* aroſe from one common ſource; excepting always the jargons of ſuch wanderers or mountaineers, as, having long been divided from the main body of the nation, muſt in a courſe of ages have framed ſeparate idioms for themſelves. The only *Tartarian* language, of which I have any knowledge, is the *Turkiſh* of *Conſtantinople*, which is however ſo copious, that whoever ſhall know it perfectly, will eaſily underſtand, as we are aſſured by intelligent authors, the dialects of *Tátáriſtàn*; and we may collect from ABU'LGHA'ZI', that he would find little difficulty in the *Calmac* and the *Mogul:* I will not offend your ears by a dry catalogue of ſimilar words in thoſe different languages; but a careful inveſtigation has convinced me, that, as the *Indian* and *Arabian* tongues are ſeverally deſcended from a common parent, ſo thoſe of *Tartary* might be traced to one ancient ſtem eſſentially differing from the two others. It appears, indeed, from a ſtory told by ABU''LGHA'ZI', that the *Viràts* and the *Mongals* could not underſtand each other; but no more can the *Danes* and the *Engliſh*, yet their dialects beyond a doubt are branches of the ſame *Gothick* tree. The dialect of the *Moguls*, in which ſome hiſtories of TAIMU'R and his deſcendants were originally compoſed, is called in *India*, where a learned native ſet me right when I uſed another word, *Turcì*; not that it is preciſely the ſame with the *Turkiſh* of the *Othmánlu's*, but the two idioms differ, perhaps, leſs then *Swediſh* and *German*, or *Spaniſh* and *Portugueſe*, and certainly leſs than *Welch* and *Iriſh:* in hope of aſcertaining this point, I have long ſearched in vain for the original works aſcribed to TAIMU'R and BA'BER; but all the *Moguls*, with whom I have converſed in this country, reſemble the crow in one of their popular fables, who, having long affected to walk like a pheaſant, was unable after all to acquire the gracefulneſs of that elegant

elegant bird, and in the mean time unlearned his own natural gait: they have not learned the dialect of *Perſia*, but have wholly forgotten that of their anceſtors. A very conſiderable part of the old *Tartarian* language, which in *Aſia* would probably have been loſt, is happily preſerved in *Europe*; and, if the groundwork of the weſtern *Turkiſh*, when ſeparated from the *Perſian* and *Arabick*, with which it is embelliſhed, be a branch of the loſt *Oghúzian* tongue, I can aſſert with confidence, that it has not the leaſt reſemblance either to *Arabick* or *Sanſcrit*, and muſt have been invented by a race of men wholly diſtinct from the *Arabs* or *Hindus*. This fact alone overſets the ſyſtem of M. Bailly, who conſiders the *Sanſcrit*, of which he gives in ſeveral places a moſt erroneous account, as '*a fine monument of his primeval* Scythians, *the* '*preceptors of mankind and planters of a ſublime philoſophy even in* India;' for he holds it an inconteſtable truth, that *a language, which is dead, ſuppoſes a nation, which is deſtroyed*; and he ſeems to think ſuch reaſoning perfectly deciſive of the queſtion, without having recourſe to aſtronomical arguments or the ſpirit of ancient inſtitutions: for my part, I deſire no better proof than that, which the language of the *Bráhmans* affords, of an immemorial and total difference between the *Savages of the Mountains*, as the old *Chineſe* juſtly called the *Tartars*, and the ſtudious, placid, contemplative inhabitants of theſe *Indian* plains.

II. The *geographical* reaſoning of M. Bailly may, perhaps, be thought equally ſhallow, if not inconſiſtent in ſome degree with itſelf. 'An adoration of the ſun and of fire, ſays he, muſt neceſſarily have 'ariſen in a cold region: therefore, it muſt have been foreign to *India*, '*Perſia*, *Arabia*; therefore, it, muſt have been derived from *Tartary*.' No man, I believe, who has travelled in winter through *Babàr*, or has even paſſed a cold ſeaſon at *Calcutta* within the tropick, can doubt that the ſolar warmth is often deſirable by all, and might have been conſidered as adorable by the ignorant, in theſe climates, or that the return

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of ſpring deſerves all the ſalutations, which it receives from the *Perſian* and *Indian* poets; not to rely on certain hiſtorical evidence, that ANTARAH, a celebrated warriour and bard, actually periſhed with cold on a mountain of *Arabia*. To meet, however, an objection, which might naturally be made to the voluntary ſettlement, and amazing population, of his primitive race in the icy regions of the north, he takes refuge in the hypotheſis of M. BUFFON, who imagines, that our whole globe was at firſt of a white heat, and has been gradually cooling from the poles to the equator; ſo that the *Hyperborean* countries had once a delightful temperature, and *Siberia* itſelf was even *hotter than the climate of our temperate zones*, that is, was in too hot a climate, by his firſt propoſition, for the primary worſhip of the ſun. That the temperature of countries has not ſuſtained a change in the lapſe of ages, I will by no means inſiſt; but we can hardly reaſon concluſively from a variation of temperature to the cultivation and diffuſion of ſcience: if as many female elephants and tigreſſes, as we now find in *Bengal*, had formerly littered in the *Siberian* foreſts, and if their young, as the earth cooled, had ſought a genial warmth in the climates of the ſouth, it would not follow, that other ſavages, who migrated in the ſame direction and on the ſame account, brought religion and philoſophy, language and writing, art and ſcience, into the ſouthern latitudes.

We are told by ABU''LGHA'ZI', that the primitive religion of human creatures, or the pure adoration of One Creator, prevailed in *Tartary* during the firſt generations from YA'FET, but was extinct before the birth of OGHU'Z, who reſtored it in his dominions; that, ſome ages after him, the *Mongals* and the *Turcs* relapſed into groſs idolatry; but that CHENGIZ was a Theiſt, and, in a converſation with the *Muhammedan* Doctors, admitted their arguments for the being and attributes of the Deity to be unanſwerable, while he conteſted the evidence of their Prophet's legation. From old *Grecian* authorities we learn, that the

the *Maſſagetæ* worſhipped the ſun; and the narrative of an embaſſy from JUSTIN to the *Khákàn*, or Emperor, who then reſided in a fine vale near the ſource of the *Irtiſh*, mentions the *Tartarian* ceremony of purifying the *Roman* Ambaſſadors by conducting them between two *fires*: the *Tartars* of that age are repreſented as adorers of the *four elements*, and believers in an inviſible ſpirit, to whom they ſacrificed bulls and rams. Modern travellers relate, that, in the feſtivals of ſome *Tartarian* tribes, they pour a few drops of a conſecrated liquor on the ſtatues of their Gods; after which an attendant ſprinkles a little of what remains three times toward the ſouth in honour of fire, toward the weſt and eaſt in honour of water and air, and as often toward the north in honour of the earth, which contained the reliques of their deceaſed anceſtors: now all this may be very true, without proving a national affinity between the *Tartars* and *Hindus*; for the *Arabs* adored the planets and the powers of nature, the *Arabs* had carved images, and made libations on a black ſtone, the *Arabs* turned in prayer to different quarters of the heavens; yet we know with certainty, that the *Arabs* are a diſtinct race from the *Tartars*; and we might as well infer, that they were the ſame people, becauſe they had each their *Nomades, or wanderers for paſture*, and becauſe the *Turcmans*, deſcribed by IBNU-ARABSH'AH and by him called *Tátár's*, are, like *moſt Arabian* tribes, paſtoral and warlike, hoſpitable and generous, wintering and ſummering on different plains, and rich in herds and flocks, horſes and camels; but this agreement in manners proceeds from the ſimilar nature of their ſeveral deſerts and their ſimilar choice of a free rambling life, without evincing a community of origin, which they could ſcarce have had without preſerving ſome remnant at leaſt of a common language.

Many *Lamas*, we are aſſured, or Prieſts of BUDDHA, have been found ſettled in *Siberia*; but it can hardly be doubted, that the *Lamas* had

had travelled thither from *Tibet*, whence it is more than probable, that the religion of the *Bauddha's* was imported into ſouthern, or *Chineſe*, *Tartary*; ſince we know, that rolls of *Tibetian* writing have been brought even from the borders of the *Caſpian*. The complexion of BUDDHA himſelf, which, according to the *Hindus*, was *between white and ruddy*, would perhaps have convinced M. BAILLY, had he known the *Indian* tradition, that the laſt great legiſlator and God of the Eaſt was a *Tartar*; but the *Chineſe* conſider him as a native of *India*, the *Bráhmans* inſiſt, that he was born in a foreſt near *Gayâ*, and many reaſons may lead us to ſuſpect, that his religion was carried from the weſt and the ſouth to thoſe eaſtern and northern countries, in which it prevails. On the whole we meet with few or no traces in *Scythia* of *Indian* rites and ſuperſtitions, or of that poetical mythology, with which the *Sanſcrit* poems are decorated; and we may allow the *Tartars* to have adored the Sun with more reaſon than any ſouthern people, without admitting them to have been the ſole original inventors of that univerſal folly: we may even doubt the originality of their veneration for the *four elements*, which forms a principal part of the ritual introduced by ZER'ATUSHT, a native of *Rai* in *Perſia*, born in the reign of GUSHTASP, whoſe ſon PASH'UTEN is believed by the *Párſi's* to have reſided long in *Tartary* at a place called *Cangidiz*, where a magnificent palace is ſaid to have been built by the father of CYRUS, and where the *Perſian* prince, who was a zealot in the new faith, would naturally have diſſeminated its tenets among the neighbouring *Tartars*.

Of any Philoſophy, except natural Ethicks, which the rudeſt ſociety requires and experience teaches, we find no more veſtiges in *Aſiatick Scythia* than in ancient *Arabia*; nor would the name of a Philoſopher and a *Scythian* have been ever connected, if ANACHARSIS had not viſited *Athens* and *Lydia* for that inſtruction, which his birthplace could

could not have afforded him: but ANACHARSIS was the ſon of a *Grecian* woman, who had taught him her language, and he ſoon learned to deſpiſe his own. He was unqueſtionably a man of a ſound underſtanding and fine parts; and, among the lively ſayings, which gained him the reputation of a wit even in *Greece*, it is related by DIOGENES LAERTIUS, that, when an *Athenian* reproached him with being a *Scythian*, he anſwered: 'my country is, indeed, a diſgrace to me, but thou art 'a diſgrace to thy country.' What his country was, in regard to manners and civil duties, we may learn from his fate in it; for when, on his return from *Athens*, he attempted to reform it by introducing the wiſe laws of his friend SOLON, he was killed on a hunting party with an arrow ſhot by his own brother, a *Scythian* Chieftain. Such was the philoſophy of M. BAILLY'S *Atlantes*, the firſt and moſt enlightened of nations! We are aſſured, however, by the learned author of the *Dabiſtàn*, that the *Tartars* under CHENGIZ and his deſcendants were lovers of truth; and would not even preſerve their lives by a violation of it: DE GUIGNES aſcribes the ſame veracity, the parent of all virtues, to the *Huns*; and STRABO, who might only mean to laſh the *Greeks* by praiſing Barbarians, as HORACE extolled the wandering *Scythians* merely to ſatirize his luxurious countrymen, informs us, that the nations of *Scythia* deſerved the praiſe due to wiſdom, heroick friendſhip, and juſtice; and this praiſe we may readily allow them on his authority, without ſuppoſing them to have been the preceptors of mankind.

As to the laws of ZAMOLXIS, concerning whom we know as little as of the *Scythian* DEUCALION, or of ABARIS the *Hyperborean*, and to whoſe ſtory even HERODOTUS gave no credit, I lament, for many reaſons, that, if ever they exiſted, they have not been preſerved: it is certain, that a ſyſtem of laws, called *Yáſác*, has been celebrated in *Tartary* ſince the time of CHENGIZ, who is ſaid to have republiſhed them in his empire, as his inſtitutions were afterwards adopted and

enforced by TAIMU'R; but they ſeem to have been a common, or traditionary, law, and were probably not reduced into writing, till CHENGIZ had conquered a nation, who were able to write.

III. Had the religious opinions and allegorical fables of the *Hindus* been actually borrowed from *Scythia*, travellers muſt have diſcovered in that country ſome ancient monuments of them, ſuch as pieces of groteſque ſculpture, images of the Gods and *Avatárs*, and inſcriptions on pillars or in caverns, analogous to thoſe, which remain in every part of the weſtern peninſula, or to thoſe, which many of us have ſeen in *Bahàr* and at *Banáras*; but (except a few detached idols) the only great monuments of *Tartarian* antiquity are a line of ramparts on the weſt and eaſt of the *Caſpian*, aſcribed indeed by ignorant *Muſelmans* to *Yájúj* and *Májúj*, or *Gog* and *Magog*, that is to the *Scythians*, but manifeſtly raiſed by a very different nation in order to ſtop their predatory inroads through the paſſes of *Caucaſus*. The *Chineſe* wall was built or finiſhed, on a ſimilar conſtruction and for a ſimilar purpoſe, by an Emperor, who died only two hundred and ten years before the beginning of our era; and the other mounds were very probably conſtructed by the old *Perſians*, though, like many works of unknown origin, they are given to SECANDER, not the *Macedonian*, but a more ancient Hero ſuppoſed by ſome to have been JEMSHI'D. It is related, that pyramids and tombs have been found in *Tátáriſtàn*, or weſtern *Scythia*, and ſome remnants of edifices in the lake *Saiſan*; that veſtiges of a deſerted city have been recently diſcovered by the *Ruſſians* near the *Caſpian* ſea, and the Mountain of Eagles; and that golden ornaments and utenſils, figures of elks and other quadrupeds in metal, weapons of various kinds, and even implements for mining, but made of copper inſtead of iron, have been dug up in the country of the *Tſhúdès*; whence M. BAILLY infers, with great reaſon, the high antiquity of that people: but the high antiquity of the *Tartars*, and their eſtabliſhment in that country

country near four thouſand years ago, no man diſputes; we are inquiring into their ancient religion and philoſophy, which neither ornaments of gold, nor tools of copper, will prove to have had an affinity with the religious rites and the ſciences of *India*. The golden utenſils might poſſibly have been fabricated by the *Tartars* themſelves; but it is poſſible too, that they were carried from *Rome* or from *China*, whence occaſional embaſſies were ſent to the Kings of *Eighùr*. Towards the end of the tenth century the *Chineſe* Emperor diſpatched an ambaſſador to a Prince, named ERSLA'N, which, in the *Turkiſh* of *Conſtantinople*, ſignifies a *lion*, who reſided near the Golden Mountain in the ſame ſtation, perhaps, where the *Romans* had been received in the middle of the ſixth century; the *Chineſe* on his return home reported the *Eighùrìs* to be a grave people, with fair complexions, diligent workmen, and ingenious artificers not only in gold, ſilver, and iron, but in jaſper and fine ſtones; and the *Romans* had before deſcribed their magnificent reception in a rich palace adorned with *Chineſe* manufactures: but theſe times were comparatively modern; and, even if we ſhould admit, that the *Eighùrìs*, who are ſaid to have been governed for a period of two thouſand years by an *I'decùt*, or ſovereign of their own race, were in ſome very early age a literary and poliſhed nation, it would prove nothing in favour of the *Huns*, *Turcs*, *Mongals*, and other ſavages to the north of *Pekin*, who ſeem in all ages, before MUHAMMED, to have been equally ferocious and illiterate.

Without actual inſpection of the manuſcripts, that have been found near the *Caſpian*, it would be impoſſible to give a correct opinion concerning them; but one of them, deſcribed as written on blue ſilky paper in letters of gold and ſilver not unlike *Hebrew*, was probably a *Tibetian* compoſition of the ſame kind with that, which lay near the ſource of the *Irtiſh*, and of which CASSIANO, I believe, made the firſt accurate verſion: another, if we may judge from the deſcription of it,

was

was probably modern *Turkiſh*; and none of them could have been of great antiquity.

IV. From ancient monuments, therefore, we have no proof, that the *Tartars* were themſelves well-inſtructed, much leſs that they inſtructed the world; nor have we any ſtronger reaſon to conclude from their general manners and character, that they had made an early proficiency in *arts* and *ſciences:* even of poetry, the moſt univerſal and moſt natural of the fine arts, we find no genuine ſpecimens aſcribed to them, except ſome horrible warſongs expreſſed in *Perſian* by ALI' of *Yezd*, and poſſibly invented by him. After the conqueſt of *Perſia* by the *Mongals*, their princes, indeed, encouraged learning, and even made aſtronomical obſervations at *Samarkand*; as the *Turcs* became poliſhed by mixing with the *Perſians* and *Arabs*, though *their very nature*, as one of their own writers confeſſes, *had before been like an incurable diſtemper, and their minds clouded with ignorance:* thus alſo the *Mancheu* monarchs of *China* have been patrons of the learned and ingenious, and the Emperor TIEN-LONG is, if he be now living, a fine *Chineſe* poet. In all theſe inſtances the *Tartars* have reſembled the *Romans*, who, before they had ſubdued *Greece*, were little better than tigers in war, and *Fauns* or *Sylvans* in ſcience and art.

Before I left *Europe*, I had inſiſted in converſation, that the *Tuzuc*, tranſlated by Major DAVY, was never written by TAIMU'R himſelf, at leaſt not as CÆSAR wrote his commentaries, for one very plain reaſon, that no *Tartarian* king of his age could write at all; and, in ſupport of my opinion, I had cited IBNU ARABSHA'H, who, though juſtly hoſtile to the ſavage, by whom his native city, *Damaſcus*, had been ruined, yet praiſes his talents and the real greatneſs of his mind, but adds: "He was wholly illiterate; he neither read nor wrote any "thing; and he knew nothing of *Arabick*; though of *Perſian*, *Turkiſh*,

"and

" and the *Mogul* dialect, he knew as much as was ſufficient for his " purpoſe, and no more: he uſed with pleaſure to hear hiſtories read " to him, and ſo frequently heard the ſame book, that he was able by " memory to correct an inaccurate reader." This paſſage had no effect on the tranſlator, whom *great and learned men in* India *had aſſured*, it ſeems, *that the work was anthentick*, by which he meaned *compoſed by the conqueror himſelf:* but the *great* in this country might have been *unlearned*, or the *learned* might not have been *great* enough to anſwer any leading queſtion in a manner that oppoſed the declared inclination of a *Britiſh* inquirer; and, in either caſe, ſince no witneſſes are named, ſo general a reference to them will hardly be thought concluſive evidence. On my part, I will name a *Muſelman*, whom we all know, and who has enough both of *greatneſs* and of *learning* to decide the queſtion both impartially and ſatisfactorily: the *Nawwàb* MOZAFFER JANG informed me of his own accord, that no man of ſenſe in *Hinduſtàn* believed the work to have been compoſed by TAIMU'R, but that his favourite, ſurnamed HINDU SHA'H, was known to have written that book and others aſcribed to his patron, after many confidential diſcourſes with the *Emìr*, and, perhaps, nearly in the Prince's words as well as in his perſon; a ſtory, which ALI' of *Yezd*, who attended the court of TAIMU'R, and has given us a flowery panegyrick inſtead of a hiſtory, renders highly probable, by confirming the latter part of the *Arabian* account, and by total ſilence as to the literary productions of his maſter. It is true, that a very ingenious but indigent native, whom DAVY ſupported, has given me a written memorial on the ſubject, in which he mentions TAIMU'R as the author of two works in *Turkiſh*; but the credit of his information is overſet by a ſtrange apocryphal ſtory of a king of *Yemen*, who invaded, he ſays, the *Emìr's* dominions, and in whoſe library the manuſcript was afterwards found, and tranſlated by order of ALI'SHI'R, firſt miniſter of TAIMU'R's grandſon; and Major DAVY himſelf, before he departed from *Bengal*, told me, that he was greatly perplexed by

by finding in a very accurate and old copy of the *Tuzuc*, which he deſigned to republiſh with conſiderable additions, a particular account, written *unqueſtionably* by TAIMU'R, of *his own death*. No evidence, therefore, has been adduced to ſhake my opinion, that, the *Moguls* and *Tartars*, before their conqueſt of *India* and *Perſia*, were wholly unlettered; although it may be poſſible, that, even without art or ſcience, they had, like the *Huns*, both warriours and lawgivers in their own country ſome centuries before the birth of CHRIST.

If learning was ever anciently cultivated in the regions to the north of *India*, the ſeats of it, I have reaſon to ſuſpect, muſt have been *Eighùr*, *Caſhghar*, *Khatà*, *Chín*, *Tancùt*, and other countries of *Chineſe Tartary*, which lie between the thirty-fifth and forty-fifth degrees of northern latitude; but I ſhall, in another diſcourſe, produce my reaſons for ſuppoſing, that thoſe very countries were peopled by a race allied to the *Hindus*, or enlightened at leaſt by their vicinity to *India* and *China*; yet in *Tancùt*, which by ſome is annexed to *Tibet*, and even among its old inhabitants, the *Seres*, we have no certain accounts of uncommon talents or great improvements: they were famed, indeed, for the faithful diſcharge of moral duties, for a pacifick diſpoſition, and for that longevity, which is often the reward of patient virtues and a calm temper; but they are ſaid to have been wholly indifferent, in former ages, to the elegant arts and even to commerce; though FADLU'LLAH had been informed, that, near the cloſe of the *thirteenth* century, many branches of natural philoſophy were cultivated in *Cam-cheu*, then the metropolis of *Serica*.

We may readily believe thoſe, who aſſure us, that ſome tribes of wandering *Tartars* had real ſkill in applying herbs and minerals to the purpoſes of medicine, and pretended to ſkill in magick; but the general character of their nation ſeems to have been this: they were profeſſed

profeſſed hunters or fiſhers, dwelling on that account in foreſts or near great rivers, under huts or rude tents, or in waggons drawn by their cattle from ſtation to ſtation; they were dextrous archers, excellent horſemen, bold combatants, appearing often to flee in diſorder for the ſake of renewing their attack with advantage; drinking the milk of mares, and eating the fleſh of colts; and thus in many reſpects reſembling the old *Arabs*, but in nothing more than in their love of intoxicating liquors, and in nothing leſs than in a taſte for poetry and the improvement of their language.

Thus has it been proved, and, in my humble opinion, beyond controverſy, that the far greater part of *Aſia* has been peopled and immemorially poſſeſſed by three conſiderable nations, whom, for want of better names, we may call *Hindus*, *Arabs*, and *Tartars*; each of them divided and ſubdivided into an infinite number of branches, and all of them ſo different in form and features, language, manners, and religion, that, if they ſprang originally from a common root, they muſt have been ſeparated for ages: whether more than three primitive ſtocks can be found, or, in other words, whether the *Chineſe*, *Japaneſe*, and *Perſians*, are entirely diſtinct from them, or formed by their intermixture, I ſhall hereafter, if your indulgence to me continue, diligently inquire. To what concluſions theſe inquiries will lead, I cannot yet clearly diſcern; but, if they lead to truth, we ſhall not regret our journey through this dark region of ancient hiſtory, in which, while we proceed ſtep by ſtep, and follow every glimmering of certain light, that preſents itſelf, we muſt beware of thoſe falſe rays and luminous vapours, which miſlead *Aſiatick* travellers by an appearance of water, but are found on a near approach to be deſerts of ſand.

THE SIXTH

DISCOURSE;

ON THE

PERSIANS,

DELIVERED 19 FEBRUARY, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

I TURN with delight from the vaſt mountains and barren deſerts of *Túràn*, over which we travelled laſt year with no perfect knowledge of our courſe, and requeſt you now to accompany me on a literary journey through one of the moſt celebrated and moſt beautiful countries in the world; a country, the hiſtory and languages of which, both ancient and modern, I have long attentively ſtudied, and on which I may without arrogance promiſe you more poſitive information, than I could poſſibly procure on a nation ſo diſunited and ſo unlettered as the *Tartars:* I mean that, which *Europeans* improperly call *Perſia*, the name of a ſingle province being applied to the whole Empire of *Iràn*, as it is correctly denominated by the preſent natives of it, and by all the learned *Muſelmans*, who reſide in theſe *Britiſh* territories. To give you an idea of its largeſt boundaries, agreeably to my former mode of deſcribing *India*, *Arabia*, and *Tartary*, between which it lies, let us

 begin

begin with the ſource of the great *Aſſyrian* ſtream, *Euphrates*, (as the *Greeks*, according to their cuſtom, were pleaſed to miſcall the *Forât*) and thence deſcend to its mouth in the Green Sea, or *Perſian* Gulf, including in our line ſome conſiderable diſtricts and towns on both ſides the river; then coaſting *Perſia*, properly ſo named, and other *Iranian* provinces, we come to the delta of the *Sindhu* or *Indus*; whence aſcending to the mountains of *Caſhghar*, we diſcover its fountains and thoſe of the *Jaihûn*, down which we are conducted to the *Caſpian*, which formerly perhaps it entered, though it loſe itſelf now in the ſands and lakes of *Khwárezm*: we next are led from the ſea of *Khozar*, by the banks of the *Cur*, or *Cyrus*, and along the *Caucaſean* ridges, to the ſhore of the *Euxine*, and thence, by the ſeveral *Grecian* ſeas, to the point, whence we took our departure, at no conſiderable diſtance from the *Mediterranean*. We cannot but include the lower *Aſia* within this outline, becauſe it was unqueſtionably a part of the *Perſian*, if not of the old *Aſſyrian*, Empire; for we know, that it was under the dominion of CAIKHOSRAU; and DIODORUS, we find, aſſerts, that the kingdom of *Troas* was dependent on *Aſſyria*, ſince PRIAM implored and obtained ſuccours from his Emperor TEUTAMES, whoſe name approaches nearer to TAHMU'RAS, than to that of any other *Aſſyrian* monarch. Thus may we look on *Irân* as the nobleſt *Iſland*, (for ſo the *Greeks* and the *Arabs* would have called it), or at leaſt as the nobleſt *peninſula*, on this habitable globe; and if M. BAILLY had fixed on it as the *Atlantis* of PLATO, he might have ſupported his opinion with far ſtronger arguments than any, that he has adduced in favour of New *Zembla*: if the account, indeed, of the *Atlantes* be not purely an *Egyptian*, or an *Utopian*, fable, I ſhould be more inclined to place them in *Irân* than in any region, with which I am acquainted.

It may ſeem ſtrange, that the ancient hiſtory of ſo diſtinguiſhed an Empire ſhould be yet ſo imperfectly known; but very ſatisfactory reaſons

reaſons may be aſſigned for our ignorance of it: the principal of them are the ſuperficial knowledge of the *Greeks* and *Jews*, and the loſs of *Perſian* archives or hiſtorical compoſitions. That the *Grecian* writers, before XENOPHON, had *no* acquaintance with *Perſia*, and that *all* their accounts of it are *wholly* fabulous, is a paradox too extravagant to be ſeriouſly maintained; but their connection with it in war or peace had, indeed, been generally confined to bordering kingdoms under feudatory princes; and the firſt *Perſian* Emperor, whoſe life and character they ſeem to have known with tolerable accuracy, was the great CYRUS, whom I call, without fear of contradiction, CAIKHOSRAU; for I ſhall then only doubt that the KHOSRAU of FIRDAUSI' was the CYRUS of the firſt *Greek* hiſtorian, and the Hero of the oldeſt political and moral romance, when I doubt that LOUIS *Quatorze* and LEWIS *the Fourteenth* were one and the ſame *French* King: it is utterly incredible, that two different princes of *Perſia* ſhould each have been born in a foreign and hoſtile territory; ſhould each have been doomed to death in his infancy by his maternal grandfather in conſequence of portentous dreams, real or invented; ſhould each have been ſaved by the remorſe of his deſtined murderer, and ſhould each, after a ſimilar education among herdſmen, as the ſon of a herdſman, have found means to reviſit his paternal kingdom, and having delivered it, after a long and triumphant war, from the tyrant, who had invaded it, ſhould have reſtored it to the ſummit of power and magnificence. Whether ſo romantick a ſtory, which is the ſubject of an Epick Poem, as majeſtick and entire as the *Iliad*, be hiſtorically true, we may feel perhaps an inclination to doubt; but it cannot with reaſon be denied, that the outline of it related to a ſingle Hero, whom the *Aſiaticks*, converſing with the father of *European* hiſtory, deſcribed according to their popular traditions by his true name, which the *Greek* alphabet could not expreſs: nor will a difference of names affect the queſtion; ſince the *Greeks* had little regard for truth, which they *ſacrificed* willingly

ingly *to the Graces* of their language, and the nicety of their ears; and, if they could render foreign words melodious, they were never ſolicitous to make them exact; hence they probably formed CAMBYSES from CA'MBAKHSH, or *Granting deſires*, a title rather than a name, and XERXES from SHI'RU'YI, a Prince and warriour in the *Sháhnámah*, or from SHI'RSHA'H, which might alſo have been a title; for the *Aſiatick* Princes have conſtantly aſſumed new titles or epithets at different periods of their lives, or on different occaſions; a cuſtom, which we have ſeen prevalent in our own times both in *Irán* and *Hinduſtán*, and which has been a ſource of great confuſion even in the ſcriptural accounts of *Babylonian* occurrences: both *Greeks* and *Jews* have in fact accommodated *Perſian* names to their own articulation; and both ſeem to have diſregarded the native literature of *Irán*, without which they could at moſt attain a general and imperfect knowledge of the country. As to the *Perſians* themſelves, who were contemporary with the *Jews* and *Greeks*, they muſt have been acquainted with the hiſtory of their own times, and with the traditional accounts of paſt ages; but for a reaſon, which will preſently appear, they choſe to conſider CAYU'MERS as the founder of the empire; and, in the numerous diſtractions, which followed the overthrow of DA'RA', eſpecially in the great revolution on the defeat of YEZDEGIRD, their civil hiſtories were loſt, as thoſe of *India* have unhappily been, from the ſolicitude of the prieſts, the only depoſitaries of their learning, to preſerve their books of law and religion at the expenſe of all others: hence it has happened, that nothing remains of genuine *Perſian* hiſtory before the dynaſty of SA'SA'N, except a few ruſtick traditions and fables, which furniſhed materials for the *Sháhnámah*, and which are ſtill ſuppoſed to exiſt in the *Pahlaví* language. The annals of the *Píſhdádì*, or *Aſſyrian*, race muſt be conſidered as dark and fabulous; and thoſe of the *Cayání* family, or the *Medes* and *Perſians*, as heroick and poetical; though the lunar eclipſes, ſaid to be mentioned by PTOLEMY, fix the time of

of GUSHTASP, the prince, by whom ZERA'TUSHT was protected: of the *Parthian* kings deſcended from ARSHAC or ARSACES, we know little more than the names; but the *Sáſání's* had ſo long an intercourſe with the Emperors of *Rome* and *Byzantium*, that the period of their dominion may be called an hiſtorical age. In attempting to aſcertain the beginning of the *Aſſyrian* empire, we are deluded, as in a thouſand inſtances, by names arbitrarily impoſed: it had been *ſettled* by chronologers, that the firſt monarchy eſtabliſhed in *Perſia* was the *Aſſyrian*; and NEWTON, finding ſome of opinion, that it roſe in the firſt century after the Flood, but unable by his own calculations to extend it farther back than *ſeven hundred and ninety* years before CHRIST, rejected part of the old ſyſtem and adopted the reſt of it; concluding, that the *Aſſyrian* Monarchs began to reign about two hundred years after SOLOMON, and that, in all preceding ages, the government of *Iràn* had been divided into ſeveral petty ſtates and principalities. Of this opinion I confeſs myſelf to have been; when, diſregarding the wild chronology of the *Muſelmàns* and *Gabrs*, I had allowed the utmoſt natural duration to the reigns of eleven *Píſhdádí* kings, without being able to add more than a hundred years to NEWTON's computation. It ſeemed, indeed, unaccountably ſtrange, that, although ABRAHAM had found a regular monarchy in *Egypt*, although the kingdom of *Yemen* had juſt pretenſions to very high antiquity, although the *Chineſe*, in the twelfth century before our era, had made approaches at leaſt to the preſent form of their extenſive dominion, and although we can hardly ſuppoſe the firſt *Indian* monarchs to have reigned leſs than three thouſand years ago, yet *Perſia*, the moſt delightful, the moſt compact, the moſt deſirable country of them all, ſhould have remained for ſo many ages unſettled and diſunited. A fortunate diſcovery, for which I was firſt indebted to *Mír* MUHAMMED HUSAIN, one of the moſt intelligent *Muſelmàns* in *India*, has at once diſſipated the cloud,

and

and caſt a gleam of light on the primeval hiſtory of *Iràn* and of the human race, of which I had long deſpaired, and which could hardly have dawned from any other quarter.

The rare and intereſting tract *on twelve different religions*, entitled the *Dabiſtàn*, and compoſed by a *Mohammedan* traveller, a native of *Caſhmìr*, named MOHSAN, but diſtinguiſhed by the aſſumed ſurname of FA'NI', or *Periſhable*, begins with a wonderfully curious chapter on the religion of HU'SHANG, which was long anterior to that of ZERA'-TUSHT, but had continued to be ſecretly profeſſed by many learned *Perſians* even to the author's time; and ſeveral of the moſt eminent of them, diſſenting in many points from the *Gabrs*, and perſecuted by the ruling powers of their country, had retired to *India*; where they compiled a number of books, now extremely ſcarce, which MOHSAN had peruſed, and with the writers of which, or with many of them, he had contracted an intimate friendſhip: from them he learned, that a powerful monarchy had been eſtabliſhed for ages in *Iràn* before the acceſſion of CAYU'MERS, that it was called the *Mahábádian* dynaſty, for a reaſon which will ſoon be mentioned, and that many princes, of whom ſeven or eight only are named in the *Dabiſtàn*, and among them MAHBUL, or MAHA' BELI, had raiſed their empire to the zenith of human glory. If we can rely on this evidence, which to me appears unexceptionable, the *Iranian* monarchy muſt have been the oldeſt in the world; but it will remain dubious, to which of the three ſtocks, *Hindu*, *Arabian*, or *Tartar*, the firſt Kings of *Iràn* belonged, or whether they ſprang from a *fourth* race diſtinct from any of the others; and theſe are queſtions, which we ſhall be able, I imagine, to anſwer preciſely, when we have carefully inquired into the *languages* and *letters*, *religion* and *philoſophy*, and incidentally into the *arts* and *ſciences*, of the ancient *Perſians*.

I. In

I. In the new and important remarks, which I am going to offer, on the ancient *languages* and *characters* of *Irân*, I am ſenſible, that you muſt give me credit for many aſſertions, which on this occaſion it is impoſſible to prove; for I ſhould ill deſerve your indulgent attention, if I were to abuſe it by repeating a dry liſt of detached words, and preſenting you with a vocabulary inſtead of a diſſertation; but, ſince I have no ſyſtem to maintain, and have not ſuffered imagination to delude my judgement; ſince I have habituated myſelf to form opinions of men and things from *evidence*, which is the only ſolid baſis of *civil*, as *experiment* is of *natural*, knowledge; and ſince I have maturely conſidered the queſtions which I mean to diſcuſs; you will not, I am perſuaded, ſuſpect my teſtimony, or think that I go too far, when I aſſure you, that I will aſſert nothing poſitively, which I am not able ſatisfactorily to demonſtrate. When MUHAMMED was born, and ANU'SHI'RAVA'N, whom he calls *the Juſt King*, ſat on the throne of *Perſia*, two languages appear to have been generally prevalent in the great empire of *Irân*; that of the *Court*, thence named *Derì*, which was only a refined and elegant dialect of the *Pârsì*, ſo called from the province, of which *Shîráz* is now the capital, and that of the learned, in which moſt books were compoſed, and which had the name of *Pahlavì*, either from the *heroes*, who ſpoke it in former times, or from *Pahlu*, a tract of land, which included, we are told, ſome conſiderable cities of *Irák*: the ruder dialects of both were, and, I believe, ſtill are, ſpoken by the ruſticks in ſeveral provinces; and in many of them, as *Herát*, *Zábul*, *Sîſtân* and others, diſtinct idioms were vernacular, as it happens in every kingdom of great extent. Beſides the *Pârsì* and *Pahlavì*, a very ancient and abſtruſe tongue was known to the prieſts and philoſophers, called *the language of the Zend*, becauſe a book on religious and moral duties, which they held ſacred, and which bore that name, had been written in it; while the *Pázend*, or comment on that work, was compoſed in *Pahlavì*, as a more popular idiom; but a learned follower

of

of ZERA'TUSHT, named BAHMAN, who lately died at *Calcutta*, where he had lived with me as a *Perſian* reader about three years, aſſured me, that the *letters* of his prophet's book were properly called *Zend*, and the *language*, *Aveſtà*, as the words of the *Véda's* are *Sanſcrit*, and the characters, *Nágarì*; or as the old *Saga's* and poems of *Iſeland* were expreſſed in *Runick* letters: let us however, in compliance with cuſtom, give the name of *Zend* to the ſacred language of *Perſia*, until we can find, as we ſhall very ſoon, a fitter appellation for it. The *Zend* and the old *Pahlavì* are almoſt extinct in *Iràn*; for among ſix or ſeven thouſand *Gabrs*, who reſide chiefly at *Yezd*, and in *Cirmàn*, there are very few, who can read *Pahlavì*, and ſcarce any, who even boaſt of knowing the *Zend*; while the *Pársì*, which remains almoſt pure in the *Sháhnámah*, has now become by the intermixture of numberleſs *Arabick* words, and many imperceptible changes, a new language exquiſitely poliſhed by a ſeries of fine writers in proſe and verſe, and analogous to the different idioms gradually formed in *Europe* after the ſubverſion of the *Roman* empire: but with modern *Perſian* we have no concern in our preſent inquiry, which I confine to the ages, that preceded the *Mohammedan* conqueſt. Having twice read the works of FIRDAUSI' with great attention, ſince I applied myſelf to the ſtudy of old *Indian* literature, I can aſſure you with confidence, that hundreds of *Pársì* nouns are pure *Sanſcrit*, with no other change than ſuch as may be obſerved in the numerous *bháſhà's*, or vernacular dialects, of *India*; that very many *Perſian* imperatives are the roots of *Sanſcrit* verbs; and that even the moods and tenſes of the *Perſian* verb ſubſtantive, which is the model of all the reſt, are deducible from the *Sanſcrit* by an eaſy and clear analogy: we may hence conclude, that the *Pársì* was derived, like the various *Indian* dialects, from the language of the *Bráhmans*; and I muſt add, that in the pure *Perſian* I find no trace of any *Arabian* tongue, except what proceeded from the known intercourſe between the *Perſians* and *Arabs*, eſpecially in the time of BAHRA'M, who was educated in

in *Arabia*, and whoſe *Arabick* verſes are ſtill extant, together with his heroick line in *Deri*, which many ſuppoſe to be the firſt attempt at *Perſian* verſification in *Arabian* metre: but, without having recourſe to other arguments, *the compoſition of words*, in which the genius of the *Perſian* delights, and which that of the *Arabick* abhors, is a deciſive proof, that the *Pársì* ſprang from an *Indian*, and not from an *Arabian*, ſtock. Conſidering languages as mere inſtruments of knowledge, and having ſtrong reaſons to doubt the exiſtence of genuine books in *Zend* or *Pahlavì* (eſpecially ſince the well-informed author of the *Dabiſtàn* affirms the work of ZERA'TUSHT to have been loſt, and its place ſupplied by a recent compilation) I had no inducement, though I had an opportunity, to learn what remains of thoſe ancient languages; but I often converſed on them with my friend BAHMAN, and both of us were convinced after full conſideration, that the *Zend* bore a ſtrong reſemblance to *Sanſcrit*, and the *Pahlavì* to *Arabick*. He had at my requeſt tranſlated into *Pahlavì* the fine inſcription, exhibited in the *Guliſtàn*, on the diadem of CYRUS; and I had the patience to read the liſt of words from the *Pázend* in the appendix to the *Farhangi Jehángírì*: this examination gave me perfect conviction, that the *Pahlavì* was a dialect of the *Chaldaick*; and of this curious fact I will exhibit a ſhort proof. By the nature of the *Chaldean* tongue moſt words ended in the firſt long vowel like *ſhemià*, heaven; and that very word, unaltered in a ſingle letter, we find in the *Pázend*, together with *lailià*, night, *meyà*, water, *nírà*, fire, *matrà*, rain, and a multitude of others, all *Arabick* or *Hebrew* with a *Chaldean* termination: ſo *zamar*, by a beautiful metaphor from *pruning trees*, means in *Hebrew* to *compoſe verſes*, and thence, by an eaſy tranſition, to *ſing* them; and in *Pahlavì* we ſee the verb *zamrúniten*, to *ſing*, with its forms *zamrúnemi*, I *ſing*, and *zamrúníd*, he *ſang*; the verbal terminations of the *Perſian* being added to the *Chaldaick* root. Now all thoſe words are integral parts of the language, not adventitious to it like the *Arabick* nouns and verbals engrafted on modern *Perſian*; and

this diſtinction convinces me, that the dialect of the *Gabrs*, which they pretend to be that of ZERA'TUSHT, and of which BAHMAN gave me a variety of written ſpecimens, is a late invention of their prieſts, or ſubſequent at leaſt to the *Muſelman* invaſion; for, although it may be poſſible, that a few of their ſacred books were preſerved, as he uſed to aſſert, in ſheets of lead or copper at the bottom of wells near *Yezd*, yet as the conquerors had not only a ſpiritual, but a political, intereſt in perſecuting a warlike, robuſt, and indignant race of irreconcilable conquered ſubjects, a long time muſt have elapſed, before the hidden ſcriptures could have been ſafely brought to light, and few, who could perfectly underſtand them, muſt then have remained; but, as they continued to profeſs among themſelves the religion of their forefathers, it became expedient for the *Múbeds* to ſupply the loſt or mutilated works of their legiſlator by new compoſitions, partly from their imperfect recollection, and partly from ſuch moral and religious knowledge, as they gleaned, moſt probably, among the *Chriſtians*, with whom they had an intercourſe. One rule we may fairly eſtabliſh in deciding the queſtion, whether the books of the modern *Gabrs* were anterior to the invaſion of the *Arabs:* when an *Arabick* noun occurs in them changed only by the ſpirit of the *Chaldean* idiom, as *wertà*, for *werd*, a roſe, *dabà*, for *dhahab*, gold, or *demàn*, for *zemàn*, time, we may allow it to have been ancient *Pahlavì*; but, when we meet with verbal nouns or infinitives, evidently formed by the rules of *Arabian* grammar, we may be ſure, that the phraſes, in which they occur, are comparatively modern; and not a ſingle paſſage, which BAHMAN produced from the books of his religion, would abide this teſt.

We come now to the language of the *Zend*; and here I muſt impart a diſcovery, which I lately made, and from which we may draw the moſt intereſting conſequences. M. ANQUETIL, who had the merit of undertaking a voyage to *India*, in his earlieſt youth, with no other view than

than to recover the writings of ZERA'TUSHT, and who would have acquired a brilliant reputation in *France*, if he had not ſullied it by his immoderate vanity and virulence of temper, which alienated the good will even of his own countrymen, has exhibited in his work, entitled *Zendáveſtà*, two vocabularies in *Zend* and *Pahlavì*, which he had found in an approved collection of *Rawáyát*, or *Traditional Pieces*, in modern *Perſian:* of his *Pahlavì* no more needs be ſaid, than that it ſtrongly confirms my opinion concerning the *Chaldaick* origin of that language; but, when I peruſed the *Zend* gloſſary, I was inexpreſſibly ſurprized to find, that ſix or ſeven words in ten were pure *Sanſcrit*, and even ſome of their inflexions formed by the rules of the *Vyácaran*; as *yuſhmácam*, the genitive plural of *yuſhmad*. Now M. ANQUETIL moſt certainly, and the *Perſian* compiler moſt probably, had no knowledge of *Sanſcrit*; and could not, therefore, have invented a liſt of *Sanſcrit* words: it is, therefore, an authentick liſt of *Zend* words, which had been preſerved in books or by tradition; and it follows, that the language of the *Zend* was at leaſt a dialect of the *Sanſcrit*, approaching perhaps as nearly to it as the *Prácrit*, or other popular idioms, which we know to have been ſpoken in *India* two thouſand years ago. From all theſe facts it is a neceſſary conſequence, that the oldeſt diſcoverable languages of *Perſia* were *Chaldaick* and *Sanſcrit*; and that, when they had ceaſed to be vernacular, the *Pahlavì* and *Zend* were deduced from them reſpectively, and the *Pársì* either from the *Zend*, or immediately from the dialect of the *Bráhmans*; but all had perhaps a mixture of *Tartarian*; for the beſt lexicographers aſſert, that numberleſs words in ancient *Perſian* are taken from the language of the *Cimmerians*, or the *Tartars* of *Kipchák*; ſo that the *three* families, whoſe lineage we have examined in former diſcourſes, had left viſible traces of themſelves in *Iràn*, long before the *Tartars* and *Arabs* had ruſhed from their deſerts, and returned to that very country, from which in all probability they originally proceeded, and which the *Hindus* had abandoned in an earlier age, with poſitive

poſitive commands from their legiſlators to reviſit it no more. I cloſe this head with obſerving, that no ſuppoſition of a mere political or commercial intercourſe between the different nations will account for the *Sanſcrit* and *Chaldaick* words, which we find in the old *Perſian* tongues; becauſe they are, in the firſt place, too numerous to have been introduced by ſuch means, and, ſecondly, are not the names of exotick animals, commodities, or arts, but thoſe of material elements, parts of the body, natural objects and relations, affections of the mind, and other ideas common to the whole race of man.

If a nation of *Hindus*, it may be urged, ever poſſeſſed and governed the country of *Iràn*, we ſhould find on the very ancient ruins of the temple or palace, now called *the throne of* JEMSHI'D, ſome inſcriptions in *Dévanágarì*, or at leaſt in the characters on the ſtones at *Elephanta*, where the ſculpture is unqueſtionably *Indian*, or in thoſe on the *Staff of* FI'RU'Z SHA'H, which exiſt in the heart of *India*; and ſuch inſcriptions we probably ſhould have found, if that edifice had not been erected after the migration of the *Bráhmans* from *Iràn*, and the violent ſchiſm in the *Perſian* religion, of which we ſhall preſently ſpeak; for, although the popular name of the building at *Iſtakhr*, or *Perſepolis*, be no certain proof that it was raiſed in the time of JEMSHI'D, yet ſuch a fact might eaſily have been preſerved by tradition, and we ſhall ſoon have abundant evidence, that the temple was poſteriour to the reign of the *Hindu* monarchs: the *cypreſſes* indeed, which are repreſented with the figures in proceſſion, might induce a reader of the *Sháhnámah* to believe, that the ſculptures related to the new faith introduced by ZERA'TUSHT; but, as a cypreſs is a beautiful ornament, and as many of the figures appear inconſiſtent with the reformed adoration of fire, we muſt have recourſe to ſtronger proofs, that the *Takhti* JEMSHI'D was erected after CAYU'MERS. The building has lately been viſited, and the characters on it examined, by Mr. FRANCKLIN; from whom we learn, that NIEBUHR has

has delineated them with great accuracy: but without ſuch teſtimony I ſhould have ſuſpected the correctneſs of the delineation; becauſe the *Daniſh* traveller has exhibited two inſcriptions in modern *Perſian*, and one of them from the ſame place, which cannot have been exactly tranſcribed: they are very elegant verſes of NIZA'MI' and SADI' *on the inſtability of human greatneſs*, but ſo ill engraved or ſo ill copied, that, if I had not had them nearly by heart, I ſhould not have been able to read them; and M. ROUSSEAU of *Isfahàn*, who tranſlated them with ſhameful inaccuracy, muſt have been deceived by the badneſs of the copy; or he never would have created a new king WAKAM, by forming one word of JEM and the particle prefixed to it. Aſſuming, however, that we may reaſon as concluſively on the characters publiſhed by NIEBUHR, as we might on the monuments themſelves, were they now before us, we may begin with obſerving, as CHARDIN had obſerved on the very ſpot, that they bear no reſemblance whatever to the letters uſed by the *Gabrs* in their copies of the *Vendidàd:* this I once urged, in an amicable debate with BAHMAN, as a proof, that the *Zend* letters were a modern invention; but he ſeemed to hear me without ſurprize, and inſiſted, that the letters, to which I alluded, and which he had often ſeen, were monumental characters never uſed in books, and intended either to conceal ſome religious myſteries from the vulgar, or to diſplay the art of the ſculptor, like the embelliſhed *Cúfick* and *Nágarì* on ſeveral *Arabian* and *Indian* monuments. He wondered, that any man could ſeriouſly doubt the antiquity of the *Pahlavì* letters; and in truth the inſcription behind the horſe of *Ruſtam*, which NIEBUHR has alſo given us, is apparently *Pahlavì*, and might with ſome pains be decyphered: that character was extremely rude, and ſeems to have been written, like the *Roman* and the *Arabick*, in a variety of hands; for I remember to have examined a rare collection of old *Perſian* coins in the Muſeum of the great Anatomiſt, WILLIAM HUNTER, and, though I believed the legends to be *Pahlavì*, and had no doubt, that they were coins of *Parthian*

thian kings, yet I could not read the inſcriptions without waſting more time, than I had then at command, in comparing the letters and aſcertaining the proportions, in which they ſeverally occurred. The groſs *Pahlavì* was improved by ZERA'TUSHT or his diſciples into an elegant and perſpicuous character, in which the *Zendáveſtà* was copied; and both were written from the right hand to the left like other *Chaldaick* alphabets; for they are manifeſtly both of *Chaldean* origin; but the *Zend* has the ſingular advantage of expreſſing all the long and ſhort vowels, by diſtinct marks, in the body of each word, and all the words are diſtinguiſhed by full points between them; ſo that, if modern *Perſian* were unmixed with *Arabick*, it might be written in *Zend* with the greateſt convenience, as any one may perceive by copying in that character a few pages of the *Sháhnámah*. As to the unknown inſcriptions in the palace of JEMSHI'D, it may reaſonably be doubted, whether they contain a ſyſtem of letters, which any nation ever adopted: in *five* of them the letters, which are ſeparated by points, may be reduced to forty, at leaſt I can diſtinguiſh no more eſſentially different; and they all ſeem to be regular variations and compoſitions of a ſtraight line and an angular figure like the head of a javelin, or a leaf (to uſe the language of botaniſts) *hearted and lanced*. Many of the *Runick* letters appear to have been formed of ſimilar elements; and it has been obſerved, that the writing at *Perſepolis* bears a ſtrong reſemblance to that, which the *Iriſh* call *Ogham:* the word *Agam* in *Sanſcrit* means *myſterious knowledge*; but I dare not affirm, that the two words had a common origin, and only mean to ſuggeſt, that, if the characters in queſtion be really alphabetical, they were probably ſecret and ſacerdotal, or a mere cypher, perhaps, of which the prieſts only had the key. They might, I imagine, be decyphered, if the language were certainly known; but, in all the other inſcriptions of the ſame ſort, the characters are too complex, and the variations of them too numerous, to admit an opinion, that they could be ſymbols of articulate ſounds; for

for even the *Nágarì* ſyſtem, which has more diſtinct letters than any known alphabet, conſiſts only of forty-nine ſimple characters, two of which are mere ſubſtitutions, and four of little uſe in *Sanſcrit* or in any other language; while the more complicated figures, exhibited by NIEBUHR, muſt be as numerous at leaſt as the *Chineſe* keys, which are the ſigns of *ideas* only, and ſome of which reſemble the old *Perſian* letters at *Iſtakhr*: the *Daniſh* traveller was convinced from his own obſervation, that they were written from the left hand, like all the characters uſed by *Hindu* nations; but I muſt leave this dark ſubject, which I cannot illuminate, with a remark formerly made by myſelf, that the ſquare *Chaldaick* letters, a few of which are found on the *Perſian* ruins, appear to have been originally the ſame with the *Dévanágarì*, before the latter were encloſed, as we now ſee them, in angular frames.

II. The primeval religion of *Irán*, if we rely on the authorities adduced by MOHSANI FA'NI', was that, which NEWTON calls the oldeſt (and it may juſtly be called the nobleſt) of all religions; "a firm be-" lief, that One Supreme God made the world by his power, and con-" tinually governed it by his providence; a pious fear, love, and ador-" ation of Him; a due reverence for parents and aged perſons; a " fraternal affection for the whole human ſpecies, and a compaſſionate " tenderneſs even for the brute creation." A ſyſtem of devotion ſo pure and ſublime could hardly among mortals be of long duration; and we learn from the *Dabiſtán*, that the popular worſhip of the *Iránians* under HU'SHANG was purely *Sabian*; a word, of which I cannot offer any certain etymology, but which has been deduced by grammarians from *Sabà*, a *hoſt*, and, particularly the *hoſt of heaven*, or the *celeſtial bodies*, in the adoration of which the *Sabian* ritual is believed to have conſiſted: there is a deſcription, in the learned work juſt mentioned, of the ſeveral *Perſian* temples dedicated to the Sun and Planets, of the images adored in them, and of the magnificent proceſſions to them on

preſcribed.

preſcribed feſtivals, one of which is probably repreſented by ſculpture in the ruined city of JEMSHI'D; but the planetary worſhip in *Perſia* ſeems only a part of a far more complicated religion, which we now find in theſe *Indian* provinces; for MOHSAN aſſures us, that, in the opinion of the beſt informed *Perſians*, who profeſſed the faith of HU'SHANG, diſtinguiſhed from that of ZERA'TUSHT, the firſt monarch of *Irân* and of the whole earth was MAHA'BA'D, a word apparently *Sanſcrit*, who divided the people into four orders, the *religious*, the *military*, the *commercial*, and the *ſervile*, to which he aſſigned names unqueſtionably the ſame in their origin with thoſe now applied to the four primary claſſes of the *Hindus*. They added, that He received from the creator, and promulgated among men, *a ſacred book in a heavenly language*, to which the *Muſelman* author gives the *Arabick* title of *deſâtír*, or regulations, but the original name of which he has not mentioned; and that *fourteen* MAHA'BA'DS had appeared or would appear in human ſhapes for the government of this world: now when we know, that the *Hindus* believe in *fourteen* MENU'S, or celeſtial perſonages with ſimilar functions, the *firſt* of whom left a book of *regulations*, or *divine ordinances*, which they hold equal to the *Véda*, and the language of which they believe to be that of the Gods, we can hardly doubt, that the firſt corruption of the pureſt and oldeſt religion was the ſyſtem of *Indian* Theology, invented by the *Bráhmans* and prevalent in theſe territories, where the book of MAHA'BA'D or MENU is at this hour the ſtandard of all religious and moral duties. The acceſſion of CAYU'MERS to the throne of *Perſia*, in the eighth or ninth century before CHRIST, ſeems to have been accompanied by a conſiderable revolution both in government and religion: he was moſt probably of a different race from the *Mahábádians*, who preceded him, and began perhaps the new ſyſtem of national faith, which HU'SHANG, whoſe name it bears, completed; but the reformation was partial; for, while they rejected the complex polytheiſm of their predeceſſors, they retained the laws of MAHA'BA'D, with a ſuperſtitious

ſtitious veneration for the ſun, the planets, and fire; thus reſembling the *Hindu* ſects, called *Saura's* and *Ságnica's*, the ſecond of which is very numerous at *Banares*, where many *agnihótra's* are continually blazing, and where the *Ságnica's*, when they enter on their ſacerdotal office, kindle, with two pieces of the hard wood *Semí*, a fire which they keep lighted through their lives for their nuptial ceremony, the performance of ſolemn ſacrifices, the obſequies of departed anceſtors, and their own funeral pile. This remarkable rite was continued by ZERA'TUSHT; who reformed the old religion by the addition of genii, or angels, preſiding over months and days, of new ceremonies in the veneration ſhown to fire, of a new work, which he pretended to have received from heaven, and, above all, by eſtabliſhing the actual adoration of One Supreme Being: he was born, according to MOHSAN, in the diſtrict of *Rai*; and it was He, not, as AMMIANUS aſſerts, his protector GUSHTASB, who travelled into *India*, that he might receive information from the *Bráhmans* in theology and ethicks. It is barely poſſible, that PYTHAGORAS knew him in the capital of *Irak*; but the *Grecian* ſage muſt then have been far advanced in years, and we have no certain evidence of an intercourſe between the two philoſophers. The reformed religion of *Perſia* continued in force, till that country was ſubdued by the *Muſelmans*; and, without ſtudying the *Zend*, we have ample information concerning it in the modern *Perſian* writings of ſeveral, who profeſſed it. BAHMAN always named ZERA'TUSHT, with reverence; but he was in truth a pure Theiſt, and ſtrongly diſclaimed any adoration of the *fire* or other elements: he denied, that the doctrine of two coeval principles, ſupremely good and ſupremely bad, formed any part of his faith; and he often repeated with emphaſis the verſes of FIRDAUSI on the proſtration of CYRUS and his paternal grandfather before the blazing altar: "Think not, that they were adorers of fire; for "that element was only an exalted object, on the luſtre of which they "fixed their eyes; they humbled themſelves a whole week before

" GOD; and, if thy underſtanding be ever ſo little exerted, thou muſt " acknowledge thy dependence on the being ſupremely pure." In a ſtory of SADI, near the cloſe of his beautiful *Búſtàn*, concerning the idol of SO'MANA'T'H, or MAHA'DE'VA, he confounds the religion of the *Hindus* with that of the *Gabrs*, calling the *Bráhmans* not only *Moghs*, (which might be juſtified by a paſſage in the *Meſnavì*) but even readers of the *Zend* and *Pázend:* now, whether this confuſion proceeded from real or pretended ignorance, I cannot decide, but am as firmly convinced, that the doctrines of the *Zend* were diſtinct from thoſe of the *Véda*, as I am that the religion of the *Bráhmans*, with whom we converſe every day, prevailed in *Perſia* before the acceſſion of CAYU'MERS, whom the *Pársì's*, from reſpect to his memory, conſider as the firſt of men, although they believe in *an univerſal deluge* before his reign.

With the religion of the old *Perſians* their *philoſophy* (or as much as we know of it) was intimately connected; for they were aſſiduous obſervers of the luminaries, which they adored, and eſtabliſhed, according to MOHSAN, who confirms in ſome degree the fragments of BEROSUS, a number of artificial cycles with diſtinct names, which ſeem to indicate a knowledge of the period, in which the equinoxes appear to revolve: they are ſaid alſo to have known the moſt wonderful powers of nature, and thence to have acquired the fame of magicians and enchanters; but I will only detain you with a few remarks on that metaphyſical theology, which has been profeſſed immemorially by a numerous ſect of *Perſians* and *Hindus*, was carried in part into *Greece*, and prevails even now among the learned *Muſelmans*, who ſometimes avow it without reſerve. The modern philoſophers of this perſuaſion are called *Súfi's*, either from the *Greek* word for *a ſage*, or from the *woollen* mantle, which they uſed to wear in ſome provinces of *Perſia:* their fundamental tenets are, that nothing exiſts abſolutely but GOD: that

that the human ſoul is an emanation from his eſſence, and, though divided for a time from its heavenly ſource, will be finally re-united with it; that the higheſt poſſible happineſs will ariſe from its reunion, and that the chief good of mankind, in this tranſitory world, conſiſts in as perfect an *union* with the Eternal Spirit as the incumbrances of a mortal frame will allow; that, for this purpoſe, they ſhould break all *connexion* (or *taâlluk*, as they call it), with extrinſick objects, and paſs through life without *attachments*, as a ſwimmer in the ocean ſtrikes freely without the impediment of clothes; that they ſhould be ſtraight and free as the cypreſs, whoſe fruit is hardly perceptible, and not ſink under a load, like fruit-trees *attached* to a trellis; that, if mere earthly charms have power to influence the ſoul, the *idea* of celeſtial beauty muſt overwhelm it in extatick delight; that, for want of apt words to expreſs the divine perfections and the ardour of devotion, we muſt borrow ſuch expreſſions as approach the neareſt to our ideas, and ſpeak of *Beauty* and *Love* in a tranſcendent and myſtical ſenſe; that, like a *reed* torn from its native bank, like *wax* ſeparated from its delicious honey, the ſoul of man bewails its diſunion with *melancholy muſick*, and ſheds burning tears, like the lighted taper, waiting paſſionately for the moment of its extinction, as a diſengagement from earthly trammels, and the means of returning to its Only Beloved. Such in part (for I omit the minuter and more ſubtil metaphyſicks of the *Sûfi's*, which are mentioned in the *Dabiſtàn*) is the wild and enthuſiaſtick religion of the modern *Perſian* poets, eſpecially of the ſweet HA'FIZ and the great *Maulavì*: ſuch is the ſyſtem of the *Védánti* philoſophers and beſt lyrick poets of *India*; and, as it was a ſyſtem of the higheſt antiquity in both nations, it may be added to the many other proofs of an immemorial affinity between them.

III. On the ancient *monuments* of *Perſian* ſculpture and architecture we have already made ſuch obſervations, as were ſufficient for our purpoſe; nor will you be ſurprized at the diverſity between the figures at *Elephanta*,

Elephanta, which are manifeſtly *Hindu*, and thoſe at *Perſepolis*, which are merely *Sabian*, if you concur with me in believing, that the *Takhti Jemſhíd* was erected after the time of CAYU'MERS, when the *Bráhmans* had migrated from *Iràn*, and when their intricate mythology had been ſuperſeded by the ſimpler adoration of the planets and of fire.

IV. As to the *ſciences* or *arts* of the old *Perſians*, I have little to ſay; and no complete evidence of them ſeems to exiſt. MOHSAN ſpeaks more than once of ancient verſes in the *Pahlavì* language; and BAHMAN aſſured me, that ſome ſcanty remains of them had been preſerved: their muſick and painting, which NIZA'MI celebrated, have irrecoverably periſhed; and in regard to MA'NI', the painter and impoſtor, whoſe book of drawings called *Artang*, which he pretended to be divine, is ſuppoſed to have been deſtroyed by the *Chineſe*, in whoſe dominions he had ſought refuge, the whole tale is too modern to throw any light on the queſtions before us concerning the origin of nations and the inhabitants of the primitive world.

Thus has it been proved by clear evidence and plain reaſoning, that a powerful monarchy was eſtabliſhed in *Iràn* long before the *Aſſyrian*, or *Píſhdádì*, government; that it was in truth a *Hindu* monarchy, though, if any chuſe to call it *Cuſian*, *Caſdean*, or *Scythian*, we ſhall not enter into a debate on mere names; that it ſubſiſted many centuries, and that its hiſtory has been ingrafted on that of the *Hindus*, who founded the monarchies of *Ayódhyà* and *Indrapreſtha*; that the language of the firſt *Perſian* empire was the mother of the *Sanſcrit*, and conſequently of the *Zend*, and *Parſi*, as well as of *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Gothick*; that the language of the *Aſſyrians* was the parent of *Chaldaick* and *Pahlavì*, and that the primary *Tartarian* language alſo had been current in the ſame empire; although, as the *Tartars* had no books or even letters, we cannot with certainty trace their unpoliſhed and variable idioms.

idioms. We diſcover, therefore in *Perſia*, at the earlieſt dawn of hiſtory, the *three* diſtinct races of men, whom we deſcribed on former occaſions as poſſeſſors of *India*, *Arabia*, *Tartary*; and, whether they were collected in *Irân* from diſtant regions, or diverged from it, as from a common centre, we ſhall eaſily determine by the following conſiderations. Let us obſerve in the firſt place the central poſition of *Irân*, which is bounded by *Arabia*, by *Tartary*, and by *India*; whilſt *Arabia* lies contiguous to *Irân* only, but is remote from *Tartary*, and divided even from the ſkirts of *India* by a conſiderable gulf; no country, therefore, but *Perſia* ſeems likely to have ſent forth its colonies to all the kingdoms of *Aſia*: the *Bráhmans* could never have migrated from *India* to *Irân*, becauſe they are expreſsly forbidden by their oldeſt exiſting laws to leave the region, which they inhabit at this day; the *Arabs* have not even a tradition of an emigration into *Perſia* before MOHAMMED, nor had they indeed any inducement to quit their beautiful and extenſive domains; and, as to the *Tartars*, we have no trace in hiſtory of their departure from their plains and foreſts, till the invaſion of the *Medes*, who, according to etymologiſts, were the ſons of MADAI, and even they were conducted by princes of an *Aſſyrian* family. The *three* races, therefore, whom we have already mentioned, (and more than three we have not yet found) migrated from *Irân*, as from their common country; and thus the *Saxon* chronicle, I preſume from good authority, brings the firſt inhabitants of *Britain* from *Armenia*; while a late very learned writer concludes, after all his laborious reſearches, that the *Goths* or *Scythians* came from *Perſia*; and another contends with great force, that both the *Iriſh* and old *Britons* proceeded ſeverally from the borders of the *Caſpian*; a coincidence of concluſions from different media by perſons wholly unconnected, which could ſcarce have happened, if they were not grounded on ſolid principles. We may therefore hold this propoſition firmly eſtabliſhed, that *Irân*, or *Perſia* in its largeſt ſenſe, was the true centre of population, of knowledge, of languages,

languages, and of arts; which, inſtead of travelling weſtward only, as it has been fancifully ſuppoſed, or eaſtward, as might with equal reaſon have been aſſerted, were expanded in all directions to all the regions of the world, in which the *Hindu* race had ſettled under various denominations: but, whether *Aſia* has not produced other races of men, diſtinct from the *Hindus*, the *Arabs*, or the *Tartars*, or whether any apparent diverſity may not have ſprung from an intermixture of thoſe three in different proportions, muſt be the ſubject of a future inquiry. There is another queſtion of more immediate importance, which you, gentlemen, only can decide: namely, "by what means we can preſerve "our Society from dying gradually away, as it has advanced gradually "to its preſent (ſhall I ſay flouriſhing or languiſhing?) ſtate." It has ſubſiſted five years without any expenſe to the members of it, until the firſt volume of our Tranſactions was publiſhed; and the price of that large volume, if we compare the different values of money in *Bengal* and in *England*, is not more than equal to the *annual* contribution towards the charges of the Royal Society by each of its fellows, who may not have choſen to compound for it on his admiſſion: this I mention, not from an idea that any of us could object to the purchaſe of one copy at leaſt, but from a wiſh to inculcate the neceſſity of our common exertions in promoting the ſale of the work both here and in *London*. In vain ſhall we meet, as a literary body, if our meetings ſhall ceaſe to be ſupplied with original diſſertations and memorials; and in vain ſhall we collect the moſt intereſting papers, if we cannot publiſh them occaſionally without expoſing the Superintendents of the Company's preſs, who undertake to print them at their own hazard, to the danger of a conſiderable loſs: by united efforts the *French* have compiled their ſtupendous repoſitories of univerſal knowledge; and by united efforts only can we hope to rival them, or to diffuſe over our own country and the reſt of *Europe* the lights attainable by our *Aſiatick Reſearches*.

THE

THE SEVENTH

ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED 25 FEBRUARY, 1790.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

GENTLEMEN,

ALTHOUGH we are at this moment conſiderably nearer to the frontier of *China* than to the fartheſt limit of the *Britiſh* dominions in *Hinduſtán*, yet the firſt ſtep, that we ſhall take in the philoſophical journey, which I propoſe for your entertainment at the preſent meeting, will carry us to the utmoſt verge of the habitable globe known to the beſt geographers of old *Greece* and *Egypt*; beyond the boundary of whoſe knowledge we ſhall diſcern from the heights of the northern mountains an empire nearly equal in ſurface to a ſquare of fifteen degrees; an empire, of which I do not mean to aſſign the preciſe limits, but which we may conſider, for the purpoſe of this diſſertation, as embraced on two ſides by *Tartary* and *India*, while the ocean ſeparates its other ſides from various *Aſiatick* iſles of great importance in the commercial ſyſtem of *Europe:* annexed to that immenſe tract of land is the peninſula

peninſula of *Corea*, which a vaſt oval baſon divides from *Niſon* or *Japan*, a celebrated and imperial iſland, bearing in arts and in arms, in advantage of ſituation but not in felicity of government, a pre-eminence among eaſtern kingdoms analogous to that of *Britain* among the nations of the weſt. So many climates are included in ſo prodigious an area, that, while the principal emporium of *China* lies nearly under the tropick, its metropolis enjoys the temperature of *Samarkand*; ſuch too is the diverſity of ſoil in its fifteen provinces, that, while ſome of them are exquiſitely fertile, richly cultivated, and extremely populous, others are barren and rocky, dry and unfruitful, with plains as wild or mountains as rugged as any in *Scythia*, and thoſe either wholly deſerted, or peopled by ſavage hordes, who, if they be not ſtill independent, have been very lately ſubdued by the perfidy, rather than the valour, of a monarch, who has perpetuated his own breach of faith in a *Chineſe* poem, of which I have ſeen a tranſlation.

The word *China*, concerning which I ſhall offer ſome new remarks, is well known to the people, whom we call the *Chineſe*; but they never apply it (I ſpeak of the learned among them) to themſelves or to their country: themſelves, according to Father VISDELOU, they deſcribe as the *people of* HAN, or of ſome other illuſtrious family, by the memory of whoſe actions they flatter their national pride; and their country they call *Chúm-cuë*, or the *Central Kingdom*, repreſenting it in their ſymbolical characters by a parallelogram exactly biſſected: at other times they diſtinguiſh it by the words *Tien-hia*, or *What is under Heaven*, meaning *all that is valuable on Earth*. Since they never name themſelves with moderation, they would have no right to complain, if they knew, that *European* authors have ever ſpoken of them in the extremes of applauſe or of cenſure: by ſome they have been extolled as the oldeſt and the wiſeſt, as the moſt learned and moſt ingenious, of nations; whilſt others have derided their pretenſions to antiquity, condemned their government

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as abominable, and arraigned their manners as inhuman, without allowing them an element of ſcience, or a ſingle art, for which they have not been indebted to ſome more ancient and more civilized race of men. The truth perhaps lies, where we uſually find it, between the extremes; but it is not my deſign to accuſe or to defend the *Chineſe*, to depreſs or to aggrandize them: I ſhall confine myſelf to the diſcuſſion of a queſtion connected with my former diſcourſes, and far leſs eaſy to be ſolved than any hitherto ſtarted. "Whence came the ſingular people, who long "had governed *China*, before they were conquered by the *Tartars?*" On this problem, the ſolution of which has no concern, indeed, with our political or commercial intereſts, but a very material connection, if I miſtake not, with intereſts of a higher nature, four opinions have been advanced, and all rather peremptorily aſſerted, than ſupported by argument and evidence. By a few writers it has been urged, that the *Chineſe* are an original race, who have dwelled for ages, if not from eternity, in the land, which they now poſſeſs; by others, and chiefly by the miſſionaries, it is inſiſted, that they ſprang from the ſame ſtock with the *Hebrews* and *Arabs*; a third aſſertion is that of the *Arabs* themſelves and of M. Pauw, who hold it indubitable, that they were originally *Tartars* deſcending in wild clans from the ſteeps of *Imaus*; and a fourth, at leaſt as dogmatically pronounced as any of the preceding, is that of the *Bráhmens*, who decide, without allowing any appeal from their deciſion, that the *Chínas* (for ſo they are named in *Sanſcrit*) were *Hindus* of the *Cſhatriya*, or military, claſs, who, abandoning the privileges of their tribe, rambled in different bodies to the north-eaſt of *Bengal*; and, forgetting by degrees the rites and religion of their anceſtors, eſtabliſhed ſeparate principalities, which were afterwards united in the plains and valleys, which are now poſſeſſed by them. If any one of the three laſt opinions be juſt, the firſt of them muſt neceſſarily be relinquiſhed; but of thoſe three, the firſt cannot poſſibly be ſuſtained; becauſe it reſts on no firmer ſupport than a fooliſh remark, whether true or falſe, that

Sem in *Chineſe* means *life* and *procreation*; and becauſe a tea-plant is not more different from a palm, than a *Chineſe* from an *Arab:* they are men, indeed, as the tea and the palm are vegetables; but human ſagacity could not, I believe, diſcover any other trace of reſemblance between them. One of the *Arabs*, indeed, an account of whoſe voyage to *India* and *China* has been tranſlated by RENAUDOT, thought the *Chineſe* not only handſomer (according to his ideas of beauty) than the *Hindus*, but even more like his own countrymen in features, habiliments, carriages, manners and ceremonies; and this may be true, without proving an actual reſemblance between the *Chineſe* and *Arabs*, except in dreſs and complexion. The next opinion is more connected with that of the *Bráhmens*, than M. PAUW, probably, imagined; for though he tells us expreſsly, that by *Scythians* he meant the *Turks* or *Tartars*; yet the dragon on the ſtandard, and ſome other peculiarities, from which he would infer a clear affinity between the old *Tartars* and the *Chineſe*, belonged indubitably to thoſe *Scythians*, who are known to have been *Goths*; and the *Goths* had manifeſtly a common lineage with the *Hindus*, if his own argument, in the preface to his Reſearches, on the ſimilarity of language, be, as all men agree that it is, irrefragable. That the *Chineſe* were anciently of a *Tartarian* ſtock, is a propoſition, which I cannot otherwiſe diſprove for the preſent, than by inſiſting on the total diſſimilarity of the two races in manners and arts, particularly in the fine arts of imagination, which the *Tartars*, by their own account, never cultivated; but, if we ſhow ſtrong grounds for believing, that the firſt *Chineſe* were actually of an *Indian* race, it will follow that M. PAUW and the *Arabs* are miſtaken: it is to the diſcuſſion of this new and, in my opinion, very intereſting point, that I ſhall confine the remainder of my diſcourſe.

In the *Sanſcrit* Inſtitutes of Civil and Religious Duties, revealed, as the *Hindus* believe, by MENU, the ſon of BRAHMA', we find the following

lowing curious paſſage: " Many families of the military claſs, having " gradually abandoned the ordinances of the *Véda*, and the company of " *Bráhmens*, lived in a ſtate of degradation; as the people of *Pundraca* " and *Odra*, thoſe of *Dravira* and *Cambója*, the *Yavanas* and *Sacas*, " the *Páradas* and *Pahlavas*, the *Chínas* and ſome other nations." A full comment on this text would here be ſuperfluous; but, ſince the teſtimony of the *Indian* author, who, though certainly not a divine perſonage, was as certainly a very ancient lawyer, moraliſt, and hiſtorian, is direct and poſitive, diſintereſted and unſuſpected, it would, I think, decide the queſtion before us, if we could be ſure, that the word *Chína* ſignified a *Chineſe*, as all the *Pandits*, whom I have ſeparately conſulted, aſſert with one voice: they aſſure me, that the *Chínas* of MENU ſettled in a fine country to the north-eaſt of *Gaur*, and to the eaſt of *Cámarùp* and *Népàl*; that they have long been, and ſtill are, famed as ingenious artificers; and that they had themſelves ſeen old *Chineſe* idols, which bore a manifeſt relation to the primitive religion of *India* before BUDDHA'S appearance in it. A well-informed *Pandit* ſhowed me a *Sanſcrit* book in *Caſhmirian* letters, which, he ſaid, was revealed by SIVA himſelf, and entitled *Sactiſangama:* he read to me a whole chapter of it on the heterodox opinions of the *Chínas*, who were divided, ſays the author, into near two hundred clans. I then laid before him a map of *Aſia*; and, when I pointed to *Caſhmír*, his own country, he inſtantly placed his finger on the north-weſtern provinces of *China*, where the *Chínas*, he ſaid, firſt eſtabliſhed themſelves; but he added, that *Maháchína*, which was alſo mentioned in his book, extended to the eaſtern and ſouthern oceans. I believe, nevertheleſs, that the *Chineſe* empire, as we now call it, was not formed when the laws of MENU were collected; and for this belief, ſo repugnant to the general opinion, I am bound to offer my reaſons. If the outline of hiſtory and chronology for the laſt two thouſand years be correctly traced, (and we muſt be hardy ſcepticks to doubt it) the poems of

CA'LIDA'S

CA'LIDA'S were compoſed before the beginning of our era: now it is clear, from internal and external evidence, that the *Rámáyan* and *Mahábhárat* were conſiderably older than the productions of that poet; and it appears from the ſtyle and metre of the *Dherma Sáſtra* revealed by MENU, that it was reduced to writing long before the age of VA'LMIC or VYA'SA, the ſecond of whom names it with applauſe: we ſhall not, therefore, be thought extravagant, if we place the compiler of thoſe laws between a thouſand and fifteen hundred years before CHRIST; eſpecially as BUDDHA, whoſe age is pretty well aſcertained, is not mentioned in them; but, in the twelfth century before our era, the *Chineſe* empire was at leaſt in its cradle. This fact it is neceſſary to prove; and my firſt witneſs is CONFUCIUS himſelf. I know to what keen ſatire I ſhall expoſe myſelf by citing that philoſopher, after the bitter ſarcaſms of M. PAUW againſt him and againſt the tranſlators of his mutilated, but valuable, works; yet I quote without ſcruple the book entitled *Lún Yú*, of which I poſſeſs the original with a verbal tranſlation, and which I know to be ſufficiently authentick for my preſent purpoſe: in the ſecond part of it CON-FU-TSU declares, that "Although he, like other men, could relate, as mere leſſons of "morality, the hiſtories of the firſt and ſecond imperial houſes, yet, "*for want of evidence*, he could give no certain account of them." Now, if the *Chineſe* themſelves do not even pretend, that any hiſtorical monuments exiſted, in the age of CONFUCIUS, preceding the riſe of their third dynaſty about eleven hundred years before the *Chriſtian* epoch, we may juſtly conclude, that the reign of VU'VAM was in the infancy of their empire, which hardly grew to maturity till ſome ages after that prince; and it has been aſſerted by very learned *Europeans*, that even of the third dynaſty, which he has the fame of having raiſed, no unſuſpected memorial can now be produced. It was not till the eighth century before the birth of our Saviour, that a ſmall kingdom was erected in the province of *Shen-ſí*, the capital of which ſtood nearly

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in the *thirty-fifth* degree of northern latitude, and about *five* degrees to the weſt of *Si-gan:* both the country and its metropolis were called *Chín*; and the dominion of its princes was gradually extended to the eaſt and weſt. A king of *Chín*, who makes a figure in the *Sháhnámah* among the allies of AFRA'SIYA'B, was, I preſume, a ſovereign of the country juſt mentioned; and the river of *Chín*, which the poet frequently names as the limit of his eaſtern geography, ſeems to have been the *Yellow River*, which the *Chineſe* introduce at the beginning of their fabulous annals: I ſhould be tempted to expatiate on ſo curious a ſubject; but the preſent occaſion allows nothing ſuperfluous, and permits me only to add, that *Mangukhán* died, in the middle of the thirteenth century, before the city of *Chín*, which was afterwards taken by KUBLAI, and that the poets of *Iràn* perpetually allude to the diſtricts around it which they celebrate, with *Chegil* and *Khoten*, for a number of muſk-animals roving on their hills. The territory of *Chín*, ſo called by the old *Hindus*, by the *Perſians*, and by the *Chineſe* (while the *Greeks* and *Arabs* were obliged by their defective articulation to miſcal it *Sín*) gave its name to a race of emperors, whoſe tyranny made their memory ſo unpopular, that the modern inhabitants of *China* hold the word in abhorrence, and ſpeak of themſelves as the people of a milder and more virtuous dynaſty; but it is highly probable that the whole nation deſcended from the *Chínas* of MENU, and, mixing with the *Tartars*, by whom the plains of *Honan* and the more ſouthern provinces were thinly inhabited, formed by degrees the race of men, whom we now ſee in poſſeſſion of the nobleſt empire in *Aſia*.

In ſupport of an opinion, which I offer as the reſult of long and anxious inquiries, I ſhould regularly proceed to examine the language and letters, religion and philoſophy, of the preſent *Chineſe*, and ſubjoin ſome remarks on their ancient monuments, on their ſciences, and on their arts both liberal and mechanical: but their ſpoken *language*, not

not having been preſerved by the uſual ſymbols of articulate ſounds, muſt have been for many ages in a continual flux; their *letters*, if we may ſo call them, are merely the ſymbols of ideas; their popular *religion* was imported from *India* in an age comparatively modern; and their *philoſophy* ſeems yet in ſo rude a ſtate, as hardly to deſerve the appellation; they have no *ancient monuments*, from which their origin can be traced even by plauſible conjecture; their *ſciences* are wholly exotick; and their *mechanical arts* have nothing in them characteriſtick of a particular family; nothing, which any ſet of men, in a country ſo highly favoured by nature, might not have diſcovered and improved. They have indeed, both national muſick and national poetry, and both of them beautifully pathetick; but of painting, ſculpture, or architecture, as arts of imagination, they ſeem (like other *Aſiaticks*) to have no idea. Inſtead, therefore, of enlarging ſeparately on each of thoſe heads, I ſhall briefly inquire, how far the literature and religious practices of *China* confirm or oppoſe the propoſition, which I have advanced.

The declared and fixed opinion of M. DE GUIGNES, on the ſubject before us, is nearly connected with that of the *Bráhmens*: he maintains, that the *Chineſe* were emigrants from *Egypt*; and the *Egyptians*, or *Ethiopians*, (for they were clearly the ſame people) had indubitably a common origin with the old natives of *India*, as the affinity of their languages, and of their inſtitutions, both religious and political, fully evinces; but that *China* was peopled a few centuries before our era by a colony from the banks of the *Nile*, though neither *Perſians* nor *Arabs*, *Tartars* nor *Hindus*, ever heard of ſuch an emigration, is a paradox, which the bare authority even of ſo learned a man cannot ſupport; and, ſince reaſon grounded on facts can alone decide ſuch a queſtion, we have a right to demand clearer evidence and ſtronger arguments, than any that he has adduced. The hieroglyphicks of *Egypt* bear, indeed, a ſtrong

ſtrong reſemblance to the mythological ſculptures and paintings of *India*, but ſeem wholly diſſimilar to the ſymbolical ſyſtem of the *Chineſe*, which might eaſily have been invented (as they aſſert) by an individual, and might very naturally have been contrived by the firſt *Chínas*, or out-caſt *Hindus*, who either never knew, or had forgotten, the alphabetical characters of their wiſer anceſtors. As to the table and buſts of Isis, they ſeem to be given up as modern forgeries; but, if they were indiſputably genuine, they would be nothing to the purpoſe; for the letters on the buſt appear to have been deſigned as alphabetical; and the fabricator of them (if they really were fabricated in *Europe*) was uncommonly happy, ſince two or three of them are exactly the ſame with thoſe on a metal pillar yet ſtanding in the north of *India*. In *Egypt*, if we can rely on the teſtimony of the *Greeks*, who ſtudied no language but their own, there were two ſets of alphabetical characters; the one *popular*, like the various letters uſed in our *Indian* provinces; and the other *ſacerdotal*, like the *Dévanágarì*, eſpecially that form of it, which we ſee in the *Véda*; beſides which they had two ſorts of *ſacred ſculpture*; the one ſimple, like the figures of Buddha and the three Ra'mas; and the other, allegorical, like the images of Gane'sa, or *Divine Wiſdom*, and Isa'ni', or *Nature*, with all their emblematical accompaniments; but the *real character* of the *Chineſe* appears wholly diſtinct from any *Egyptian* writing, either myſterious or popular; and, as to the fancy of M. de Guignes, that the complicated ſymbols of *China* were at firſt no more than *Phenician* monograms, let us hope, that he has abandoned ſo wild a conceit, which he ſtarted probably with no other view than to diſplay his ingenuity and learning.

We have ocular proof, that the few radical characters of the *Chineſe* were originally (like our aſtronomical and chymical ſymbols) the pictures or outlines of viſible objects, or figurative ſigns for ſimple ideas, which they have multiplied by the moſt ingenious combinations and the

the livelieſt metaphors; but, as the ſyſtem is peculiar, I believe, to themſelves and the *Japaneſe*, it would be idly oſtentatious to enlarge on it at preſent; and, for the reaſons already intimated, it neither corroborates nor weakens the opinion, which I endeavour to ſupport. The ſame may as truly be ſaid of their *ſpoken* language; for, independently of its conſtant fluctuation during a ſeries of ages, it has the peculiarity of excluding four or five ſounds, which other nations articulate, and is clipped into monoſyllables, even when the ideas expreſſed by them, and the written ſymbols for thoſe ideas, are very complex. This has ariſen, I ſuppoſe, from the ſingular habits of the people; for, though their common tongue be ſo *muſically* accented as to form a kind of recitative, yet it wants thoſe *grammatical* accents, without which all human tongues would appear monoſyllabick: thus *Amita*, with an accent on the firſt ſyllable, means, in the *Sanſcrit* language, *immeaſurable*; and the natives of *Bengal* pronounce it *Omito*; but, when the religion of BUDDHA, the ſon of MA'YA', was carried hence into *China*, the people of that country, unable to pronounce the name of their new God, called him FOE, the ſon of MO-YE, and divided his epithet *Amita* into three ſyllables O-MI-TO, annexing to them certain ideas of their own, and expreſſing them in writing by three diſtinct ſymbols. We may judge from this inſtance, whether a compariſon of their ſpoken tongue with the dialects of other nations can lead to any certain concluſion as to their origin; yet the inſtance, which I have given, ſupplies me with an argument from analogy, which I produce as conjectural only, but which appears more and more plauſible, the oftener I conſider it. The BUDDHA of the *Hindus* is unqueſtionably the FOE of *China*; but the great progenitor of the *Chineſe* is alſo named by them FO-HI, where the ſecond monoſyllable ſignifies, it ſeems, a *victim:* now the anceſtor of that military tribe, whom the *Hindus* call the *Chandravanſa*, or Children of the MOON, was, according to their *Puránas* or legends, BUDHA, or the genius of the planet *Mercury*, from whom, in the

the *fifth* degree, deſcended a prince named DRUHYA; whom his father YAYA'TI ſent in exile to the eaſt of *Hinduſtán*, with this imprecation, "may thy progeny be ignorant of the *Véda*." The name of the baniſhed prince could not be pronounced by the modern *Chineſe*; and, though I dare not conjecture, that the laſt ſyllable of it has been changed into YAO, I may nevertheleſs obſerve that YAO was the *fifth* in deſcent from FO-HI, or at leaſt the fifth mortal in the firſt imperial dynaſty; that all *Chineſe* hiſtory before him is conſidered by *Chineſe* themſelves as poetical or fabulous; that his father TI-CO, like the *Indian* king YAYA'TI, was the firſt prince who married ſeveral women; and that FO-HI, the head of their race, appeared, ſay the *Chineſe*, in a province of the weſt, and held his court in the territory of *Chín*, where the rovers, mentioned by the *Indian* legiſlator, are ſuppoſed to have ſettled. Another circumſtance in the parallel is very remarkable: according to father DE PREMARE, in his tract on *Chineſe* mythology, the mother of FO-HI was the *Daughter of Heaven*, ſurnamed *Flower-loving*; and, as the nymph was walking alone on the bank of a *river* with a ſimilar name, ſhe found herſelf on a ſudden encircled by a *rain-bow*; ſoon after which ſhe became pregnant, and at the end of twelve years was delivered of a ſon radiant as herſelf, who, among other titles, had that of SU'I, or *Star of the Year*. Now in the mythological ſyſtem of the *Hindus*, the nymph RO'HINI', who preſides over the fourth lunar manſion, was the favourite miſtreſs of SO'MA, or the Moon, among whoſe numerous epithets we find *Cumudanáyaca*, or *Delighting in a* ſpecies of *water-flower*, that bloſſoms at night; and their offspring was BUDHA, regent of a planet, and called alſo, from the names of his parents, RAUHINE'YA or SAUMYA: it is true, that the learned miſſionary explains the word SU'I by *Jupiter*; but an exact reſemblance between two ſuch fables could not have been expected; and it is ſufficient for my purpoſe, that they ſeem to have a family likeneſs. The God BUDHA, ſay the *Indians*, married ILA', whoſe father was preſerved in a miraculous ark from an

univerſal deluge: now, although I cannot inſiſt with confidence, that the *rain-bow* in the *Chineſe* fable alludes to the *Moſaick* narrative of the flood, nor build any ſolid argument on the divine perſonage NIU-VA, of whoſe character, and even of whoſe ſex, the hiſtorians of *China* ſpeak very doubtfully, I may, nevertheleſs, aſſure you, after full inquiry and conſideration, that the *Chineſe*, like the *Hindus*, believe this earth to have been wholly covered with water, which, in works of undiſputed authenticity, they deſcribe as *flowing abundantly, then ſubſiding, and ſeparating the higher from the lower age of mankind*; that the *diviſion of time*, from which their poetical hiſtory begins, juſt preceded the appearance of FO-HI on the mountains of *Chín*, but that the great *inundation* in the reign of YAO was either confined to the lowlands of his kingdom, if the whole account of it be not a fable, or, if it contain any alluſion to the flood of NOAH, has been ignorantly miſplaced by the *Chineſe* annaliſts.

The importation of a new religion into *China*, in the firſt century of our era, muſt lead us to ſuppoſe, that the former ſyſtem, whatever it was, had been found inadequate to the purpoſe of reſtraining the great body of the people from thoſe offences againſt conſcience and virtue, which the civil power could not reach; and it is hardly poſſible that, without ſuch reſtrictions, any government could long have ſubſiſted with felicity; for no government can long ſubſiſt without equal juſtice, and juſtice cannot be adminiſtered without the ſanctions of religion. Of the religious opinions, entertained by CONFUCIUS and his followers, we may glean a general notion from the fragments of their works tranſlated by COUPLET: they profeſſed a firm belief in the ſupreme GOD, and gave a demonſtration of his being and of his providence from the exquiſite beauty and perfection of the celeſtial bodies, and the wonderful order of nature in the whole fabrick of the viſible world. From this belief they deduced a ſyſtem of Ethicks, which the philoſopher ſums up in a few

a few words at the cloſe of the *Lún-yù:* "He," ſays CONFUCIUS, "who ſhall be fully perſuaded, that the Lord of Heaven governs "the univerſe, who ſhall in all things chuſe moderation, who ſhall "perfectly know his own ſpecies, and ſo act among them, that his life "and manners may conform to his knowledge of GOD and man, may be "truly ſaid to diſcharge all the duties of a ſage, and to be far exalted "above the common herd of the human race." But ſuch a religion and ſuch morality could never have been general; and we find, that the people of *China* had an ancient ſyſtem of ceremonies and ſuperſtitions, which the government and the philoſophers appear to have encouraged, and which has an apparent affinity with ſome parts of the oldeſt *Indian* worſhip: they believed in the agency of genii or tutelary ſpirits, preſiding over the ſtars and the clouds, over lakes and rivers, mountains, valleys, and woods, over certain regions and towns, over all the elements (of which, like the *Hindus*, they reckoned *five)* and particularly over *fire*, the moſt brilliant of them: to thoſe deities they offered victims on high places; and the following paſſage from the *Shí-cin*, or *Book of Odes*, is very much in the ſtyle of the *Bráhmans:* "Even they, who per-"form a ſacrifice with due reverence, cannot perfectly aſſure themſelves, "that the divine ſpirits accept their oblations; and far leſs can they, "who adore the Gods with languor and oſcitancy, clearly perceive their "ſacred illapſes." Theſe are imperfect traces indeed, but they are traces, of an affinity between the religion of MENU and that of the *Chínas*, whom he names among the apoſtates from it: M. LE GENTIL obſerved, he ſays, a ſtrong reſemblance between the funeral rites of the *Chineſe* and the *Sráddha* of the *Hindus*; and M. BAILLY, after a learned inveſtigation, concludes, that "Even the puerile and abſurd ſtories of "the *Chineſe* fabuliſts contain a remnant of ancient *Indian* hiſtory, with "a faint ſketch of the firſt *Hindu* ages." As the *Bauddhas*, indeed, were *Hindus*, it may naturally be imagined, that they carried into *China* many ceremonies practiſed in their own country; but the *Bauddhas* poſitively

poſitively forbad the immolation of cattle; yet we know, that various animals, even bulls and men, were anciently ſacrificed by the *Chineſe*; beſides which we diſcover many ſingular marks of relation between them and the old *Hindus:* as in the remarkable period of *four hundred and thirty two thouſand*, and the cycle of *ſixty*, years; in the predilection for the myſtical number *nine*; in many ſimilar faſts and great feſtivals, eſpecially at the ſolſtices and equinoxes; in the juſt-mentioned obſequies conſiſting of rice and fruits offered to the manes of their anceſtors; in the dread of dying childleſs, leſt ſuch offerings ſhould be intermitted; and, perhaps, in their common abhorrence of *red* objects, which the *Indians* carried ſo far, that MENU himſelf, where he allows a *Bráhmen* to trade, if he cannot otherwiſe ſupport life, abſolutely forbids "his trafficking in any ſort of *red* cloths, whether "linen or woollen, or made of woven bark." All the circumſtances, which have been mentioned under the two heads of *literature* and *religion*, ſeem collectively to prove (as far as ſuch a queſtion admits proof) that the *Chineſe* and *Hindus* were originally the ſame people, but having been ſeparated near four thouſand years, have retained few ſtrong features of their ancient conſanguinity, eſpecially as the *Hindus* have preſerved their old language and ritual, while the *Chineſe* very ſoon loſt both, and the *Hindus* have conſtantly intermarried among themſelves, while the *Chineſe*, by a mixture of *Tartarian* blood from the time of their firſt eſtabliſhment, have at length formed a race diſtinct in appearance both from *Indians* and *Tartars*.

A ſimilar diverſity has ariſen, I believe, from ſimilar cauſes, between the people of *China* and *Japan*; on the ſecond of which nations we have now, or ſoon ſhall have, as correct and as ample inſtruction as can poſſibly be obtained without a perfect acquaintance with the *Chineſe* characters. KÆMPFER has taken from M. TITSINGH the honour of being the firſt, and he from KÆMPFER that of being the only, *European*,

pean, who, by a long reſidence in *Japan*, and a familiar intercourſe with the principal natives of it, has been able to collect authentick materials for the natural and civil hiſtory of a country *ſecluded*, as the *Romans* uſed to ſay of our own iſland, *from the reſt of the world:* the works of thoſe illuſtrious travellers will confirm and embelliſh each other; and, when M. TITSINGH ſhall have acquired a knowledge of *Chineſe*, to which a part of his leiſure in *Java* will be devoted, his precious collection of books in that language, on the laws and revolutions, the natural productions, the arts, manufactures, and ſciences of *Japan*, will be in his hands an inexhauſtible mine of new and important information. Both he and his predeceſſor aſſert with confidence, and, I doubt not, with truth, that the *Japaneſe* would reſent, as an inſult on their dignity, the bare ſuggeſtion of their deſcent from the *Chineſe*, whom they ſurpaſs in ſeveral of the mechanical arts, and, what is of greater conſequence, in military ſpirit; but they do not, I underſtand, mean to deny, that they are a branch of the ſame ancient ſtem with the people of *China*; and, were that fact ever ſo warmly conteſted by them, it might be proved by an invincible argument, if the preceding part of this diſcourſe, on the origin of the *Chineſe*, be thought to contain juſt reaſoning. In the firſt place, it ſeems inconceivable, that the *Japaneſe*, who never appear to have been conquerors or conquered, ſhould have adopted the whole ſyſtem of *Chineſe* literature with all its inconveniences and intricacies, if an immemorial connexion had not ſubſiſted between the two nations, or, in other words, if the bold and ingenious race, who peopled *Japan* in the middle of the thirteenth century before CHRIST, and, about ſix hundred years afterwards, eſtabliſhed their monarchy, had not carried with them the letters and learning, which they and the *Chineſe* had poſſeſſed in common; but my principal argument is, that the *Hindu* or *Egyptian* idolatry has prevailed in *Japan* from the earlieſt ages; and among the idols worſhipped, according to KÆMPFER, in that country, before the innovations of SA'CYA or BUDDHA,

BUDDHA, whom the *Japaneſe* alſo call AMIDA, we find many of thoſe, which we ſee every day in the temples of *Bengal*; particularly *the goddeſs with many arms*, repreſenting the powers of Nature, in *Egypt* named ISIS and here ISA'NI' or ISI', whoſe image, as it is exhibited by the *German* traveller, all the *Bráhmans*, to whom I ſhowed it, immediately recognized with a mixture of pleaſure and enthuſiaſm. It is very true, that the *Chineſe* differ widely from the natives of *Japan* in their vernacular dialects, in external manners, and perhaps in the ſtrength of their mental faculties; but as wide a difference is obſervable among all the nations of the *Gothick* family; and we might account even for a greater diſſimilarity, by conſidering the number of ages, during which the ſeveral ſwarms have been ſeparated from the great *Indian* hive, to which they primarily belonged. The modern *Japaneſe* gave KÆMPFER the idea of poliſhed *Tartars*; and it is reaſonable to believe, that the people of *Japan*, who were originally *Hindus* of the martial claſs and advanced farther eaſtward than the *Chinas*, have, like them, inſenſibly changed their features and characters by intermarriages with various *Tartarian* tribes, whom they found looſely ſcattered over their iſles, or who afterwards fixed their abode in them.

Having now ſhown in five diſcourſes, that the *Arabs* and *Tartars* were originally diſtinct races, while the *Hindus*, *Chineſe*, and *Japaneſe* proceeded from another ancient ſtem, and that all the three ſtems may be traced to *Iràn*, as to a common centre, from which it is highly probable, that they diverged in various directions about four thouſand years ago, I may ſeem to have accompliſhed my deſign of inveſtigating the origin of the *Aſiatick* nations; but the queſtions, which I undertook to diſcuſs, are not yet ripe for a ſtrict analytical argument; and it will firſt be neceſſary to examine with ſcrupulous attention all the detached or inſulated races of men, who either inhabit the borders of *India*, *Arabia*, *Tartary*, *Perſia*, and *China*, or are interſperſed in the mountainous and

and uncultivated parts of thoſe extenſive regions. To this examination I ſhall, at our next annual meeting, allot an entire diſcourſe; and if, after all our inquiries, no more than *three* primitive races can be found, it will be a ſubſequent conſideration, whether thoſe three ſtocks had one common root, and, if they had, by what means that root was preſerved amid the violent ſhocks, which our whole globe appears evidently to have ſuſtained.

THE EIGHTH

ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED 24 FEBRUARY, 1791.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

GENTLEMEN,

WE have taken a general view, at our five laſt annual meetings, of as many celebrated nations, whom we have proved, as far as the ſubject admits of proof, to have deſcended from three primitive ſtocks, which we call for the preſent *Indian*, *Arabian*, *Tartarian*; and we have nearly travelled over all *Aſia*, if not with a perfect coincidence of ſentiment, at leaſt, with as much unanimity, as can be naturally expected in a large body of men, each of whom muſt aſſert it as his right, and conſider it as his duty, to decide on all points for himſelf, and never to decide on obſcure points without the beſt evidence, that can poſſibly be adduced: our travels will this day be concluded, but our hiſtorical reſearches would have been left incomplete, if we had paſſed without attention over the numerous races of borderers, who have long been eſtabliſhed on the limits of *Arabia*, *Perſia*, *India*, *China*, and

Tartary; over the wild tribes reſiding in the mountainous parts of thoſe extenſive regions; and the more civilized inhabitants of the iſlands annexed by geographers to their *Aſiatick* diviſion of this globe.

Let us take our departure from *Idume* near the gulf of *Elanitis*, and, having encircled *Aſia*, with ſuch deviations from our courſe as the ſubject may require, let us return to the point, from which we began; endeavouring, if we are able, to find a nation, who may clearly be ſhown, by juſt reaſoning from their language, religion, and manners, to be neither *Indians*, *Arabs*, nor *Tartars*, pure or mixed; but always remembering, that any ſmall family detached in an early age from their parent ſtock, without letters, with few ideas beyond objects of the firſt neceſſity, and conſequently with few words, and fixing their abode on a range of mountains, in an iſland, or even in a wide region before uninhabited, might in four or five centuries people their new country, and would neceſſarily form a new language with no perceptible traces, perhaps, of that ſpoken by their anceſtors. *Edom* or *Idume*, and *Erythra* or *Phœnice*, had originally, as many believe, a ſimilar meaning, and were derived from words denoting a *red* colour; but, whatever be their derivation, it ſeems indubitable, that a race of men were anciently ſettled in *Idume* and in *Median*, whom the oldeſt and beſt *Greek* authors call *Erythreans*; who were very diſtinct from the *Arabs*; and whom, from the concurrence of many ſtrong teſtimonies, we may ſafely refer to the *Indian* ſtem. M. D'Herbelot mentions a tradition (which he treats, indeed, as a fable), that a colony of thoſe *Idumeans* had migrated from the northern ſhores of the *Erythrean* ſea, and ſailed acroſs the *Mediterranean* to *Europe*, at the time fixed by Chronologers for the paſſage of Evander with his *Arcadians* into *Italy*, and that both *Greeks* and *Romans* were the progeny of thoſe emigrants. It is not on vague and ſuſpected traditions, that we muſt build our belief of ſuch events; but Newton, who advanced nothing in ſcience without demonſtration,

demonſtration, and nothing in hiſtory without ſuch evidence as he thought concluſive, aſſerts from authorities, which he had carefully examined, that the *Idumean* voyagers "carried with them both arts "and ſciences, among which were their aſtronomy, navigation, and "letters; for in *Idume*, ſays he, they had *letters*, and *names for conſtel-* "*lations*, before the days of JOB, who mentions them." JOB, indeed, or the author of the book, which takes its name from him, was of the *Arabian* ſtock, as the language of that ſublime work inconteſtably proves; but the invention and propagation of letters and aſtronomy are by all ſo juſtly aſcribed to the *Indian* family, that, if STRABO and HERODOTUS were not groſsly deceived, the adventurous *Idumeans*, who firſt gave names to the ſtars, and hazarded long voyages in ſhips of their own conſtruction, could be no other than a branch of the *Hindu* race: in all events, there is no ground for believing them of a *fourth* diſtinct lineage; and we need ſay no more of them, till we meet them again, on our return, under the name of *Phenicians*.

As we paſs down the formidable ſea, which rolls over its coral bed between the coaſt of the *Arabs*, or thoſe, who ſpeak the pure language of ISMAÏL, and that of the *Ajams*, or thoſe, who *mutter it barbarouſly*, we find no certain traces, on the *Arabian* ſide, of any people, who were not originally *Arabs* of the genuine or mixed breed: anciently, perhaps, there were *Troglodytes* in part of the peninſula, but they ſeem to have been long ſupplanted by the *Nomades*, or wandering herdſmen; and who thoſe *Troglodytes* were, we ſhall ſee very clearly, if we deviate a few moments from our intended path, and make a ſhort excurſion into countries very lately explored on the Weſtern, or *African*, ſide of the Red Sea.

That the written *Abyſſinian* language, which we call *Ethiopick*, is a dialect of old *Chaldean*, and a ſiſter of *Arabick* and *Hebrew*, we know with certainty, not only from the great multitude of identical words, but

but (which is a far ſtronger proof) from the ſimilar grammatical arrangement of the ſeveral idioms: we know at the ſame time, that it is written, like all the *Indian* characters, from the left hand to the right, and that the vowels are annexed, as in *Dévanágarì*, to the conſonants; with which they form a ſyllabick ſyſtem extremely clear and convenient, but diſpoſed in a leſs artificial order than the ſyſtem of letters now exhibited in the *Sanſcrit* grammars; whence it may juſtly be inferred, that the order contrived by PA'NINI or his diſciples is comparatively modern; and I have no doubt, from a curſory examination of many old inſcriptions on pillars and in caves, which have obligingly been ſent to me from all parts of *India*, that the *Nágarì* and *Ethiopian* letters had at firſt a ſimilar form. It has long been my opinion, that the *Abyſſinians* of the *Arabian* ſtock, having no ſymbols of their own to repreſent articulate ſounds, borrowed thoſe of the black pagans, whom the *Greeks* call *Troglodytes*, from their primeval habitations in natural caverns, or in mountains excavated by their own labour: they were probably the firſt inhabitants of *Africa*, where they became in time the builders of magnificent cities, the founders of ſeminaries for the advancement of ſcience and philoſophy, and the inventors (if they were not rather the importers) of ſymbolical characters. I believe on the whole, that the *Ethiops* of *Meroë* were the ſame people with the firſt *Egyptians*, and conſequently, as it might eaſily be ſhown, with the original *Hindus*. To the ardent and intrepid Mr. BRUCE, whoſe travels are to my taſte uniformly agreeable and ſatisfactory, though he thinks very differently from me on the language and genius of the *Arabs*, we are indebted for more important, and, I believe, more accurate, information concerning the nations eſtabliſhed near the *Nile* from its fountains to its mouths, than all *Europe* united could before have ſupplied; but, ſince he has not been at the pains to compare the ſeven languages, of which he has exhibited a ſpecimen, and ſince I have not leiſure to make the compariſon, I muſt be ſatisfied with obſerving, on his authority,

authority, that the dialects of the *Gafots* and the *Gallas*, the *Agows* of both races, and the *Falaſhas*, who muſt originally have uſed a *Chaldean* idiom, were never preſerved in writing, and the *Amharick* only in modern times: they muſt, therefore, have been for ages in fluctuation, and can lead, perhaps, to no certain concluſion as to the origin of the ſeveral tribes, who anciently ſpoke them. It is very remarkable, as Mr. BRUCE and Mr. BRYANT have proved, that the *Greeks* gave the appellation of *Indians* both to the ſouthern nations of *Africk* and to the people, among whom we now live; nor is it leſs obſervable, that, according to EPHORUS quoted by STRABO, they called all the ſouthern nations in the world *Ethiopians*, thus uſing *Indian* and *Ethiop* as convertible terms: but we muſt leave the gymnoſophiſts of *Ethiopia*, who ſeem to have profeſſed the doctrines of BUDDHA, and enter the great *Indian* ocean, of which their *Aſiatick* and *African* brethren were probably the firſt navigators.

On the iſlands near *Yemen* we have little to remark: they appear now to be peopled chiefly by *Mohammedans*, and afford no marks of diſcrimination, with which I am acquainted, either in language or manners; but I cannot bid farewel to the coaſt of *Arabia*, without aſſuring you, that, whatever may be ſaid of *Ommán*, and the *Scythian* colonies, who, it is imagined, were formerly ſettled there, I have met with no trace in the maritime part of *Yemen*, from *Aden* to *Maſkat*, of any nation, who were not either *Arabs* or *Abyſſinian* invaders.

Between that country and *Irán* are ſome iſlands, which, from their inſignificance in our preſent inquiry, may here be neglected; and, as to the *Curds*, or other independent races, who inhabit the branches of *Taurus* or the banks of *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, they have, I believe, no written language, nor any certain memorials of their origin: it has, indeed, been aſſerted by travellers, that a race of wanderers in *Diyárbecr* yet

yet ſpeak the *Chaldaick* of our ſcripture; and the rambling *Turcmáns* have retained, I imagine, ſome traces of their *Tartarian* idioms; but, ſince no veſtige appears, from the gulf of *Perſia* to the rivers *Cur* and *Aras*, of any people diſtinct from the *Arabs*, *Perſians*, or *Tartars*, we may conclude, that no ſuch people exiſts in the *Iranian* mountains, and return to thoſe, which ſeparate *Irán* from *India*. The principal inhabitants of the mountains, called *Párſici*, where they run towards the weſt, *Parveti*, from a known *Sanſcrit* word, where they turn in an eaſtern direction, and *Paropamiſus*, where they join *Imaus* in the north, were anciently diſtinguiſhed among the *Bráhmans* by the name of *Deradas*, but ſeem to have been deſtroyed or expelled by the numerous tribes of *Afgháns* or *Patans*, among whom are the *Balójas*, who give their name to a mountainous diſtrict; and there is very ſolid ground for believing, that the *Afgháns* deſcended from the *Jews*; becauſe they ſometimes in confidence avow that unpopular origin, which in general they ſedulouſly conceal, and which other *Muſelmans* poſitively aſſert; becauſe *Hazaret*, which appears to be the *Aſareth* of Esdras, is one of their territories; and, principally, becauſe their language is evidently a dialect of the ſcriptural *Chaldaick*.

We come now to the river *Sindhu* and the country named from it: near its mouths we find a diſtrict, called by Nearchus, in his journal, *Sangada*; which M. D'Anville juſtly ſuppoſes to be the ſeat of the *Sanganians*, a barbarous and piratical nation mentioned by modern travellers, and well known at preſent by our countrymen in the weſt of *India*. Mr. Malet, now reſident at *Púna* on the part of the *Britiſh* government, procured at my requeſt the *Sanganian* letters, which are a ſort of *Nágarì*, and a ſpecimen of their language, which is apparently derived, like other *Indian* dialects, from the *Sanſcrit*; nor can I doubt, from the deſcriptions, which I have received, of their perſons and manners, that they are *Pámeras*, as the *Bráhmans* call them, or outcaſt *Hindus*,

Hindus, immemorially ſeparated from the reſt of the nation. It ſeems agreed, that the ſingular people, called *Egyptians*, and, by corruption, *Gypſies*, paſſed the *Mediterranean* immediately from *Egypt*; and their motley language, of which Mr. GRELLMANN exhibits a copious vocabulary, contains ſo many *Sanſcrit* words, that their *Indian* origin can hardly be doubted: the authenticity of that vocabulary ſeems eſtabliſhed by a multitude of *Gypſy* words, as *angár*, charcoal, *cáſhth*, wood, *pár*, a bank, *bhú*, earth, and a hundred more, for which the collector of them could find no parallel in the vulgar dialect of *Hinduſtán*, though we know them to be pure *Sanſcrit* ſcarce changed in a ſingle letter. A very ingenious friend, to whom this remarkable fact was imparted, ſuggeſted to me, that thoſe very words might have been taken from old *Egyptian*, and that the *Gypſies* were *Troglodytes* from the rocks near *Thebes*, where a race of banditti ſtill reſemble them in their habits and features; but, as we have no other evidence of ſo ſtrong an affinity between the popular dialects of old *Egypt* and *India*, it ſeems more probable, that the *Gypſies*, whom the *Italians* call *Zingaros*, and *Zinganos*, were no other than *Zinganians*, as M. D'ANVILLE alſo writes the word, who might, in ſome piratical expedition, have landed on the coaſt of *Arabia* or *Africa*, whence they might have rambled to *Egypt*, and at length have migrated, or been driven into *Europe*. To the kindneſs of Mr. MALET I am alſo indebted for an account of the *Boras*; a remarkable race of men inhabiting chiefly the cities of *Gujarát*, who, though *Muſelmans* in religion, are *Jews* in features, genius, and manners: they form in all places a diſtinct fraternity, and are every where noted for addreſs in bargaining, for minute thrift, and conſtant attention to lucre, but profeſs total ignorance of their own origin; though it ſeems probable, that they came firſt with their brethren the *Afgháns* to the borders of *India*, where they learned in time to prefer a gainful and ſecure occupation in populous towns to perpetual wars and laborious exertions on the mountains. As to the *Moplas*, in the weſtern parts of the

the *Indian* empire, I have ſeen their books in *Arabick*, and am perſuaded, that, like the people called *Malays*, they deſcended from *Arabian* traders and mariners after the age of MUHAMMED.

On the continent of *India*, between the river *Vipáſa*, or *Hyphaſis*, to the weſt, the mountains of *Tripura* and *Cámarúpa* to the eaſt, and *Himálaya* to the north, we find many races of wild people with more or leſs of that priſtine ferocity, which induced their anceſtors to ſecede from the civilized inhabitants of the plains and valleys: in the moſt ancient *Sanſcrit* books they are called *Sacas*, *Cirátas*, *Cólas*, *Pulindas*, *Barbaras*, and are all known to *Europeans*, though not all by their true names; but many *Hindu* pilgrims, who have travelled through their haunts, have fully deſcribed them to me; and I have found reaſons for believing, that they ſprang from the old *Indian* ſtem, though ſome of them were ſoon intermixed with the firſt ramblers from *Tartary*, whoſe language ſeems to have been the baſis of that now ſpoken by the *Moguls*.

We come back to the *Indian* iſlands, and haſten to thoſe, which lie to the ſouth-eaſt of *Silán*, or *Taprobane*; for *Silán* itſelf, as we know from the languages, letters, religion, and old monuments of its various inhabitants, was peopled beyond time of memory by the *Hindu* race, and formerly, perhaps, extended much farther to the weſt and to the ſouth, ſo as to include *Lancà*, or the equinoctial point of the *Indian* aſtronomers; nor can we reaſonably doubt, that the ſame enterpriſing family planted colonies in the other iſles of the ſame ocean from the *Malayadwípas*, which take their name from the mountain of *Malaya*, to the *Moluccas*, or *Mallicás*, and probably far beyond them. Captain FORREST aſſured me, that he found the iſle of *Bali* (a great name in the hiſtorical poems of *India*) chiefly peopled by *Hindus*, who worſhipped the ſame idols, which he had ſeen in this province; and that of *Madhurà* muſt have been ſo denominated, like the well known territory in the weſtern peninſula,

ſula, by a nation, who underſtood *Sanſcrit*. We need not be ſurprized, that M. D'ANVILLE was unable to aſſign a reaſon, why the *Jabadios*, or *Yavadwípa*, of PTOLEMY was rendered in the old *Latin* verſion the iſle of *Barley*; but we muſt admire the inquiſitive ſpirit and patient labour of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, whom nothing obſervable ſeems to have eſcaped: *Yava* means *barley* in *Sanſcrit*; and, though that word, or its regular derivative, be now applied ſolely to *Java*, yet the great *French* geographer adduces very ſtrong reaſons for believing, that the ancients applied it to *Sumatra*. In whatever way the name of the laſt mentioned iſland may be written by *Europeans*, it is clearly an *Indian* word, implying *abundance* or *excellence*; but we cannot help wondering, that neither the natives of it, nor the beſt informed of our *Pandits*, know it by any ſuch appellation; eſpecially as it ſtill exhibits viſible traces of a primeval connexion with *India:* from the very accurate and intereſting account of it by a learned and ingenious member of our own body, we diſcover, without any recourſe to etymological conjecture, that multitudes of pure *Sanſcrit* words occur in the principal dialects of the *Sumatrans*; that, among their laws, two poſitive rules concerning *ſureties* and *intereſt* appear to be taken word for word from the *Indian* legiſlators NA'RED and HA'RI'TA; and, what is yet more obſervable, that the ſyſtem of letters, uſed by the people of *Rejang* and *Lampún*, has the ſame artificial order with the *Dévanágarì*; but in every ſeries one letter is omitted, becauſe it is never found in the languages of thoſe iſlanders. If Mr. MARSDEN has proved (as he firmly believes, and as we, from our knowledge of his accuracy, may fairly preſume) that clear veſtiges of one ancient language are diſcernible in all the inſular dialects of the ſouthern ſeas from *Madagaſcar* to the *Philippines* and even to the remoteſt iſlands lately diſcovered, we may infer from the ſpecimens in his account of *Sumatra*, that the parent of them all was no other than the *Sanſcrit*; and with this obſervation, having nothing of conſequence to add on the *Chineſe* iſles or on thoſe

of *Japan*, I leave the fartheſt eaſtern verge of this continent, and turn to the countries, now under the government of *China*, between the northern limits of *India*, and the extenſive domain of thoſe *Tartars*, who are ſtill independent.

That the people of *Pótyid* or *Tibet* were *Hindus*, who engrafted the hereſies of BUDDHA on their old mythological religion, we know from the reſearches of CASSIANO, who long had reſided among them; and whoſe diſquiſitions on their language and letters, their tenets and forms of worſhip, are inſerted by GIORGI in his curious but prolix compilation, which I have had the patience to read from the firſt to the laſt of nine hundred rugged pages: their characters are apparently *Indian*, but their language has now the diſadvantage of being written with more letters than are ever pronounced; for, although it was anciently *Sanſcrit* and polyſyllabick, it ſeems at preſent, from the influence of *Chineſe* manners, to conſiſt of monoſyllables, to form which, with ſome regard to grammatical derivation, it has become neceſſary to ſuppreſs in common diſcourſe many letters, which we ſee in their books; and thus we are enabled to trace in their writing a number of *Sanſcrit* words and phraſes, which in their ſpoken dialect are quite undiſtinguiſhable. The two engravings in GIORGI's book, from ſketches by a *Tibetian* painter, exhibit a ſyſtem of *Egyptian* and *Indian* mythology; and a complete explanation of them would have done the learned author more credit than his fanciful etymologies, which are always ridiculous, and often groſsly erroneous.

The *Tartars* having been wholly unlettered, as they freely confeſs, before their converſion to the religion of *Arabia*, we cannot but ſuſpect, that the natives of *Eighúr*, *Tancút*, and *Khatà*, who had ſyſtems of letters and are even ſaid to have cultivated liberal arts, were not of the *Tartarian*, but of the *Indian*, family; and I apply the ſame remark to the

the nation, whom we call *Barmas*, but who are known to the *Pandits* by the name of *Brahmachínas*, and ſeem to have been the *Brachmani* of PTOLEMY: they were probably rambling *Hindus*, who, deſcending from the northern parts of the eaſtern peninſula, carried with them the letters now uſed in *Ava*, which are no more than a round *Nágarì* derived from the ſquare characters, in which the *Páli*, or ſacred language of BUDDHA's prieſts in that country, was anciently written; a language, by the way, very nearly allied to the *Sanſcrit*, if we can depend on the teſtimony of M. DE LA LOUBERE; who, though always an acute obſerver, and in general a faithful reporter, of facts, is charged by CARPANIUS with having miſtaken the *Barma* for the *Páli* letters; and when, on his authority, I ſpoke of the *Bali* writing to a young chief of *Aracan*, who read with facility the books of the *Barmas*, he corrected me with politeneſs, and aſſured me, that the *Páli* language was written by the prieſts in a much older character.

Let us now return eaſtward to the fartheſt *Aſiatick* dominions of *Ruſſia*, and, rounding them on the northeaſt, paſs directly to the *Hyperboreans*; who, from all that can be learned of their old religion and manners, appear like the *Maſſagetæ*, and ſome other nations uſually conſidered as *Tartars*, to have been really of the *Gothick*, that is of the *Hindu*, race; for I confidently aſſume, that the *Goths* and the *Hindus* had originally the ſame language, gave the ſame appellations to the ſtars and planets, adored the ſame falſe deities, performed the ſame bloody ſacrifices, and profeſſed the ſame notions of rewards and puniſhments after death. I would not inſiſt with M. BAILLY, that the people of *Finland* were *Goths*, merely becauſe they have the word *ſhip* in their language; while the reſt of it appears wholly diſtinct from any of the *Gothick* idioms: the publiſhers of the Lord's Prayer in many languages repreſent the *Finniſh* and *Lapponian* as nearly alike, and the *Hungarian*

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as totally different from them; but this muſt be an errour, if it be true, that a *Ruſſian* author has lately traced the *Hungarian* from its primitive ſeat between the *Caſpian* and the *Euxine*, as far as *Lapland* itſelf; and, ſince the *Huns* were confeſſedly *Tartars*, we may conclude, that all the northern languages, except the *Gothick*, had a *Tartarian* origin, like that univerſally aſcribed to the various branches of *Sclavonian*.

On the *Armenian*, which I never ſtudied, becauſe I could not hear of any original compoſitions in it, I can offer nothing deciſive; but am convinced, from the beſt information procurable in *Bengal*, that its baſis was ancient *Perſian* of the ſame *Indian* ſtock with the *Zend*, and that it has been gradually changed ſince the time, when *Armenia* ceaſed to be a province of *Irán:* the letters, in which it now appears, are allowed to be comparatively modern; and, though the learned editor of the tract by CARPANIUS on the literature of *Ava*, compares them with the *Páli* characters, yet, if they be not, as I ſhould rather imagine, derived from the *Pahlavì*, they are probably an invention of ſome learned *Armenian* in the middle of the fifth century. MOSES of *Khoren*, than whom no man was more able to elucidate the ſubject, has inſerted in his hiſtorical work a diſquiſition on the language of *Armenia*, from which we might collect ſome curious information, if the preſent occaſion required it; but to all the races of men, who inhabit the branches of *Caucaſus* and the northern limits of *Irán*, I apply the remark, before announced generally, that ferocious and hardy tribes, who retire for the ſake of liberty to mountainous regions, and form by degrees a ſeparate nation, muſt alſo form in the end a ſeparate language by agreeing on new words to expreſs new ideas; provided that the language, which they carried with them, was not fixed by writing and ſufficiently copious. The *Armenian* damſels are ſaid by STRABO to have ſacrificed in the temple of the goddeſs ANAITIS, whom we know, from

from other authorities, to be the NA'HI'D, or VENUS, of the old *Perſians*; and it is for many reaſons highly probable, that one and the ſame religion prevailed through the whole empire of CYRUS.

Having travelled round the continent, and among the iſlands, of *Aſia*, we come again to the coaſt of the *Mediterranean*; and the principal nations of antiquity, who firſt demand our attention, are the *Greeks* and *Phrygians*, who, though differing ſomewhat in manners, and perhaps in dialect, had an apparent affinity in religion as well as in language: the *Dorian*, *Ionian*, and *Eolian* families having emigrated from *Europe*, to which it is univerſally agreed that they firſt paſſed from *Egypt*, I can add nothing to what has been advanced concerning them in former diſcourſes; and, no written monuments of old *Phrygia* being extant, I ſhall only obſerve, on the authority of the *Greeks*, that the grand object of myſterious worſhip in that country was the Mother of the Gods, or Nature perſonified, as we ſee her among the *Indians* in a thouſand forms and under a thouſand names. She was called in the *Phrygian* dialect MA', and repreſented in a car drawn by lions, with a drum in her hand, and a towered coronet on her head: her myſteries (which ſeem to be alluded to in the *Moſaick* law) are ſolemnized at the autumnal equinox in theſe provinces, where ſhe is named, in one of her characters, MA', is adored, in all of them, as the great Mother, is figured ſitting on a lion, and appears in ſome of her temples with a diadem or mitre of turrets: a drum is called *dindima* both in *Sanſcrit* and *Phrygian*; and the title of *Dindymene* ſeems rather derived from that word, than from the name of a mountain. The DIANA of *Epheſus* was manifeſtly the ſame goddeſs in the character of productive Nature; and the ASTARTE of the *Syrians* and *Phenicians* (to whom we now return) was, I doubt not, the ſame in another form: I may on the whole aſſure you, that the learned works of SELDEN and JABLONSKI, on the Gods of *Syria* and *Egypt*, would receive more illuſtration from the

the little *Sanſcrit* book, entitled *Chandì*, than from all the fragments of oriental mythology, that are diſperſed in the whole compaſs of *Grecian*, *Roman*, and *Hebrew* literature. We are told, that the *Phenicians*, like the *Hindus*, adored the Sun, and aſſerted water to be the firſt of created things; nor can we doubt, that *Syria*, *Samaria*, and *Phenice*, or the long ſtrip of land on the ſhore of the *Mediterranean*, were anciently peopled by a branch of the *Indian* ſtock, but were afterwards inhabited by that race, which for the preſent we call *Arabian:* in all three the oldeſt religion was the *Aſſyrian*, as it is called by SELDEN, and the *Samaritan* letters appear to have been the ſame at firſt with thoſe of *Phenice*; but the *Syriack* language, of which ample remains are preſerved, and the *Punick*, of which we have a clear ſpecimen in PLAUTUS and on monuments lately brought to light, were indiſputably of a *Chaldaick*, or *Arabick*, origin.

The ſeat of the firſt *Phenicians* having extended to *Idume*, with which we began, we have now completed the circuit of *Aſia*; but we muſt not paſs over in ſilence a moſt extraordinary people, who eſcaped the attention, as BARROW obſerves more than once, of the diligent and inquiſitive HERODOTUS: I mean the people of *Judea*, whoſe language demonſtrates their affinity with the *Arabs*, but whoſe manners, literature, and hiſtory are wonderfully diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of mankind. BARROW loads them with the ſevere, but juſt, epithets of malignant, unſocial, obſtinate, diſtruſtful, ſordid, changeable, turbulent; and deſcribes them as furiouſly zealous in ſuccouring their own countrymen, but implacably hoſtile to other nations; yet, with all the ſottiſh perverſeneſs, the ſtupid arrogance, and the brutal atrocity of their character, they had the peculiar merit, among all races of men under heaven, of preſerving a rational and pure ſyſtem of devotion in the midſt of wild polytheiſm, inhuman or obſcene rights, and a dark labyrinth of errours produced by ignorance and ſupported by intereſted fraud. Theological inquiries are

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no part of my preſent ſubject; but I cannot refrain from adding, that the collection of tracts, which we call from their excellence *the Scriptures*, contain, independently of a divine origin, more true ſublimity, more exquiſite beauty, purer morality, more important hiſtory, and finer ſtrains both of poetry and eloquence, than could be collected within the ſame compaſs from all other books, that were ever compoſed in any age or in any idiom. The two parts, of which the Scriptures conſiſt, are connected by a chain of compoſitions, which bear no reſemblance in form or ſtyle to any that can be produced from the ſtores of *Grecian*, *Indian*, *Perſian*, or even *Arabian*, learning: the antiquity of thoſe compoſitions no man doubts; and the unſtrained application of them to events long ſubſequent to their publication is a ſolid ground of belief, that they were genuine predictions, and conſequently inſpired; but, if any thing be the abſolute excluſive property of each individual, it is his belief; and, I hope, I ſhould be one of the laſt men living, who could harbour a thought of obtruding my own belief on the free minds of others. I mean only to aſſume, what, I truſt, will be readily conceded, that the firſt *Hebrew* hiſtorian muſt be entitled, merely as ſuch, to an equal degree of credit, in his account of all civil tranſactions, with any other hiſtorian of antiquity: how far that moſt ancient writer confirms the reſult of our inquiries into the genealogy of nations, I propoſe to ſhow at our next anniverſary meeting; when, after an approach to demonſtration, in the ſtrict method of the old analyſis, I ſhall reſume the whole argument conciſely and ſynthetically; and ſhall then have condenſed in ſeven diſcourſes a maſs of evidence, which, if brevity had not been my object, might have been expanded into ſeven large volumes with no other trouble than that of holding the pen; but (to borrow a turn of expreſſion from one of our poets) "for what I "have produced, I claim only your indulgence; it is for what I have "ſuppreſſed, that I am entitled to your thanks."

DISCOURSE THE NINTH.

ON

THE ORIGIN AND FAMILIES OF NATIONS.

DELIVERED 23 FEBRUARY, 1792.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

YOU have attended, gentlemen, with ſo much indulgence to my diſcourſes on the five *Aſiatick* nations, and on the various tribes eſtabliſhed along their ſeveral borders or interſperſed over their mountains, that I cannot but flatter myſelf with an aſſurance of being heard with equal attention, while I trace to one centre the three great families, from which thoſe nations appear to have proceeded, and then hazard a few conjectures on the different courſes, which they may be ſuppoſed to have taken toward the countries, in which we find them ſettled at the dawn of all geniune hiſtory.

Let us begin with a ſhort review of the propoſitions, to which we have gradually been led, and ſeparate ſuch as are morally certain, from ſuch as are only probable: that the firſt race of *Perſians* and *Indians*, to whom we may add the *Romans* and *Greeks*, the *Goths*, and the old

Egyptians or *Ethiops*, originally ſpoke the ſame language and profeſſed the ſame popular faith, is capable, in my humble opinion, of inconteſtable proof; that the *Jews* and *Arabs*, the *Aſſyrians*, or ſecond *Perſian* race, the people who ſpoke *Syraick*, and a numerous tribe of *Abyſſinians*, uſed one primitive dialect wholly diſtinct from the idiom juſt mentioned, is, I believe, undiſputed, and, I am ſure, indiſputable; but that the ſettlers in *China* and *Japan* had a common origin with the *Hindus*, is no more than highly probable; and, that all the *Tartars*, as they are inaccurately called, were primarily of a third ſeparate branch, totally differing from the two others in language, manners, and features, may indeed be plauſibly conjectured, but cannot, for the reaſons alledged in a former eſſay, be perſpicuouſly ſhown, and for the preſent therefore muſt be merely aſſumed. Could theſe facts be verified by the beſt attainable evidence, it would not, I preſume, be doubted, that the whole earth was peopled by a variety of ſhoots from the *Indian*, *Arabian*, and *Tartarian* branches, or by ſuch intermixtures of them, as, in a courſe of ages, might naturally have happened.

Now I admit without heſitation the aphoriſm of LINNÆUS, that "in the beginning GOD created one pair only of every living ſpecies, "which has a diverſity of ſex;" but, ſince that incomparable naturaliſt argues principally from the wonderful diffuſion of vegetables, and from an hypotheſis, that the water on this globe has been continually ſubſiding, I venture to produce a ſhorter and cloſer argument in ſupport of his doctrine. That *Nature*, of which ſimplicity appears a diſtinguiſhing attribute, *does nothing in vain*, is a maxim in philoſophy; and againſt thoſe, who deny maxims, we cannot diſpute; but *it is vain* and ſuperfluous *to do by many means what may be done by fewer*, and this is another axiom received into courts of judicature from the ſchools of philoſophers: *we muſt not*, therefore, ſays our great NEWTON, *admit more cauſes of natural things, than thoſe, which are true, and ſufficiently account*

account for natural phenomena; but it is true, that one pair *at leaſt* of every living ſpecies muſt at firſt have been created; and that one human pair was ſufficient for the population of our globe in a period of no conſiderable length (on the very moderate ſuppoſition of lawyers and political arithmeticians, that every pair of anceſtors left on an average two children, and each of them two more), is evident from the rapid increaſe of numbers in geometrical progreſſion, ſo well known to thoſe, who have ever taken the trouble to ſum a ſeries of as many terms, as they ſuppoſe generations of men in two or three thouſand years. It follows, that the Author of Nature (for all nature proclaims its divine author) created but one pair of our ſpecies; yet, had it not been (among other reaſons) for the devaſtations, which hiſtory has recorded, of water and fire, wars, famine, and peſtilence, this earth would not now have had room for its multiplied inhabitants. If the human race then be, as we may confidently aſſume, of one natural ſpecies, they muſt all have proceeded from one pair; and if perfect juſtice be, as it is moſt indubitably, an eſſential attribute of GOD, that pair muſt have been gifted with ſufficient wiſdom and ſtrength to be virtuous, and, as far as their nature admitted, happy, but intruſted with freedom of will to be vicious and conſequently degraded: whatever might be their option, they muſt people in time the region where they firſt were eſtabliſhed, and their numerous deſcendants muſt neceſſarily ſeek new countries, as inclination might prompt, or accident lead, them; they would of courſe migrate in ſeparate families and clans, which, forgetting by degrees the language of their common progenitor, would form new dialects to convey new ideas, both ſimple and complex; natural affection would unite them at firſt, and a ſenſe of reciprocal utility, the great and only cement of ſocial union in the abſence of publick honour and juſtice, for which in evil times it is a general ſubſtitute, would combine them at length in communities more or leſs regular; laws would be propoſed by a part of each community, but enacted by the whole; and governments

ments would be variouſly arranged for the happineſs or miſery of the governed, according to their own virtue and wiſdom, or depravity and folly; ſo that, in leſs than three thouſand years, the world would exhibit the ſame appearances, which we may actually obſerve on it in the age of the great *Arabian* impoſtor.

On that part of it, to which our united reſearches are generally confined, we ſee *five* races of men peculiarly diſtinguiſhed, in the time of MUHAMMED, for their multitude and extent of dominion; but we have reduced them to *three*, becauſe we can diſcover no more, that eſſentially differ in language, religion, manners, and other known characteriſticks: now thoſe three races, how variouſly ſoever they may at preſent be diſperſed and intermixed, muſt (if the preceding concluſions be juſtly drawn) have migrated originally from a central country, to find which is the problem propoſed for ſolution. Suppoſe it ſolved; and give any arbitrary name to that centre: let it, if you pleaſe, be *Iràn*. The three primitive languages, therefore, muſt at firſt have been concentrated in in *Iràn*, and there only in fact we ſee traces of them in the earlieſt hiſtorical age; but, for the ſake of greater preciſion, conceive the whole empire of *Iràn*, with all its mountains and vallies, plains and rivers, to be every way infinitely diminiſhed; the firſt winding courſes, therefore, of all the nations proceeding from it by land, and nearly at the ſame time, will be little right lines, but without interſections, becauſe thoſe courſes could not have thwarted and croſſed one another: if then you conſider the ſeats of all the migrating nations as points in a ſurrounding figure, you will perceive, that the ſeveral rays, diverging from *Iràn*, may be drawn to them without any interſection; but this will not happen, if you aſſume as a centre *Arabia*, or *Egypt*; *India*, *Tartary*, or *China*: it follows, that *Iràn*, or *Perſia* (I contend for *the meaning*, *not the name*), was the central country, which we ſought. This mode of reaſoning I have adopted, not from any affectation (as you will do me the

the juſtice to believe) of a ſcientifick diction, but for the ſake of conciſeneſs and variety, and from a wiſh to avoid repetitions; the ſubſtance of my argument having been detailed in a different form at the cloſe of another diſcourſe; nor does the argument in any form riſe to demonſtration, which the queſtion by no means admits: it amounts, however, to ſuch a proof, grounded on written evidence and credible teſtimony, as all mankind hold ſufficient for deciſions affecting property, freedom, and life.

Thus then have we proved, that the inhabitants of *Aſia*, and conſequently, as it might be proved, of the whole earth, ſprang from three branches of one ſtem: and that thoſe branches have ſhot into their preſent ſtate of luxuriance in a period comparatively ſhort, is apparent from a fact univerſally acknowledged, that we find no certain monument, or even probable tradition, of nations planted, empires and ſtates raiſed, laws enacted, cities built, navigation improved, commerce encouraged, arts invented, or letters contrived, above twelve or at moſt fifteen or ſixteen centuries before the birth of CHRIST, and from another fact, which cannot be controverted, that ſeven hundred or a thouſand years would have been fully adequate to the ſuppoſed propagation, diffuſion, and eſtabliſhment of the human race.

The moſt ancient hiſtory of that race, and the oldeſt compoſition perhaps in the world, is a work in *Hebrew*, which we may ſuppoſe at firſt, for the ſake of our argument, to have no higher authority than any other work of equal antiquity, that the reſearches of the curious had accidentally brought to light: it is aſcribed to MUSAH; for ſo he writes his own name, which, after the *Greeks* and *Romans*, we have changed into MOSES; and, though it was manifeſtly his object to give an hiſtorical account of a ſingle family, he has introduced it with a

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ſhort view of the primitive world, and his introduction has been divided, perhaps improperly, into *eleven* chapters. After deſcribing with awful ſublimity the creation of this univerſe, he aſſerts, that one pair of every animal ſpecies was called from nothing into exiſtence; that the human pair were ſtrong enough to be happy, but free to be miſerable; that, from deluſion and temerity, they diſobeyed their ſupreme benefactor, whoſe goodneſs could not pardon them conſiſtently with his juſtice; and that they received a puniſhment adequate to their diſobedience, but ſoftened by a myſterious promiſe to be accompliſhed in their deſcendants. We cannot but believe, on the ſuppoſition juſt made of a hiſtory uninſpired, that theſe facts were delivered by tradition from the firſt pair, and related by Moses in a figurative ſtyle; not in that ſort of allegory, which rhetoricians deſcribe as a mere aſſemblage of metaphors, but in the ſymbolical mode of writing adopted by eaſtern ſages, to embelliſh and dignify hiſtorical truth; and, if this were a time for ſuch illuſtrations, we might produce the ſame account of the *creation* and the *fall*, expreſſed by ſymbols very nearly ſimilar, from the *Puránas* themſelves, and even from the *Véda*, which appears to ſtand next in antiquity to the five books of Moses.

The ſketch of antediluvian hiſtory, in which we find many dark paſſages, is followed by the narrative of a *deluge*, which deſtroyed the whole race of man, except four pairs; an hiſtorical fact admitted as true by every nation, to whoſe literature we have acceſs, and particularly by the ancient *Hindus*, who have allotted an entire *Purána* to the detail of that event, which they relate, as uſual, in ſymbols or allegories. I concur moſt heartily with thoſe, who inſiſt, that, in proportion as any fact mentioned in hiſtory ſeems repugnant to the courſe of nature, or, in one word, miraculous, the ſtronger evidence is required to induce a rational belief of it; but we hear without incredulity, that cities have

have been overwhelmed by eruptions from burning mountains, territories laid waſte by hurricanes, and whole iſlands depopulated by earthquakes: if then we look at the firmament ſprinkled with innumerable ſtars; if we conclude by a fair analogy, that every ſtar is a ſun, attracting, like ours, a ſyſtem of inhabited planets; and if our ardent fancy, ſoaring hand in hand with ſound reaſon, waft us beyond the viſible ſphere into regions of immenſity, diſcloſing other celeſtial expanſes and other ſyſtems of ſuns and worlds on all ſides without number or end, we cannot but conſider the ſubmerſion of our little ſpheroïd as an infinitely leſs event in reſpect of the immeaſurable univerſe, than the deſtruction of a city or an iſle in reſpect of this habitable globe. Let a general flood, however, be ſuppoſed improbable in proportion to the magnitude of ſo ruinous an event, yet the concurrent evidences of it are completely adequate to the ſuppoſed improbability; but, as we cannot here expatiate on thoſe proofs, we proceed to the fourth important fact recorded in the *Moſaick* hiſtory; I mean the firſt propagation and early diſperſion of mankind *in ſeparate families* to ſeparate places of reſidence.

Three ſons of the juſt and virtuous man, whoſe lineage was preſerved from the general inundation, travelled, we are told, as they began to multiply, in *three* large diviſions variouſly ſubdivided: the children of YA'FET ſeem, from the traces of *Sklavonian* names, and the mention of their being *enlarged*, to have ſpread themſelves far and wide, and to have produced the race, which, for want of a correct appellation, we call *Tartarian*; the colonies, formed by the ſons of HAM and SHEM, appear to have been nearly ſimultaneous; and, among thoſe of the latter branch, we find ſo many names inconteſtably preſerved at this hour in *Arabia*, that we cannot heſitate in pronouncing them the ſame people, whom hitherto we have denominated *Arabs*; while the former branch, the moſt powerful and adventurous of whom were the progeny of CUSH,

CUSH, MISR, and RAMA (names remaining unchanged in *Sanſcrit*, and highly revered by the *Hindus*), were, in all probability, the race, which I call *Indian*, and to which we may now give any other name, that may ſeem more proper and comprehenſive.

The general introduction to the *Jewiſh* hiſtory cloſes with a very conciſe and obſcure account of a preſumptuous and mad attempt, by a particular colony, to build a ſplendid city and raiſe a fabrick of immenſe height, independently of the divine aid, and, it ſhould ſeem, in defiance of the divine power; a project, which was baffled by means appearing at firſt view inadequate to the purpoſe, but ending in violent diſſention among the projectors, and in the ultimate ſeparation of them: this event alſo ſeems to be recorded by the ancient *Hindus* in two of their *Puránas*; and it will be proved, I truſt, on ſome future occaſion, that *the lion burſting from a pillar to deſtroy a blaſpheming giant*, and *the dwarf, who beguiled and held in deriſion* the magnificent BELI, are one and the ſame ſtory related in a ſymbolical ſtyle.

Now theſe primeval events are deſcribed as having happened between the *Oxus* and *Euphrates*, the mountains of *Caucaſus* and the borders of *India*, that is, within the limits of *Irán*; for, though moſt of the *Moſaick* names have been conſiderably altered, yet numbers of them remain unchanged: we ſtill find *Harrán* in *Meſopotamia*, and travellers appear unanimous in fixing the ſite of ancient *Babel*.

Thus, on the preceding ſuppoſition, that the firſt eleven chapters of the book, which it is thought proper to call *Geneſis*, are merely a preface to the oldeſt civil hiſtory now extant, we ſee the truth of them confirmed by antecedent reaſoning, and by evidence in part highly probable, and in part certain; but the *connection* of the *Moſaick* hiſtory with that of the Goſpel by a chain of ſublime predictions unqueſtionably

ably ancient, and apparently fulfilled, muſt induce us to think the *Hebrew* narrative more than human in its origin, and conſequently true in every ſubſtantial part of it, though poſſibly expreſſed in figurative language; as many learned and pious men have believed, and as the moſt pious may believe without injury, and perhaps with advantage, to the cauſe of revealed religion. If MOSES then was endued with ſupernatural knowledge, it is no longer probable only, but abſolutely certain, that the whole race of man proceeded from *Iràn*, as from a centre, whence they migrated at firſt in three great colonies; and that thoſe three branches grew from a common ſtock, which had been miraculouſly preſerved in a general convulſion and inundation of this globe.

Having arrived by a different path at the ſame concluſion with Mr. BRYANT as to one of thoſe families, the moſt ingenious and enterpriſing of the three, but arrogant, cruel, and idolatrous, which we both conclude to be various ſhoots from the *Hamian* or *Amonian* branch, I ſhall add but little to my former obſervations on his profound and agreeable work, which I have thrice peruſed with increaſed attention and pleaſure, though not with perfect acquieſcence in the other leſs important parts of his plauſible ſyſtem. The ſum of his argument ſeems reducible to three heads. Firſt; "if the deluge really happened at the "time recorded by MOSES, thoſe nations, whoſe monuments are pre- "ſerved or whoſe writings are acceſſible, muſt have retained memorials "of an event ſo ſtupendous and comparatively ſo recent; but in fact "they have retained ſuch memorials:" this reaſoning ſeems juſt, and the fact is true beyond controverſy: Secondly; "thoſe memorials were ex- "preſſed by the race of HAM, before the uſe of letters, in rude ſculp- "ture or painting, and moſtly in ſymbolical figures of the *ark*, the "eight perſons concealed in it, and the birds, which firſt were diſmiſſed "from it: this fact is probable, but, I think, not ſufficiently aſcertained." Thirdly; "all ancient Mythology (except what was purely *Sabian*) had

" its primary ſource in thoſe various ſymbols miſunderſtood; ſo that " ancient Mythology ſtands now in the place of ſymbolical ſculpture or " painting, and muſt be explained on the ſame principles, on which we " ſhould begin to decypher the originals, if they now exiſted:" this part of the ſyſtem is, in my opinion, carried too far; nor can I perſuade myſelf (to give one inſtance out of many) that the beautiful allegory of CUPID and PSYCHE, had the remoteſt alluſion to the deluge, or that HYMEN ſignified the *veil*, which covered the patriarch and his family. Theſe propoſitions, however, are ſupported with great ingenuity and ſolid erudition, but, unprofitably for the argument, and unfortunately, perhaps, for the fame of the work itſelf, recourſe is had to etymological conjecture, than which no mode of reaſoning is in general weaker or more deluſive. He, who profeſſes to derive the words of any one language from thoſe of another, muſt expoſe himſelf to the danger of perpetual errours, unleſs he be perfectly acquainted with both; yet my reſpectable friend, though eminently ſkilled in the idioms of *Greece* and *Rome*, has no ſort of acquaintance with any *Aſiatick* dialect, except *Hebrew*; and he has conſequently made miſtakes, which every learner of *Arabick* and *Perſian* muſt inſtantly detect. Among *fifty* radical words (*ma*, *taph*, and *ram* being included), *eighteen* are purely of *Arabian* origin, *twelve* merely *Indian*, and *ſeventeen* both *Sanſcrit* and *Arabick*, but in ſenſes totally different; while *two* are *Greek* only, and one *Egyptian*, or barbarous: if it be urged, that thoſe *radicals* (which ought ſurely to have concluded, inſtead of preceding, an *analytical* inquiry) are precious traces of the primitive language, from which all others were derived, or to which at leaſt they were ſubſequent, I can only declare my belief, that the language of NOAH is loſt irretrievably, and aſſure you, that, after a diligent ſearch, I cannot find a ſingle word uſed in common by the *Arabian*, *Indian*, and *Tartar* families, before the intermixture of dialects occaſioned by *Mohammedan* conqueſts. There are, indeed, very obvious traces of the *Hamian* language, and ſome hundreds

hundreds of words might be produced, which were formerly uſed promiſcuouſly by moſt nations of that race; but I beg leave, as a philologer, to enter my proteſt againſt conjectural etymology in hiſtorical reſearches, and principally againſt the licentiouſneſs of etymologiſts in tranſpoſing and inſerting letters, in ſubſtituting at pleaſure any conſonant for another of the ſame order, and in totally diſregarding the vowels: for ſuch permutations few radical words would be more convenient than Cus or Cush, ſince, dentals being changed for dentals, and palatials for palatials, it inſtantly becomes *coot*, *gooſe*, and, by tranſpoſition, *duck*, all water-birds, and *evidently* ſymbolical; it next is the *goat* worſhipped in *Egypt*, and, by a metatheſis, the *dog* adored as an emblem of Sirius, or, more obviouſly, a *cat*, not the domeſtick animal, but a ſort of ſhip, and, the *Catos*, or great ſea-fiſh, of the *Dorians*. It will hardly be imagined, that I mean by this irony to inſult an author, whom I reſpect and eſteem; but no conſideration ſhould induce me to aſſiſt by my ſilence in the diffuſion of errour; and I contend, that almoſt any word or nation might be derived from any other, if ſuch licences, as I am oppoſing, were permitted in etymological hiſtories: when we find, indeed, the ſame words, letter for letter, and in a ſenſe preciſely the ſame, in different languages, we can ſcarce heſitate in allowing them a common origin; and, not to depart from the example before us, when we ſee Cush or Cus (for the *Sanſcrit* name alſo is variouſly pronounced) among the ſons of Brahma', that is, among the progenitors of the *Hindus*, and at the head of an ancient pedigree preſerved in the *Rámáyan*; when we meet with his name again in the family of Ra'ma; when we know, that the name is venerated in the higheſt degree, and given to a ſacred graſs, deſcribed as a *Poa* by Koenig, which is uſed with a thouſand ceremonies in the oblations to fire, ordained by Menu to form the ſacrificial zone of the *Bráhmans*, and ſolemnly declared in the *Véda* to have ſprung up ſoon after the *deluge*, whence the *Pauránicks* conſider it as *the briſtly hair of the boar*

which

which ſupported the globe; when we add, that one of the ſeven *dwipas*, or great peninſulas of this earth, has the ſame appellation, we can hardly doubt, that the CUSH of MOSES and VA'LMIC was the ſame perſonage and an anceſtor of the *Indian* race.

From the teſtimonies adduced in the ſix laſt annual diſcourſes, and from the additional proofs laid before you, or rather opened, on the preſent occaſion, it ſeems to follow, that the only human family after the flood eſtabliſhed themſelves in the northern parts of *Iràn*; that, as they multiplied, they were divided into three diſtinct branches, each retaining little at firſt, and loſing the whole by degrees, of their common primary language, but agreeing ſeverally on new expreſſions for new ideas; that the branch of YA'FET was *enlarged* in many ſcattered ſhoots over the north of *Europe* and *Aſia*, diffuſing themſelves as far as the weſtern and eaſtern ſeas, and, at length in the infancy of navigation, beyond them both; that they cultivated no liberal arts, and had no uſe of letters, but formed a variety of dialects, as their tribes were variouſly ramified; that, ſecondly, the children of HAM, who founded in *Iràn* itſelf the monarchy of the firſt *Chaldeans*, invented letters, obſerved and named the luminaries of the firmament, calculated the known *Indian* period of *four hundred and thirty-two thouſand years*, or an *hundred and twenty* repetitions of the *ſaros*, and contrived the old ſyſtem of Mythology, partly allegorical, and partly grounded on idolatrous veneration for their ſages and lawgivers; that they were diſperſed at various intervals and in various colonies over land and ocean; that the tribes of MISR, CUSH, and RAMA ſettled in *Africk* and *India*; while ſome of them, having improved the art of ſailing, paſſed from *Egypt*, *Phenice*, and *Phrygia*, into *Italy* and *Greece*, which they found thinly peopled by former emigrants, of whom they ſupplanted ſome tribes, and united themſelves with others; whilſt a ſwarm from the ſame hive moved by a northerly courſe into *Scandinavia*, and another, by the head of the *Oxus*, and through the

the paſſes of *Imaus*, into *Caſhghar* and *Eighúr*, *Khatá* and *Khoten*, as far as the territories of *Chín* and *Tancút*, where letters have been uſed and arts immemorially cultivated; nor is it unreaſonable to believe, that ſome of them found their way from the eaſtern iſles into *Mexico* and *Peru*, where traces were diſcovered of rude literature and Mythology analogous to thoſe of *Egypt* and *India*; that, thirdly, the old *Chaldean* empire being overthrown by the *Aſſyrians* under CAYU'MERS, other migrations took place, eſpecially into *India*, while the reſt of SHEM's progeny, ſome of whom had before ſettled on the Red Sea, peopled the whole *Arabian* peninſula, preſſing cloſe on the nations of *Syria* and *Phenice*; that, laſtly, from all the three families were detached many bold adventurers of an ardent ſpirit and a roving diſpoſition, who diſdained ſubordination and wandered in ſeparate clans, till they ſettled in diſtant iſles or in deſerts and mountainous regions; that, on the whole, ſome colonies might have migrated before the death of their venerable progenitor, but that ſtates and empires could ſcarce have aſſumed a regular form, till fifteen or ſixteen hundred years before the *Chriſtian* epoch, and that, for the firſt thouſand years of that period, we have no hiſtory unmixed with fable, except that of the turbulent and variable, but eminently diſtinguiſhed, nation deſcended from ABRAHAM.

My deſign, gentlemen, of tracing the origin and progreſs of the five principal nations, who have peopled *Aſia*, and of whom there were conſiderable remains in their ſeveral countries at the time of MUHAMMED's birth, is now accompliſhed; ſuccinctly, from the nature of theſe eſſays; imperfectly, from the darkneſs of the ſubject and ſcantineſs of my materials, but clearly and comprehenſively enough to form a baſis for ſubſequent reſearches: you have ſeen, as diſtinctly as I am able to ſhow, *who* thoſe nations originally were, *whence* and *when* they moved toward their final ſtations; and, in my future annual diſcourſes, I propoſe to enlarge on the *particular advantages* to our country and to mankind, which

which may reſult from our ſedulous and united inquiries into the hiſtory, ſcience, and arts, of theſe *Aſiatick* regions, eſpecially of the *Britiſh* dominions in *India*, which we may conſider as the centre (not of the human race, but) of our common exertions to promote its true intereſts; and we ſhall concur, I truſt, in opinion, that the race of man, to advance whoſe manly happineſs is our duty and will of courſe be our endeavour, cannot long be happy without virtue, nor actively virtuous without freedom, nor ſecurely free without rational knowledge.

THE

THE TENTH

ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED 28 FEBRUARY, 1793.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

ON ASIATICK HISTORY, CIVIL AND NATURAL.

BEFORE our entrance, gentlemen, into the diſquiſition, promiſed at the cloſe of my ninth annual diſcourſe, on the *particular advantages*, which may be derived from our concurrent reſearches in *Aſia*, it ſeems neceſſary to fix with preciſion the ſenſe, in which we mean to ſpeak of *advantage* or *utility*: now, as we have deſcribed the five *Aſiatick* regions on their largeſt ſcale, and have expanded our conceptions in proportion to the magnitude of that wide field, we ſhould uſe thoſe words, which comprehend the fruit of all our inquiries, in their moſt extenſive acceptation; including not only the ſolid conveniences and comforts of ſocial life, but its elegances and innocent pleaſures, and even the gratification of a natural and laudable curioſity; for, though labour be clearly the lot of man in this world, yet, in the midſt of his moſt active exertions, he cannot but feel the ſubſtantial benefit of every liberal amuſement,

ment, which may lull his paſſions to reſt, and afford him a ſort of repoſe without the pain of total inaction, and the real uſefulneſs of every purſuit, which may enlarge and diverſify his ideas, without interfering with the principal objects of his civil ſtation or economical duties; nor ſhould we wholly exclude even the trivial and worldly ſenſe of *utility*, which too many conſider as merely ſynonymous with *lucre*, but ſhould reckon among uſeful objects thoſe practical, and by no means illiberal, arts, which may eventually conduce both to national and to private emolument. With a view then to *advantages* thus explained, let us examine every point in the whole circle of arts and ſciences, according to the received order of their dependence on the faculties of the mind, their mutual connexion, and the different ſubjects, with which they are converſant: our inquiries indeed, of which Nature and Man are the primary objects, muſt of courſe be chiefly *Hiſtorical*; but, ſince we propoſe to inveſtigate the *actions* of the ſeveral *Aſiatick* nations, together with their reſpective progreſs in *ſcience* and *art*, we may arrange our inveſtigations under the ſame three heads, to which our *European* analyſts have ingeniouſly reduced all the branches of human knowledge; and my preſent addreſs to the ſociety ſhall be confined to hiſtory, civil and natural, or the obſervation and remembrance of *mere facts*, independently of *ratiocination*, which belongs to philoſophy, or of *imitations* and *ſubſtitutions*, which are the province of art.

Were a ſuperior created intelligence to delineate a map of general knowledge (excluſively of that ſublime and ſtupendous theology, which himſelf could only hope humbly to know by an infinite approximation) he would probably, begin by tracing with NEWTON the ſyſtem of the univerſe, in which he would aſſign the true place to our little globe; and, having enumerated its various inhabitants, contents, and productions, would proceed to man in his natural ſtation among animals, exhibiting a detail of all the knowledge attained or attainable by the human race;

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and thus obſerving, perhaps, the ſame order, in which he had before deſcribed other beings in other inhabited worlds: but, though BACON ſeems to have had a ſimilar reaſon for placing the hiſtory of Nature before that of Man, or the whole before one of its parts, yet, conſiſtently with our chief object already mentioned, we may properly begin with the *civil hiſtory* of the five *Aſiatick* nations, which neceſſarily compriſes their Geography, or a deſcription of the *places*, where they have acted, and their aſtronomy, which may enable us to fix with ſome accuracy the *time* of their actions: we ſhall thence be led to the hiſtory of ſuch other *animals*, of ſuch *minerals*, and of ſuch *vegetables*, as they may be ſuppoſed to have found in their ſeveral migrations and ſettlements, and ſhall end with the *uſes* to which they have applied, or may apply, the rich aſſemblage of natural ſubſtances.

I. IN the firſt place, we cannot ſurely deem it an inconſiderable advantage, that all our hiſtorical reſearches have confirmed the *Moſaick* accounts of the primitive world; and our teſtimony on that ſubject ought to have the greater weight, becauſe, if the reſult of our obſervations had been totally different, we ſhould nevertheleſs have publiſhed them, not indeed with equal pleaſure, but with equal confidence; for *Truth is mighty, and*, whatever be its conſequences, *muſt always prevail:* but, independently of our intereſt in corroborating the multiplied evidences of revealed religion, we could ſcarce gratify our minds with a more uſeful and rational entertainment, than the contemplation of thoſe wonderful revolutions in kingdoms and ſtates, which have happened within little more than four thouſand years; revolutions, almoſt as fully demonſtrative of an all-ruling Providence, as the ſtructure of the univerſe and the final cauſes, which are diſcernible in its whole extent and even in its minuteſt parts. Figure to your imaginations a moving picture of that eventful period, or rather a ſucceſſion of crouded ſcenes rapidly changed. Three families migrate in different courſes from one region, and, in about four cen-

turies, eſtabliſh very diſtant governments and various modes of ſociety: *Egyptians*, *Indians*, *Goths*, *Phenicians*, *Celts*, *Greeks*, *Latians*, *Chineſe*, *Peruvians*, *Mexicans*, all ſprung from the ſame immediate ſtem, appear to ſtart nearly at one time, and occupy at length thoſe countries, to which they have given, or from which they have derived, their names: in twelve or thirteen hundred years more the *Greeks* overrun the land of their forefathers, invade *India*, conquer *Egypt*, and aim at univerſal dominion; but the *Romans* appropriate to themſelves the whole empire of *Greece*, and carry their arms into *Britain*, of which they ſpeak with haughty contempt: the *Goths*, in the fulneſs of time, break to pieces the unwieldy *Coloſſus* of *Roman* power, and ſeize on the whole of *Britain*, except its wild mountains; but even thoſe wilds become ſubject to other invaders of the ſame *Gothick* lineage: during all theſe tranſactions, the *Arabs* poſſeſs both coaſts of the Red Sea, ſubdue the old ſeat of their firſt progenitors, and extend their conqueſts on one ſide, through *Africk*, into *Europe* itſelf; on another, beyond the borders of *India*, part of which they annex to their flouriſhing empire: in the ſame interval the *Tartars*, widely diffuſed over the reſt of the globe, ſwarm in the north-eaſt, whence they ruſh to complete the reduction of CONSTANTINE's beautiful domains, to ſubjugate *China*, to raiſe in theſe *Indian* realms a dynaſty ſplendid and powerful, and to ravage, like the two other families, the devoted regions of *Iràn*: by this time the *Mexicans* and *Peruvians*, with many races of adventurers variouſly intermixed, have peopled the continent and iſles of *America*, which the *Spaniards*, having reſtored their old government in *Europe*, diſcover and in part overcome: but a colony from *Britain*, of which CICERO ignorantly declared, that *it contained nothing valuable*, obtain the poſſeſſion, and finally the ſovereign dominion, of extenſive *American* diſtricts; whilſt other *Britiſh* ſubjects acquire a ſubordinate empire in the fineſt provinces of *India*, which the victorious troops of ALEXANDER were unwilling to attack. This outline of human tranſactions, as far as it includes the limits

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of *Aſia*, we can only hope to fill up, to ſtrengthen, and to colour, by the help of *Aſiatick* literature; for in hiſtory, as in law, we muſt not follow ſtreams, when we may inveſtigate fountains, nor admit any ſecondary proof, where primary evidence is attainable: I ſhould, nevertheleſs, make a bad return for your indulgent attention, were I to repeat a dry liſt of all the *Muſelman* hiſtorians, whoſe works are preſerved in *Arabick*, *Perſian*, and *Turkiſh*, or expatiate on the hiſtories and medals of *China* and *Japan*, which may in time be acceſſible to members of our Society, and from which alone we can expect information concerning the ancient ſtate of the *Tartars*; but on the hiſtory of *India*, which we naturally conſider as the centre of our enquiries, it may not be ſuperfluous to preſent you with a few particular obſervations.

Our knowledge of civil *Aſiatick* hiſtory (I always except that of the *Hebrews*) exhibits a ſhort evening twilight in the venerable introduction to the firſt book of Moses, followed by a gloomy night, in which different watches are faintly diſcernible, and at length we ſee a dawn ſucceeded by a ſunriſe more or leſs early according to the diverſity of regions. That no *Hindu* nation, but the *Caſhmirians*, have left us regular hiſtories in their ancient language, we muſt ever lament; but from *Sanſcrit* literature, which our country has the honour of having unveiled, we may ſtill collect ſome rays of hiſtorical truth, though time and a ſeries of revolutions have obſcured that light, which we might reaſonably have expected from ſo diligent and ingenious a people. The numerous *Puránas* and *Itiháſas*, or poems mythological and heroick, are completely in our power; and from them we may recover ſome diſfigured, but valuable, pictures of ancient manners and governments; while the popular *tales* of the *Hindus*, in proſe and in verſe, contain fragments of hiſtory; and even in their *dramas* we may find as many real characters and events, as a future age might find in our own plays, if all hiſtories of *England* were, like thoſe of *India*, to be irrecoverably loſt: for example,

example, a moſt beautiful poem by SO'MADE'VA, compriſing a very long chain of inſtructive and agreeable ſtories, begins with the famed revolution at *Pátaliputra* by the murder of King NANDA, with his eight ſons, and the uſurpation of CHANDRAGUPTA; and the ſame revolution is the ſubject of a tragedy in *Sanſcrit*, entitled the Coronation of CHANDRA, the abbreviated name of that able and adventurous uſurper. From theſe, once concealed but now acceſſible, compoſitions, we are enabled to exhibit a more accurate ſketch of old *Indian* hiſtory than the world has yet ſeen, eſpecially with the aid of well-atteſted obſervations on the places of the colures. It is now clearly proved, that the firſt *Purána* contains an account of the deluge, between which and the *Mohammedan* conqueſts the hiſtory of genuine *Hindu* government muſt of courſe be comprehended; but we know from an arrangement of the ſeaſons in the aſtronomical work of PARA'SARA, that the war of the PA'NDAVAS could not have happened earlier than the cloſe of the twelfth century before CHRIST, and SELEUCUS muſt, therefore, have reigned about nine centuries after that war: now the age of VICRAMA'DITYA is given; and, if we can fix on an *Indian* prince, contemporary with SELEUCUS, we ſhall have three given points in the line of time between RAMA, or the firſt *Indian* colony, and CHANDRABI'JA, the laſt *Hindu* monarch, who reigned in *Behár*; ſo that only eight hundred or a thouſand years will remain almoſt wholly dark; and they muſt have been employed in raiſing empires or ſtates, in framing laws, in improving languages and arts, and in obſerving the apparent motions of the celeſtial bodies. A *Sanſcrit* hiſtory of the celebrated VICRAMA'DITYA was inſpected at *Banares* by a *Pandit*, who would not have deceived me, and could not himſelf have been deceived; but the owner of the book is dead and his family diſperſed; nor have my friends in that city been able, with all their exertions, to procure a copy of it: as to the *Mogul* conqueſts, with which modern *Indian* hiſtory begins, we have ample accounts of them in *Perſian*, from ALI of *Yezd* and the tranſlations of *Turkiſh* books compoſed even by ſome of the conquerors,

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to GHULA'M HUSAIN, whom many of us perſonally know, and whoſe impartiality deſerves the higheſt applauſe, though his unrewarded merit will give no encouragement to other contemporary hiſtorians, who, to uſe his own phraſe in a letter to myſelf, may, like him, *conſider plain truth as the beauty of hiſtorical compoſition.* From all theſe materials, and from theſe alone, a perfect hiſtory of *India* (if a mere compilation, however elegant, could deſerve ſuch a title) might be collected by any ſtudious man, who had a competent knowledge of *Sanſcrit*, *Perſian*, and *Arabick*; but, even in the work of a writer ſo qualified, we could only give abſolute credence to the general outline; for, while the abſtract *ſciences* are all truth, and the fine *arts* all fiction, we cannot but own, that, in the *details of hiſtory*, truth and fiction are ſo blended as to be ſcarce diſtinguiſhable.

The practical uſe of hiſtory, in affording particular *examples* of civil and military wiſdom, has been greatly exaggerated; but *principles* of action may certainly be collected from it; and even the narrative of wars and revolutions may ſerve as a leſſon to nations and an admonition to ſovereigns: a deſire, indeed, of knowing paſt events, while the future cannot be known, and a view of the preſent gives often more pain than delight, ſeems natural to the human mind; and a happy propenſity would it be, if every reader of hiſtory would open his eyes to ſome very important corollaries, which flow from the whole extent of it. He could not but remark the conſtant effect of *deſpotiſm* in benumbing and debaſing all thoſe faculties, which diſtinguiſh men from the herd, that grazes; and to that cauſe he would impute the decided inferiority of moſt *Aſiatick* nations, ancient and modern, to thoſe in *Europe*, who are bleſt with happier governments; he would ſee the *Arabs* riſing to glory, while they adhered to the free maxims of their bold anceſtors, and ſinking to miſery from the moment, when thoſe maxims were abandoned. On the other hand he would obſerve with regret, that ſuch *republican* governments

governments as tend to produce virtue and happineſs, cannot in their nature be permanent, but are generally ſucceeded by *Oligarchies*, which no good man would wiſh to be durable. He would then, like the king of *Lydia*, remember SOLON, the wiſeſt, braveſt, and moſt accompliſhed of men, who aſſerts, in four nervous lines, that, " as *hail and* " *ſnow*, which mar the labours of huſbandmen, *proceed from* elevated " *clouds, and*, as *the* deſtructive *thunderbolt follows the brilliant flaſh*, " *thus is a free ſtate ruined by men exalted* in power and ſplendid in " wealth, *while the people, from groſs ignorance*, chuſe rather to *become* " *the ſlaves of one tyrant*, that they may eſcape from the domination of " many, than to preſerve themſelves from tyranny of any kind by their " union and their virtues." Since, therefore, no unmixed form of government could both deſerve permanence and enjoy it, and ſince changes even from the worſt to the beſt, are always attended with much temporary miſchief, he would fix on our *Britiſh* conſtitution (I mean our *publick law*, not the actual *ſtate of things* in any given period) as the beſt form ever eſtabliſhed, though we can only make diſtant approaches to its theoretical perfection. In theſe *Indian* territories, which providence has thrown into the arms of *Britain* for their protection and welfare, the religion, manners, and laws of the natives preclude even the idea of political freedom; but their hiſtories may poſſibly ſuggeſt hints for their proſperity, while our country derives eſſential benefit from the diligence of a placid and ſubmiſſive people, who multiply with ſuch increaſe, even after the ravages of famine, that, in one collectorſhip out of *twenty-four*, and that by no means the largeſt or beſt cultivated (I mean *Crĭſhna-nagar*) there have lately been found, by an actual enumeration, a *million* and *three hundred thouſand* native inhabitants; whence it ſhould ſeem, that in all *India* there cannot now be fewer than *thirty millions* of black *Britiſh* ſubjects.

Let us proceed to *geography* and *chronology*, without which hiſtory would be no certain guide, but would reſemble a kindled vapour without either

either a ſettled place or a ſteady light. For a reaſon before intimated I ſhall not name the various coſmographical books, which are extant in *Arabick* and *Perſian*, nor give an account of thoſe, which the *Turks* have beautifully printed in their own improved language, but ſhall expatiate a little on the geography and aſtronomy of *India*; having firſt obſerved generally, that all the *Aſiatick* nations muſt be far better acquainted with their ſeveral countries than mere *European* ſcholars and travellers; that, conſequently, we muſt learn their geography from their own writings; and that, by collating many copies of the ſame work, we may correct the blunders of tranſcribers in tables, names, and deſcriptions.

Geography, aſtronomy, and chronology have, in this part of *Aſia*, ſhared the fate of authentick hiſtory, and, like that, have been ſo maſked and bedecked in the fantaſtick robes of mythology and metaphor, that the real ſyſtem of *Indian* philoſophers and mathematicians can ſcarce be diſtinguiſhed: an accurate knowledge of *Sanſcrit* and a confidential intercourſe with learned *Bráhmens*, are the only means of ſeparating truth from fable; and we may expect the moſt important diſcoveries from two of our members; concerning whom it may be ſafely aſſerted, that, if our ſociety ſhould have produced no other advantage than the invitation given to them for the publick diſplay of their talents, we ſhould have a claim to the thanks of our country and of all *Europe*. Lieutenant WILFORD has exhibited an intereſting ſpecimen of the geographical knowledge deducible from the *Puránas*, and will in time preſent you with ſo complete a treatiſe on the ancient world known to the *Hindus*, that the light acquired by the *Greeks* will appear but a glimmering in compariſon of that, which He will diffuſe; while Mr. DAVIS, who has given us a diſtinct idea of *Indian* computations and cycles, and aſcertained the place of the colures at a time of great importance in hiſtory, will hereafter diſcloſe the ſyſtems of *Hindu* aſtronomers from NA'RED and PARA'SAR to MEYA, VARA'HAMIHIR, and BHA'SCAR, and will ſoon, I truſt, lay before you

you a perfect delineation of all the *Indian* aſteriſms in both hemiſpheres, where you will perceive ſo ſtrong a general reſemblance to the conſtellations of the *Greeks*, as to prove that the two ſyſtems were originally one and the ſame, yet with ſuch a diverſity in parts, as to ſhow inconteſtably, that neither ſyſtem was copied from the other; whence it will follow, that they *muſt* have had ſome common ſource.

The juriſprudence of the *Hindus* and *Arabs* being the field, which I have choſen for my peculiar toil, you cannot expect, that I ſhould greatly enlarge your collection of hiſtorical knowledge; but I may be able to offer you ſome occaſional tribute, and I cannot help mentioning a diſcovery, which accident threw in my way; though my proofs muſt be reſerved for an eſſay, which I have deſtined for the fourth volume of your Tranſactions. To fix the ſituation of that *Palibothra* (for there may have been ſeveral of the name), which was viſited and deſcribed by MEGASTHENES had always appeared a very difficult problem; for, though it could not have been *Prayága*, where no ancient metropolis ever ſtood, nor *Cányacubja*, which has no epithet at all reſembling the word uſed by the *Greeks*, nor *Gaur*, otherwiſe called *Lacſhmanavati*, which all know to be a town comparatively modern, yet we could not confidently decide that it was *Pátaliputra*, though names and moſt circumſtances nearly correſpond, becauſe that renowned capital extended from the confluence of the *Sone* and the *Ganges* to the ſcite of *Patna*, while *Palibothra* ſtood at the junction of the *Ganges* and *Erannoboas*, which the accurate M. D'ANVILLE had pronounced to be the *Yamunà*: but this only difficulty was removed, when I found in a claſſical *Sanſcrit* book, near two thouſand years old, that *Hiranyabáhu*, or *golden-armed*, which the *Greeks* changed into *Erannoboas*, or the river *with a lovely murmur*, was in fact another name for the *Sóna* itſelf, though MEGASTHENES, from ignorance or inattention, has named them ſeparately. This diſcovery led to another of greater moment; for CHANDRAGUPTA, who, from a military

military adventurer, became, like SANDRACOTTUS, the ſovereign of upper *Hinduſtàn*, actually fixed the ſeat of his empire at *Pataliputra*, where he received ambaſſadors from foreign princes, and was no other than that very SANDRACOTTUS, who concluded a treaty with SELEUCUS NICATOR; ſo that we have ſolved another problem, to which we before alluded, and may in round numbers conſider the twelve and three hundredth years before CHRIST as two certain epochs between RA'MA, who conquered *Silán* a few centuries after the flood, and VICRAMA'DITYA, who died at *Ujjayinì* fifty-ſeven years before the beginning of our era.

II. SINCE theſe diſcuſſions would lead us too far, I proceed to the hiſtory of Nature diſtinguiſhed, for our preſent purpoſe, from that of Man; and divided into that of other *animals*, who inhabit this globe, of the *mineral* ſubſtances, which it contains, and of the *vegetables*, which ſo luxuriantly and ſo beautifully adorn it.

1. Could the figure, inſtincts, and qualities of birds, beaſts, inſects, reptiles, and fiſh be aſcertained, either on the plan of BUFFON, or on that of LINNÆUS, without giving pain to the objects of our examination, few ſtudies would afford us more ſolid inſtruction or more exquiſite delight; but I never could learn by what right, nor conceive with what feelings, a naturaliſt can occaſion the miſery of an innocent bird and leave its young, perhaps, to periſh in a cold neſt, becauſe it has gay plumage and has never been accurately delineated, or deprive even a butterfly of its natural enjoyments, becauſe it has the misfortune to be rare or beautiful; nor ſhall I ever forget the couplet of FIRDAUSI, for which SADI, who cites it with applauſe, pours bleſſings on his departed ſpirit:

> Ah! ſpare yon emmet, rich in hoarded grain:
> He lives with pleaſure, and he dies with pain.

This may be only a confeſſion of weakneſs, and it certainly is not meant as a boaſt of peculiar ſenſibility; but, whatever name may be given to my opinion, it has ſuch an effect on my conduct, that I never would ſuffer the *Cócila*, whoſe *wild native woodnotes* announce the approach of ſpring, to be caught in my garden for the ſake of comparing it with BUFFON's deſcription; though I have often examined the domeſtick and engaging *Mayanà*, which *bids us good morrow at our windows*, and expects, as its reward, little more than ſecurity: even when a fine young *Manìs* or *Pangolin* was brought me, againſt my wiſh, from the mountains, I ſolicited his reſtoration to his beloved rocks, becauſe I found it impoſſible to preſerve him in comfort at a diſtance from them. There are ſeveral treatiſes on animals in *Arabick*, and very particular accounts of them in *Chineſe* with elegant outlines of their external appearance; but I have met with nothing valuable concerning them in *Perſian*, except what may be gleaned from the medical dictionaries; nor have I yet ſeen a book in *Sanſcrit*, that expreſsly treats of them: on the whole, though rare animals may be found in all *Aſia*, yet I can only recommend an examination of them with this condition, that they be left, as much as poſſible, in a ſtate of natural freedom, or made as happy as poſſible, if it be neceſſary to keep them confined.

2. The hiſtory of minerals, to which no ſuch objection can be made, is extremely ſimple and eaſy, if we merely conſider their exterior look and configuration, and their viſible texture; but the analyſis of their internal properties belongs particularly to the ſublime reſearches of Chymiſtry, on which we may hope to find uſeful diſquiſitions in *Sanſcrit*, ſince the old *Hindus* unqueſtionably applied themſelves to that enchanting ſtudy; and even from their treatiſes on alchymy we may poſſibly collect the reſults of actual experiment, as their ancient aſtrological works have preſerved many valuable facts relating to the *Indian* ſphere and the preceſſion of the equinox: both in *Perſian* and *Sanſcrit* there

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are books on metals and minerals, particularly on *gems*, which the *Hindu* philoſophers conſidered (with an exception of the diamond) as varieties of one cryſtalline ſubſtance either ſimple or compound: but we muſt not expect from the chymiſts of *Aſia* thoſe beautiful examples of analyſis, which have but lately been diſplayed in the laboratories of *Europe*.

3. We now come to *Botany*, the loveliеſt and moſt copious diviſion in the hiſtory of nature; and, all diſputes on the comparative merit of ſyſtems being at length, I hope, condemned to *one perpetual night of undiſturbed ſlumber*, we cannot employ our leiſure more delightfully, than in deſcribing all new *Aſiatick* plants in the *Linnæan* ſtyle and method, or in correcting the deſcriptions of thoſe already known, but of which dry ſpecimens only, or drawings, can have been ſeen by moſt *European* botaniſts: in this part of natural hiſtory we have an ample field yet unexplored; for, though many plants of *Arabia* have been made known by GARCIAS, PROSPER ALPINUS, and FORSKOËL, of *Perſia*, by GARCIN, of *Tartary*, by GMELIN and PALLAS, of *China* and *Japan*, by KŒMPFER, OSBECK, and THUNBERG, of *India*, by RHEEDE and RUMPHIUS, the two BURMANS, and the much-lamented KOENIG, yet none of thoſe naturaliſts were deeply verſed in the literature of the ſeveral countries, from which their vegetable treaſures had been procured; and the numerous works in *Sanſcrit* on medical ſubſtances, and chiefly on plants, have never been inſpected, or never at leaſt underſtood, by any *European* attached to the ſtudy of nature. Until the garden of the *India* Company ſhall be fully ſtored (as it will be, no doubt, in due time) with *Arabian*, *Perſian*, and *Chineſe* plants, we may well be ſatiſfied with examining the native flowers of our own provinces; but, unleſs we can diſcover the *Sanſcrit* names of all celebrated vegetables, we ſhall neither comprehend the alluſions, which *Indian* poets perpetually make to them, nor (what is far worſe) be able to find accounts of their tried virtues in the writings of *Indian* phyſicians; and (what is worſt of all)

all) we ſhall miſs an opportunity, which never again may preſent itſelf; for the *Pandits* themſelves have almoſt wholly forgotten their ancient appellations of particular plants, and, with all my pains, I have not yet aſcertained more than *two hundred* out of twice that number, which are named in their medical or poetical compoſitions. It is much to be deplored, that the illuſtrious VAN RHEEDE had no acquaintance with *Sanſcrit*, which even his three *Bràhmens*, who compoſed the ſhort preface engraved in that language, appear to have underſtood very imperfectly, and certainly wrote with diſgraceful inaccuracy: in all his twelve volumes I recollect only *Punarnavà*, in which the *Nágari* letters are tolerably right; the *Hindu* words in *Arabian* characters are ſhamefully incorrect; and the *Malabar*, I am credibly informed, is as bad as the reſt. His delineations, indeed, are in general excellent; and, though LINNÆUS himſelf could not extract from his written deſcriptions the natural character of every plant in the collection, yet we ſhall be able, I hope, to deſcribe them all from the life, and to add a conſiderable number of new *ſpecies*, if not of new *genera*, which RHEEDE, with all his noble exertions, could never procure. Such of our learned members, as profeſs medicine, will, no doubt, cheerfully aſſiſt in theſe reſearches, either by their own obſervations, when they have leiſure to make any, or by communications from other obſervers among their acquaintance, who may reſide in different parts of the country: and the mention of their art leads me to the various *uſes* of natural ſubſtances, in the three kingdoms or claſſes to which they are generally reduced.

III. YOU cannot but have remarked, that almoſt all the *ſciences*, as the *French* call them, which are diſtinguiſhed by *Greek* names and arranged under the head of philoſophy, belong for the moſt part to hiſtory; ſuch are philology, chymiſtry, phyſicks, anatomy, and even metaphyſicks, when we barely relate the phenomena of the human mind; for, in all branches of knowledge, we are only hiſtorians, when we announce facts,

facts, and philoſophers, only when we reaſon on them: the ſame may be confidently ſaid of law and of medicine, the firſt of which belongs principally to civil, and the ſecond chiefly to natural, hiſtory. Here, therefore, I ſpeak of *medicine*, as far only as it is grounded on experiment; and, without believing implicitly what *Arabs*, *Perſians*, *Chineſe*, or *Hindus* may have written on the virtues of medicinal ſubſtances, we may, ſurely, hope to find in their writings what our own experiments may confirm or diſprove, and what might never have occurred to us without ſuch intimations.

Europeans enumerate more than *two hundred and fifty* mechanical arts, by which the productions of nature may be variouſly prepared for the convenience and ornament of life; and, though the *Silpaſáſtra* reduce them to *ſixty-four*, yet ABU'LFAZL had been aſſured, that the *Hindus* reckoned *three hundred* arts and ſciences: now, their ſciences being comparatively few, we may conclude, that they anciently practiſed at leaſt as many uſeful arts as ourſelves. Several *Pandits* have informed me, that the treatiſes on art, which they call *Upavédas* and believe to have been inſpired, are not ſo entirely loſt, but that conſiderable fragments of them may be found at *Banares*; and they certainly poſſeſs many popular, but ancient, works on that intereſting ſubject. The manufactures of ſugar and indigo have been well known in theſe provinces for more than two thouſand years; and we cannot entertain a doubt, that their *Sanſcrit* books on dying and metallurgy contain very curious facts, which might, indeed, be diſcovered by accident in a long courſe of years, but which we may ſoon bring to light, by the help of *Indian* literature, for the benefit of manufacturers and artiſts, and conſequently of our nation, who are intereſted in their proſperity. Diſcoveries of the ſame kind might be collected from the writings of other *Aſiatick* nations, eſpecially of the *Chineſe*; but, though *Perſian*, *Arabick*, *Turkiſh*, and *Sanſcrit* are languages now ſo acceſſible, that, in order to obtain a ſufficient knowledge of

of them, little more ſeems required than a ſtrong inclination to learn them, yet the ſuppoſed number and intricacy of the *Chineſe* characters have deterred our moſt diligent ſtudents from attempting to find their way through ſo vaſt a labyrinth: it is certain, however, that the difficulty has been magnified beyond the truth; for the perſpicuous grammar by M. FOURMONT, together with a copious dictionary, which I poſſeſs, in *Chineſe* and *Latin*, would enable any man, who pleaſed, to compare the original works of CONFUCIUS, which are eaſily procured, with the literal tranſlation of them by COUPLET; and, having made that firſt ſtep with attention, he would probably find, that he had traverſed at leaſt half of his career. But I ſhould be led beyond the limits aſſigned to me on this occaſion, if I were to expatiate farther on the hiſtorical diviſion of the knowledge compriſed in the literature of *Aſia*; and I muſt poſtpone till next year my remarks on *Aſiatick* philoſophy and on thoſe arts, which depend on imagination; promiſing you with confidence, that, in the courſe of the preſent year, your inquiries into the *civil and natural hiſtory* of this eaſtern world will be greatly promoted by the learned labours of many among our aſſociates and correſpondents.

DISCOURSE THE ELEVENTH.

ON

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ASIATICKS.

DELIVERED 20 FEBRUARY, 1794.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

HAD it been of any importance, gentlemen, to arrange theſe anniverſary diſſertations according to the ordinary progreſs of the human mind, in the gradual expanſion of its three moſt conſiderable powers, *memory*, *imagination*, and *reaſon*, I ſhould certainly have preſented you with an eſſay on the *liberal arts* of the five *Aſiatick* nations, before I produced my remarks on their *abſtract ſciences*; becauſe, from my own obſervation at leaſt, it ſeems evident, that *fancy*, or the faculty of combining our ideas agreeably by various modes of imitation and ſubſtitution, is in general earlier exerciſed, and ſooner attains maturity, than the power of ſeparating and comparing thoſe ideas by the laborious exertions of intellect; and hence, I believe, it has happened, that all nations in the world had poets before they had mere philoſophers: but, as M. D'ALEMBERT has deliberately placed ſcience before art, as the queſtion

of

of precedence is, on this occaſion, of no moment whatever, and as many new facts on the ſubject of *Aſiatick* philoſophy are freſh in my remembrance, I propoſe to addreſs you now on the ſciences of *Aſia*, reſerving for our next annual meeting a diſquiſition concerning thoſe fine arts, which have immemorially been cultivated, with different ſucceſs and in very different modes, within the circle of our common inquiries.

By ſcience I mean an aſſemblage of tranſcendental propoſitions diſcoverable by human reaſon, and reducible to firſt principles, axioms, or maxims, from which they may all be derived in a regular ſucceſſion; and there are conſequently as many ſciences as there are general objects of our intellectual powers: when man firſt exerts thoſe powers, his objects are *himſelf* and the reſt of *nature*; himſelf he perceives to be compoſed of *body* and *mind*, and in his *individual* capacity, he reaſons on the *uſes* of his animal frame and of its parts both exteriour and internal, on the *diſorders* impeding the regular functions of thoſe parts, and on the moſt probable methods of preventing thoſe diſorders or of removing them; he ſoon feels the cloſe connexion between his corporeal and mental faculties, and when his *mind* is reflected on itſelf, he diſcourſes on its *eſſence* and its *operations*; in his *ſocial* character, he analyzes his various *duties* and *rights* both private and publick; and in the leiſure, which the fulleſt diſcharge of thoſe duties always admits, his intellect is directed to *nature* at large, to the *ſubſtance* of natural bodies, to their ſeveral *properties*, and to their quantity both ſeparate and united, finite and infinite; from all which objects he deduces notions, either purely abſtract and univerſal, or mixed with undoubted facts, he argues from phenomena to theorems, from thoſe theorems to other phenomena, from cauſes to effects, from effects to cauſes, and thus arrives at the demonſtration of a *firſt intelligent cauſe*; whence his collected wiſdom, being arranged in the form of ſcience, chiefly conſiſts of *phyſiology* and *medicine*, *metaphyſicks* and *logick*, *ethicks* and *juriſprudence*, *natural philoſophy* and *mathematicks*; from

from which the *religion of nature* (ſince revealed religion muſt be referred to *hiſtory*, as alone affording evidence of it) has in all ages and in all nations been the ſublime and conſoling reſult. Without profeſſing to have given a logical definition of ſcience, or to have exhibited a perfect enumeration of its objects, I ſhall confine myſelf to thoſe *five* diviſions of *Aſiatick* philoſophy, enlarging for the moſt part on the progreſs which the *Hindus* have made in them, and occaſionally introducing the ſciences of the *Arabs* and *Perſians*, the *Tartars*, and the *Chineſe*; but, how extenſive ſoever may be the range which I have choſen, I ſhall beware of exhauſting your patience with tedious diſcuſſions, and of exceeding thoſe limits, which the occaſion of our preſent meeting has neceſſarily preſcribed.

I. The firſt article affords little ſcope; ſince I have no evidence, that, in any language of *Aſia*, there exiſts one original treatiſe on medicine conſidered as a *ſcience:* phyſick, indeed, appears in theſe regions to have been from time immemorial, as we ſee it practiſed at this day by *Hindus* and *Muſelmáns*, a mere empirical *hiſtory* of diſeaſes and remedies; uſeful, I admit, in a high degree, and worthy of attentive examination, but wholly foreign to the ſubject before us: though the *Arabs*, however, have chiefly followed the *Greeks* in this branch of knowledge, and have themſelves been implicitly followed by other *Mohammedan* writers, yet (not to mention the *Chineſe*, of whoſe medical works I can at preſent ſay nothing with confidence) we ſtill have acceſs to a number of *Sanſcrit* books on the old *Indian* practice of phyſick, from which, if the *Hindus* had a theoretical ſyſtem, we might eaſily collect it. The *Ayurvéda*, ſuppoſed to be the work of a celeſtial phyſician, is almoſt entirely loſt, unfortunately perhaps for the curious *European*, but happily for the patient *Hindu*; ſince a revealed ſcience precludes improvement from experience, to which that of medicine ought, above all others, to be left perpetually open; but I have myſelf met with curious

fragments of that primeval work, and, in the *Véda* itſelf, I found with aſtoniſhment an entire *Upaniſhad* on the internal parts of the human body; with an enumeration of nerves, veins, and arteries, a deſcription of the heart, ſpleen, and liver, and various diſquiſitions on the formation and growth of the fetus: from the laws, indeed, of MENU, which have lately appeared in our own language, we may perceive, that the ancient *Hindus* were fond of reaſoning in their way on the myſteries of animal generation, and on the comparative influence of the ſexes in the production of perfect offſpring; and we may collect from the authorities adduced in the learned Eſſay on *Egypt* and the *Nile*, that their phyſiological diſputes led to violent ſchiſms in religion, and even to bloody wars. On the whole, we cannot expect to acquire many valuable truths from an examination of eaſtern books on the ſcience of medicine; but examine them we muſt, if we wiſh to complete the hiſtory of univerſal philoſophy, and to ſupply the ſcholars of *Europe* with authentick materials for an account of the opinions anciently formed on this head by the philoſophers of *Aſia:* to know, indeed, with certainty, that ſo much and no more can be known on any branch of ſcience, would in itſelf be very important and uſeful knowledge, if it had no other effect than to check the boundleſs curioſity of mankind, and to fix them in the ſtraight path of attainable ſcience, eſpecially of ſuch as relates to their duties and may conduce to their happineſs.

II. WE have an ample field in the next diviſion, and a field almoſt wholly new; ſince the mytaphyſicks and logick of the *Bráhmens*, compriſed in their *ſix* philoſophical *Sáſtras*, and explained by numerous gloſſes or comments, have never yet been acceſſible to *Europeans*; and, by the help of the *Sanſcrit* language, we now may read the works of the *Saugatas*, *Bauddhas*, *A'rhatas*, *Jainas*, and other heterodox philoſophers, whence we may gather the metaphyſical tenets prevalent in *China* and *Japan*, in the eaſtern peninſula of *India*, and in many conſiderable nations

nations of *Tartary:* there are alſo ſome valuable tracts on theſe branches of ſcience in *Perſian* and *Arabick*, partly copied from the *Greeks*, and partly compriſing the doctrines of the *Súfis* which anciently prevailed, and ſtill prevail in great meaſure over this oriental world, and which the *Greeks* themſelves condeſcended to borrow from eaſtern ſages.

The little treatiſe in four chapters, aſcribed to *Vyáſa*, is the only philoſophical *Sáſtra*, the original text of which I have had leiſure to perule with a *Bráhmen* of the *Védánti* ſchool: it is extremely obſcure, and, though compoſed in ſentences elegantly modulated, has more reſemblance to a table of contents, or an accurate ſummary, than to a regular ſyſtematical tract; but all its obſcurity has been cleared by the labour of the very judicious and moſt learned SANCARA, whoſe commentary on the *Védánta*, which I read alſo with great attention, not only elucidates every word of the text, but exhibits a perſpicuous account of all other *Indian* ſchools, from that of CAPILA to thoſe of the more modern hereticks. It is not poſſible, indeed, to ſpeak with too much applauſe of ſo excellent a work; and I am confident in aſſerting, that, until an accurate tranſlation of it ſhall appear in ſome *European* language, the general hiſtory of philoſophy muſt remain incomplete; for I perfectly agree with thoſe, who are of opinion, that one correct verſion of any celebrated *Hindu* book would be of greater value than all the diſſertations or eſſays, that could be compoſed on the ſame ſubject; you will not, however, expect, that, in ſuch a diſcourſe as I am now delivering, I ſhould expatiate on the diverſity of *Indian* philoſophical ſchools, on the ſeveral founders of them, on the doctrines, which they reſpectively taught, or on their many diſciples, who diſſented from their inſtructors in ſome particular points. On the preſent occaſion, it will be ſufficient to ſay, that the oldeſt head of a ſect, whoſe entire work is preſerved, was (according to ſome authors) CAPILA; not the divine perſonage,

perſonage, a reputed grandſon of BRAHMA', to whom CRI'SHNA compares himſelf in the *Gítá*, but a ſage of his name, who invented the *Sánc'hya*, or *Numeral*, philoſophy, which CRI'SHNA himſelf appears to impugn in his converſation with ARJUNA, and which, as far as I can recollect it from a few original texts, reſembled in part the metaphyſicks of PYTHAGORAS, and in part the theology of ZENO: his doctrines were enforced and illuſtrated, with ſome additions, by the venerable PATANJALI, who has alſo left us a fine comment on the grammatical rules of PA'NINI, which are more obſcure, without a gloſs, than the darkeſt oracle; and here by the way let me add, that I refer to metaphyſicks the curious and important ſcience of *univerſal grammar*, on which many ſubtil diſquiſitions may be found interſperſed in the particular grammars of the ancient *Hindus*, and in thoſe of the more modern *Arabs*. The next founder, I believe, of a philoſophical ſchool was GO'TAMA, if, indeed, he was not the moſt ancient of all; for his wife AHALY'A was, according to *Indian* legends, reſtored to a human ſhape by the great RA'MA; and a ſage of his name, whom we have no reaſon to ſuppoſe a different perſonage, is frequently mentioned in the *Véda* itſelf; to his rational doctrines thoſe of CANA'DA were in general conformable; and the philoſophy of them both is uſually called *Nyáya*, or *logical*, a title aptly beſtowed; for it ſeems to be a ſyſtem of metaphyſicks and logick better accommodated than any other anciently known in *India*, to the natural reaſon and common ſenſe of mankind; admitting the actual exiſtence of *material ſubſtance* in the popular acceptation of the word *matter*, and compriſing not only a body of ſublime dialecticks, but an artificial method of reaſoning, with diſtinct names for the three parts of a propoſition, and even for thoſe of a regular ſyllogiſm. Here I cannot refrain from introducing a ſingular tradition, which prevailed, according to the well-informed author of the *Dabiſtán*, in the *Panjáb* and in ſeveral *Perſian* provinces, that, "among other *Indian* curioſities, which "CALLISTHENES tranſmitted to his uncle, was *a technical ſyſtem of logick*, "which

" which the *Bráhmens* had communicated to the inquiſitive *Greek*," and which the *Mohammedan* writer ſuppoſes to have been the groundwork of the famous *Ariſtotelean* method: if this be true, it is one of the moſt intereſting facts, that I have met with in *Aſia*; and if it be falſe, it is very extraordinary, that ſuch a ſtory ſhould have been fabricated either by the candid MOHSANI *Fánì*; or by the ſimple *Pársís Pandits*, with whom he had converſed; but, not having had leiſure to ſtudy the *Nyáya Sáſtra*, I can only aſſure you, that I have frequently ſeen perfect ſyllogiſms in the philoſophical writings of the *Bráhmens*, and have often heard them uſed in their verbal controverſies. Whatever might have been the merit or age of GOTAMA, yet the moſt celebrated *Indian* ſchool is that, with which I began, founded by VYA'SA, and ſupported in moſt reſpects by his pupil JAIMINI, whoſe diſſent on a few points is mentioned by his maſter with reſpectful moderation: their ſeveral ſyſtems are frequently diſtinguiſhed by the names of the firſt and ſecond *Mímánſá*, a word, which, like *Nyáya*, denotes the operations and concluſions of reaſon; but the tract of VYA'SA has in general the appellation of *Védánta*, or the ſcope and end of the *Véda*, on the texts of which, as they were underſtood by the philoſopher, who collected them, his doctrines are principally grounded. The fundamental tenet of the *Védántí* ſchool, to which in a more modern age the incomparable SANCARA was a firm and illuſtrious adherent, conſiſted, not in denying the exiſtence of matter, that is, of ſolidity, impenetrability, and extended figure (to deny which would be lunacy), but, in correcting the popular notion of it, and in contending, that it has no eſſence independent of mental perception, that exiſtence and perceptibility are convertible terms, that external appearances and ſenſations are illuſory, and would vaniſh into nothing, if the divine energy, which alone ſuſtains them, were ſuſpended but for a moment; an opinion, which EPICHARMUS and PLATO ſeem to have adopted, and which has been maintained in the preſent

preſent century with great elegance, but with little publick applauſe; partly becauſe it has been miſunderſtood, and partly becauſe it has been miſapplied by the falſe reaſoning of ſome unpopular writers, who are ſaid to have diſbelieved in the moral attributes of GOD, whoſe omnipreſence, wiſdom, and goodneſs are the baſis of the *Indian* philoſophy: I have not ſufficient evidence on the ſubject to profeſs a belief in the doctrine of the *Védánta*, which human reaſon alone could, perhaps, neither fully demonſtrate, nor fully diſprove; but it is manifeſt, that nothing can be farther removed from impiety than a ſyſtem wholly built on the pureſt devotion; and the inexpreſſible difficulty, which any man, who ſhall make the attempt, will aſſuredly find in giving a ſatisfactory definition of *material ſubſtance*, muſt induce us to deliberate with coolneſs, before we cenſure the learned and pious reſtorer of the ancient *Véda*; though we cannot but admit, that, if the common opinions of mankind *be* the criterion of philoſophical truth, we muſt adhere to the ſyſtem of GO'TAMA, which the *Bráhmens* of this province almoſt univerſally follow.

If the metaphyſicks of the *Védántís* be wild and erroneous, the pupils of BUDDHA have run, it is aſſerted, into an error diametrically oppoſite; for they are charged with denying the exiſtence of pure ſpirit, and with believing nothing abſolutely and really to exiſt but *material ſubſtance*; a heavy accuſation which ought only to have been made on poſitive and inconteſtable proof, eſpecially by the orthodox *Bráhmens*, who, as BUDDHA diſſented from their anceſtors in regard to *bloody ſacrifices*, which the *Véda* certainly preſcribes, may not unjuſtly be ſuſpected of low and intereſted malignity. Though I cannot credit the charge, yet I am unable to prove it entirely falſe, having only read a few pages of a *Saugata* book, which Captain KIRKPATRICK had lately the kindneſs to give me; but it begins, like other *Hindu* books, with the word *O'm*, which we know to be a ſymbol of the divine

divine attributes: then follows, indeed, a myſterious hymn to the Goddeſs of Nature, by the name of *A'ryá*, but with ſeveral other titles, which the *Bráhmens* themſelves continually beſtow on their *Dévì*; now the *Bráhmens*, who have no idea, that any ſuch perſonage exiſts as De'vi', or the *Goddeſs*, and only mean to expreſs allegorically the *power* of God, exerted in creating, preſerving and renovating this univerſe, we cannot with juſtice infer, that the diſſenters admit no deity but *viſible nature:* the *Pandit*, who now attends me, and who told Mr. Wilkins, that the *Saugatas* were atheiſts, would not have attempted to reſiſt the deciſive evidence of the contrary, which appears in the very inſtrument, on which he was conſulted, if his underſtanding had not been blinded by the intolerant zeal of a mercenary prieſthood. A literal verſion of the book juſt mentioned (if any ſtudious man had learning and induſtry equal to the taſk) would be an ineſtimable treaſure to the compiler of ſuch a hiſtory as that of the laborious Brucker; but let us proceed to the *morals* and *juriſprudence* of the *Aſiaticks*, on which I could expatiate, if the occaſion admitted a full diſcuſſion of the ſubject, with correctneſs and confidence.

III. That both ethicks and abſtract law might be reduced to the *method of ſcience*, cannot ſurely be doubted; but, although ſuch a method would be of infinite uſe in a ſyſtem of univerſal, or even of national, juriſprudence, yet the *principles* of morality are ſo few, ſo luminous, and ſo ready to preſent themſelves on every occaſion, that the practical utility of a ſcientifical arrangement, in a treatiſe on ethicks, may very juſtly be queſtioned. The moraliſts of the eaſt have in general choſen to deliver their precepts in ſhort ſententious maxims, to illuſtrate them by ſprightly compariſons, or to inculcate them in the very ancient form of agreeable apoloques: there are, indeed, both in *Arabick* and *Perſian*, philoſophical tracts on ethicks written with ſound ratiocination and elegant perſpicuity: but in every part of this eaſtern world, from *Pekin* to *Damaſcus*, the popular teachers of moral

moral wiſdom have immemorially been poets, and there would be no end of enumerating their works, which are ſtill extant in the five principal languages of *Aſia*. Our divine religion, the truth of which (if any hiſtory be true) is abundantly proved by hiſtorical evidence, has no need of ſuch aids, as many are willing to give it, by aſſerting, that the wiſeſt men of this world were ignorant of the two great maxims, that *we muſt act in reſpect of others, as we ſhould wiſh them to act in reſpect of ourſelves*, and that, *inſtead* of *returning evil for evil, we ſhould confer benefits even on thoſe who injure us*; but the firſt rule is implied in a ſpeech of LYSIAS, and expreſſed in diſtinct phraſes by THALES and PITTACUS; and I have even ſeen it word for word in the original of CONFUCIUS, which I carefully compared with the *Latin* tranſlation. It has been uſual with zealous men, to ridicule and abuſe all thoſe, who dare on this point to quote the *Chineſe* philoſopher; but, inſtead of ſupporting their cauſe, they would ſhake it, if it could be ſhaken, by their uncandid aſperity; for they ought to remember, that one great end of revelation, as it is moſt expreſsly declared, was not to inſtruct the wiſe and few, but the many and unenlightened. If the converſation, therefore, of the *Pandits* and *Maulavis* in this country ſhall ever be attempted by proteſtant miſſionaries, they muſt beware of aſſerting, while they teach the goſpel of truth, what thoſe *Pandits* and *Maulavis* would know to be falſe: the former would cite the beautiful *Aryá* couplet, which was written at leaſt three centuries before our era, and which pronounces the duty of a good man, even in the moment of his deſtruction, to conſiſt *not only in forgiving, but even in a deſire of benefiting, his deſtroyer, as the* Sandal-*tree, in the inſtant of its overthrow, ſheds perfume on the axe, which fells it*; and the latter would triumph in repeating the verſe of SADI, who repreſents *a return of good for good as a ſlight reciprocity*, but ſays to the virtuous man, "*Confer benefits on him, who has injured thee*," uſing an *Arabick* ſentence, and a maxim apparently of the ancient *Arabs*. Nor would the *Muſelmans* fail to recite four diſtichs of HA'FIZ, who has illuſtrated that maxim with fanciful but elegant alluſions;

Learn

Learn from yon orient ſhell to love thy foe,
And ſtore with pearls the hand, that brings thee wo:
Free, like yon rock, from baſe vindictive pride,
Imblaze with gems the wriſt, that rends thy ſide:
Mark, where yon tree rewards the ſtony ſhow'r
With fruit nectareous, or the balmy flow'r:
All nature calls aloud: "Shall man do leſs
Than heal the ſmiter, and the railer bleſs?"

Now there is not a ſhadow of reaſon for believing, that the poet of *Shiraz* had borrowed this doctrine from the *Chriſtians*; but, as the cauſe of *Chriſtianity* could never be promoted by falſehood or errour, ſo it will never be obſtructed by candour and veracity; for the leſſons of CONFUCIUS and CHANACYA, of SADI and HA'FIZ, are unknown even at this day to millions of *Chineſe* and *Hindus*, *Perſians* and other *Mahommedans*, who toil for their daily ſupport; nor, were they known ever ſo perfectly, would they have a divine ſanction with the multitude; ſo that, in order to enlighten the minds of the ignorant, and to enforce the obedience of the perverſe, it is evidently *a priori*, that a revealed religion was neceſſary in the great ſyſtem of providence: but my principal motive for introducing this topick, was to give you a ſpecimen of that ancient oriental morality, which is compriſed in an infinite number of *Perſian*, *Arabick*, and *Sanſcrit* compoſitions.

Nearly one half of *juriſprudence* is cloſely connected with ethicks; but, ſince the learned of *Aſia* conſider moſt of their laws as poſitive and divine inſtitutions, and not as the mere concluſions of human reaſon, and ſince I have prepared a maſs of extremely curious materials, which I reſerve for an introduction to the digeſt of *Indian* laws, I proceed to the fourth diviſion, which conſiſts principally of *ſcience* tranſcendently ſo named, or *the knowledge of abſtract quantities, of their limits, properties,*

and relations, impreſſed on the underſtanding with the force of irreſiſtible *demonſtration,* which, as all other knowledge depends at beſt on our fallible ſenſes, and in great meaſure on ſtill more fallible teſtimony, can only be found, in pure mental abſtractions; though for all the purpoſes of life, our own ſenſes, and even the credible teſtimony of others, give us in moſt caſes the higheſt degree of certainty, phyſical and moral.

IV. I HAVE already had occaſion to touch on the *Indian* metaphyſicks of *natural bodies* according to the moſt celebrated of the *Aſiatick* ſchools, from which the *Pythagoreans* are ſuppoſed to have borrowed many of their opinions; and, as we learn from CICERO, that the old ſages of *Europe* had an idea of *centripetal force* and a principle of *univerſal gravitation* (which they never indeed attempted to demonſtrate), ſo I can venture to affirm, without meaning to pluck a leaf from the neverfading laurels of our immortal NEWTON, that the whole of his theology and part of his philoſophy may be found in the *Védas* and even in the works of the *Súfis:* that *moſt ſubtil ſpirit,* which he ſuſpected to pervade natural bodies, and, lying concealed in them, to cauſe attraction and repulſion, the emiſſion, reflection, and refraction of light, electricity, calefaction, ſenſation, and muſcular motion, is deſcribed by the *Hindus* as a *fifth element* endued with thoſe very powers; and the *Védas* abound with alluſions to a force univerſally attractive, which they chiefly aſcribe to the Sun, thence called *Aditya,* or the *Attractor;* a name deſigned by the mythologiſts to mean the child of the Goddeſs ADITI; but the moſt wonderful paſſage on the theory of attraction occurs in the charming allegorical poem of SHI'RI'N and FERHA'D, or the *Divine Spirit* and *a human Soul diſintereſtedly pious;* a work which from the firſt verſe to the laſt, is a blaze of religious and poetical fire. The whole paſſage appears to me ſo curious, that I make no apology for giving you a faithful tranſlation of it: "There is a ſtrong propenſity, "which dances through every atom, and attracts the minuteſt particle

"to

" to ſome peculiar object; ſearch this univerſe from its baſe to its ſum-
" mit, from fire to air, from water to earth, from all below the Moon
" to all above the celeſtial ſpheres, and thou wilt not find a corpuſcle
" deſtitute of that natural attractibility; the very point of the firſt
" thread, in this apparently tangled ſkein, is no other than ſuch a prin-
" ciple of attraction, and all principles beſide are void of a real baſis;
" from ſuch a propenſity ariſes every motion perceived in heavenly or
" in terreſtrial bodies; it is a diſpoſition to be attracted, which taught
" hard ſteel to ruſh from its place and rivet itſelf on the magnet; it is
" the ſame diſpoſition, which impels the light ſtraw to attach itſelf
" firmly on amber; it is this quality, which gives every ſubſtance in
" nature a tendency toward another, and an inclination forcibly directed
" to a determinate point." Theſe notions are vague, indeed, and unſatisfactory; but permit me to aſk, whether the laſt paragraph of NEWTON's incomparable work goes much farther, and whether any ſubſequent experiments have thrown light on a ſubject ſo abſtruſe and obſcure: that the ſublime aſtronomy and exquiſitely beautiful geometry, with which that work is illumined, ſhould in any degree be approached by the Mathematicians of *Aſia*, while of all *Europeans*, who ever lived, ARCHIMEDES alone was capable of emulating them, would be a vain expectation; but we muſt ſuſpend our opinion of *Indian* aſtronomical knowledge, till the *Súrya ſiddhánta* ſhall appear in our own language, and even then (to adopt a phraſe of CICERO) our *greedy and capacious ears* will by no means be ſatisfied; for in order to complete an hiſtorical account of genuine *Hindu* aſtronomy, we require verbal tranſlations of at leaſt three other *Sanſcrit* books; of the treatiſe by PARASARA, for the firſt age of *Indian* ſcience, of that by VARA'HA, with the copious comment of his very learned ſon, for the middle age, and of thoſe written by BHASCARA, for times comparatively modern. The valuable and now acceſſible works of the laſt mentioned philoſopher, contain alſo an *univerſal*, or *ſpecious*, arithmetick, with one chapter at leaſt

leaſt on geometry; nor would it, ſurely, be difficult to procure, through our ſeveral reſidents with the *Píſhwá* and with SCINDHYA, the older books on algebra, which BHASCARA mentions, and on which Mr. DAVIS would juſtly ſet a very high value; but the *Sanſcrit* work, from which we might expect the moſt ample and important information, is entitled *Cſhétráderſa*, or *a View of Geometrical Knowledge*, and was compiled in a very large volume by order of the illuſtrious JAYASINHA, compriſing all that remains on that ſcience in the ſacred language of *India:* it was inſpected in the weſt by a *Pandit* now in the ſervice of Lieutenant WILFORD, and might, I am perſuaded, be purchaſed at *Jayanagar*, where Colonel POLIER had permiſſion from the *Rájá* to buy the four *Védas* themſelves. THUS have I anſwered, to the beſt of my power, the three firſt queſtions obligingly tranſmitted to us by profeſſor PLAYFAIR; whether the *Hindus* have books in *Sanſcrit* expreſsly on geometry, whether they have any ſuch on arithmetick, and whether a tranſlation of the *Súrya ſiddhánta* be not the great *deſideratum* on the ſubject of *Indian* aſtronomy: to his three laſt queſtions, whether an accurate ſummary account of all the *Sanſcrit* works on that ſubject, a delineation of the *Indian* celeſtial ſphere, with correct remarks on it, and a deſcription of the aſtronomical inſtruments uſed by the ancient *Hindus*, would not ſeverally be of great utility, we cannot but anſwer in the affirmative, provided that the utmoſt critical ſagacity were applied in diſtinguiſhing ſuch works, conſtellations, and inſtruments, as are clearly of *Indian* origin, from ſuch as were introduced into this country by *Muſelman* aſtronomers from *Tartary* and *Perſia*, or in later days by Mathematicians from *Europe*.

V. FROM all the properties of man and of nature, from all the various branches of ſcience, from all the deductions of human reaſon, the general corollary, admitted by *Hindus*, *Arabs*, and *Tartars*, by *Perſians*, and by *Chineſe*, is the ſupremacy of an all-creating and all-preſerving ſpirit, infinitely

infinitely wiſe, good, and powerful, but infinitely removed from the comprehenſion of his moſt exalted creatures; nor are there in any language (the ancient *Hebrew* always excepted) more pious and ſublime addreſſes to the being of beings, more ſplendid enumerations of his attributes, or more beautiful deſcriptions of his viſible works, than in *Arabick*, *Perſian* and *Sanſcrit*, eſpecially in the *Koran*, the introductions to the poems of SADI', NIZA'M'I, and FIRDAUS'I, the four *Védas* and many parts of the numerous *Puránas:* but ſupplication and praiſe would not ſatisfy the boundleſs imagination of the *Vedántì* and *Sùfì* theologiſts, who blending uncertain metaphyſicks with undoubted principles of religion, have preſumed to reaſon confidently on the very nature and eſſence of the divine ſpirit, and aſſerted in a very remote age, what multitudes of *Hindus* and *Muſelmans* aſſert at this hour, that all ſpirit is homogeneous, that the ſpirit of GOD is in *kind* the ſame with that of man, though differing from it infinitely in *degree*, and that, as material ſubſtance is mere illuſion, there exiſts in this univerſe only one generick ſpiritual ſubſtance, the ſole primary cauſe, efficient, ſubſtantial and formal of all ſecondary cauſes and of all appearances whatever, but endued in its higheſt degree, with a ſublime providential wiſdom, and proceeding by ways incomprehenſible to the ſpirits which emane from it; an opinion, which GOTAMA never taught, and which we have no authority to believe, but which, as it is grounded on the doctrine of an immaterial creator ſupremely wiſe, and a conſtant preſerver ſupremely benevolent, differs as widely from the pantheiſm of SPINOZA and TOLAND, as the affirmation of a propoſition differs from the negation of it; though the laſt named profeſſor of that *inſane philoſophy* had the baſeneſs to conceal his meaning under the very words of Saint PAUL, which are cited by NEWTON for a purpoſe totally different, and has even uſed a phraſe, which occurs, indeed, in the *Véda*, but in a ſenſe diametrically oppoſite to that, which he would have given it. The paſſage, to which I allude, is in a ſpeech of VARUNA to his ſon, where he ſays: "That

"ſpirit,

" ſpirit, from which theſe created beings proceed; through which " having proceeded from it, they live; toward which they tend and " in which they are ultimately abſorbed, that ſpirit ſtudy to know; that " ſpirit is the Great One."

The ſubject of this diſcourſe, gentlemen, is inexhauſtible: it has been my endeavour to ſay as much on it as poſſible in the feweſt words; and, at the beginning of next year, I hope to cloſe theſe general diſquiſitions with topicks meaſureleſs in extent, but leſs abſtruſe than that, which has this day been diſcuſſed, and better adapted to the gaiety, which ſeems to have prevailed in the learned banquets of the *Greeks*, and which ought, ſurely, to prevail in every ſympoſiack aſſembly.

A DIS-

The System of

INDIAN, ARABIAN, and PERSIAN LETTERS.

Soft and hard Breathings

a *or* e h a ḥha

Vowels *Diphthongs and* *Semivowels*

ă ā	a, à	e	è	ẏ a
i	ì	o	ò	w a
u	ù	a i	a u	r a
r ĭ	r ī	lr ĭ	lr ī	l a
â a	ê è	î ì	û ù	á â

Consonants

c a	c'ha	g a	g'ha	ṅ a
k a	k h a		g h a	
s a	s h a	z a	z h a	ś a
ť a	ť'ha	ď a	ď'ha	ń a
			ď h a	
t a	t'ha	d a	d'ha	n a
	t h a		d h a	
p a	p'ha	b a	b'ha	m a
	f a		v a	

Compounds.

c h a	ch,ha	j a	j h a	ṅẏa
ż a	z̈a	ž a	e s h a	jṅẏa

A DISSERTATION

ON THE

ORTHOGRAPHY OF ASIATICK WORDS

IN ROMAN LETTERS.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

EVERY man, who has occaſion to compoſe tracts on *Aſiatick* Literature, or to tranſlate from the *Aſiatick* Languages, muſt always find it convenient, and ſometimes neceſſary, to expreſs *Arabian*, *Indian*, and *Perſian* words, or ſentences, in the characters generally uſed among *Europeans*; and almoſt every writer in thoſe circumſtances has a method of notation peculiar to himſelf: but none has yet appeared in the form of a complete ſyſtem; ſo that each original ſound may be rendered invariably by one appropriated ſymbol, conformably to the natural order of articulation, and with a due regard to the primitive power of the *Roman* alphabet, which modern *Europe* has in general adopted. A want of attention to this object has occaſioned great confuſion in Hiſtory and Geography. The ancient *Greeks*, who made a voluntary ſacrifice of truth to the delicacy of their ears, appear to have altered by deſign almoſt all the oriental names, which they introduced into their elegant,

elegant, but romantick, Hiſtories; and even their more modern Geographers, who were too vain, perhaps, of their own language to learn any other, have ſo ſtrangely diſguiſed the proper appellations of countries, cities, and rivers in *Aſia*, that, without the guidance of the ſagacious and indefatigable M. D'Anville, it would have been as troubleſome to follow Alexander through the *Panjàb* on the Ptolemaick map of Agathodæmon, as actually to travel over the ſame country in its preſent ſtate of rudeneſs and diſorder. They had an unwarrantable habit of moulding foreign names to a *Grecian* form, and giving them a reſemblance to ſome derivative word in their own tongue: thus, they changed the *Gogra* into *Agoranis*, or *a river of the aſſembly*, *Uchah* into *Oxydracæ*, or *ſharpſighted*, and *Renas* into *Aornos*, or *a rock inacceſſible to birds*; whence their poets, who delighted in wonders, embelliſhed their works with new images, diſtinguiſhing regions and fortreſſes by properties, which exiſted only in imagination. If we have leſs livelineſs of fancy than the Ancients, we have more accuracy, more love of truth, and, perhaps, more ſolidity of judgement; and, if our works ſhall afford leſs delight to thoſe, in reſpect of whom we ſhall be Ancients, it may be ſaid without preſumption, that we ſhall give them more correct information on the Hiſtory and Geography of this eaſtern world; ſince no man can perfectly deſcribe a country, who is unacquainted with the language of it. The learned and entertaining work of M. D'Herbelot, which profeſſes to interpret and elucidate the names of perſons and places, and the titles of books, abounds alſo in citations from the beſt writers of *Arabia* and *Perſia*; yet, though his orthography will be found leſs defective than that of other writers on ſimilar ſubjects, without excepting the illuſtrious Prince Kantemir, ſtill it requires more than a moderate knowledge of *Perſian*, *Arabick*, and *Turkiſh*, to comprehend all the paſſages quoted by him in *European* characters; one inſtance of which I cannot forbear giving. In the account of *Ibnu Zaidùn*, a celebrated *Andaluſian* poet, the firſt couplet

of

of an elegy in *Arabick* is praiſed for its elegance, and expreſſed thus in *Roman* letters:

Iekad heïn tenagikom dhamairna;
Iacdha âlaïna alaſſa laula taſſina.

" The time, adds the tranſlator, will ſoon come, when you will " deliver us from all our cares: the remedy is aſſured, provided we " have a little patience." When Dr. HUNT of *Oxford*, whom I am bound to name with gratitude and veneration, together with two or three others, attempted at my requeſt to write the ſame diſtich in *Arabian* characters, they all wrote it differently, and all, in my preſent opinion, erroneouſly. I was then a very young ſtudent, and could not eaſily have procured *Ibnu Zaidùn's* works, which are, no doubt, preſerved in the *Bodley* library, but which have not ſince fallen in my way. This admired couplet, therefore, I have never ſeen in the original characters, and confeſs myſelf at a loſs to render them with certainty. Both verſes are written by *D'Herbelot* without attention to the grammatical points, that is, in a form which no learned *Arab* would give them in recitation; but, although the *French* verſion be palpably erroneous, it is by no means eaſy to correct the errour. If *álásà* or a *remedy* be the true reading, the negative particle muſt be abſurd, ſince *taáſſaínà* ſignifies *we are patient*, and not *we deſpair*, but, if *álâſay* or *affliction* be the proper word, ſome obſcurity muſt ariſe from the verb, with which it agrees. On the whole I gueſs, that the diſtich ſhould thus be written:

يَكَادُ حِيْنَ تُنَاجِيكُمْ ضَمَايِرُنَا
يَقْضِى عَلَيْنَا ٱلْأَسَى لَوْلَا تَأَسِّيْنَا

Yecádu hhína tunájícum d'emäïrunà
Yakdì âlainà 'láſay lau là taáſsínà.

" When our boſoms impart their ſecrets to you, anguiſh would almoſt " fix our doom, if we were not mutually to conſole ourſelves."

The principal verbs may have a future ſenſe, and the laſt word may admit of a different interpretation. Dr. HUNT, I remember, had found in GIGGEIUS the word *dhemáyer*, which he conceived to be in the original. After all, the rhyme ſeems imperfect, and the meaſure irregular. Now I aſk, whether ſuch perplexities could have ariſen, if *D'Herbelot* or his Editor had formed a regular ſyſtem of expreſſing *Arabick* in *Roman* characters, and had apprized his readers of it in his introductory diſſertation?

If a further proof be required, that ſuch a ſyſtem will be uſeful to the learned and eſſential to the ſtudent, let me remark, that a learner of *Perſian*, who ſhould read in our beſt hiſtories the life of Sultan AZIM, and wiſh to write his name in *Arabick* letters, might expreſs it *thirty-nine* different ways, and be wrong at laſt: the word ſhould be written *Aâzem* with three points on the firſt conſonant.

There are two general modes of exhibiting *Aſiatick* words in our own letters: they are founded on principles nearly oppoſite, but each of them has its advantages, and each has been recommended by reſpectable authorities. The firſt profeſſes to regard chiefly the *pronunciation* of the words intended to be expreſſed; and this method, as far as it can be purſued, is unqueſtionably uſeful: but new ſounds are very inadequately preſented to a ſenſe not formed to receive them; and the reader muſt in the end be left to pronounce many letters and ſyllables precariouſly; beſides, that by this mode of orthography all grammatical analogy is deſtroyed,

deſtroyed, ſimple ſounds are repreſented by double characters, vowels of one denomination ſtand for thoſe of another; and poſſibly with all our labour we perpetuate a provincial or inelegant pronunciation: all theſe objections may be made to the uſual way of writing *Kummerbund*, in which neither the letters nor the true ſound of them are preſerved, while *Kemerbend*, or *Cemerbend*, as an ancient *Briton* would write it, clearly exhibits both the original characters and the *Perſian* pronunciation of them. To ſet this point in a ſtrong light, we need only ſuppoſe, that the *French* had adopted a ſyſtem of letters wholly different from ours, and of which we had no types in our printing-houſes: let us conceive an *Engliſhman* acquainted with their language to be pleaſed with MALHERBE'S well-known imitation of *Horace*, and deſirous of quoting it in ſome piece of criticiſm. He would read thus:

‘ La mort a des rigueurs à nulle autre pareilles;
‘ On a beau la prier:
‘ La cruelle qu'elle eſt ſe bouche les oreilles,
‘ Et nous laiſſe crier.

‘ Le pauvre en ſa cabane, ou le chaume le couvre,
‘ Eſt ſujet à ſes loix,
‘ Et la garde, qui veille aux barrieres du *Louvre*,
‘ N'en défend pas nos rois!’

Would he then expreſs theſe eight verſes, in *Roman* characters, exactly as the *French* themſelves in fact expreſs them, or would he decorate his compoſition with a paſſage more reſembling the dialect of ſavages, than that of a poliſhed nation? His pronunciation, good or bad, would, perhaps, be thus repreſented:

‘ Law

‘ Law more aw day reegyewrs aw nool otruh parellyuh,
‘ Onne aw bo law preeay:
‘ Law crooellyuh kellay ſuh booſhuh lays orellyuh,
‘ Ay noo layſuh creeay.

‘ Luh povre ong ſaw cawbawn oo luh chomuh luh coovruh,
‘ Ay ſoozyet aw ſay lwaw,
‘ Ay law gawrduh kee velly ò bawryayruh dyoo *Loovruh*
‘ Nong dayfong paw no rwaw!’

The ſecond ſyſtem of *Aſiatick* Orthography conſiſts in ſcrupulouſly rendering letter for letter, without any particular care to preſerve the pronunciation; and, as long as this mode proceeds by unvaried rules, it ſeems clearly entitled to preference.

For the firſt method of writing *Perſian* words the warmeſt advocate, among my acquaintance, was the late Major Davy, a Member of our Society, and a man of parts, whom the world loſt prematurely at a time, when he was meditating a literary retirement, and hoping to paſs the remainder of his life in domeſtick happineſs, and in the cultivation of his very uſeful talents. He valued himſelf particularly on his pronunciation of the *Perſian* language, and on his new way of exhibiting it in our characters, which he inſtructed the learned and amiable Editor of his *Inſtitutes of Timour* at *Oxford* to retain with minute attention throughout his work. Where he had acquired his refined articulation of the *Perſian*, I never was informed; but it is evident, that he ſpells moſt proper names in a manner, which a native of *Perſia*, who could read our letters, would be unable to comprehend. For inſtance: that the capital of *Azarbáíjàn* is now called *Tabríz*, I know from the mouth of a perſon born in that city, as well as from other *Iranians*; and that it was ſo called ſixteen hundred years ago, we all know from the Geography

graphy of *Ptolemy*; yet Major DAVY always wrote it *Tubburaze*, and inſiſted that it ſhould thus be pronounced. Whether the natives of *Semerkand*, or *Samarkand*, who probably ſpeak the dialect of *Soghd* with a *Turanian* pronunciation, call their birthplace, as DAVY ſpelled it, *Summurkund*, I have yet to learn; but I cannot believe it, and am convinced, that the former mode of writing the word expreſſes both the letters and the ſound of them better than any other combination of characters. His method, therefore, has every defect; ſince it renders neither the original elements of words, nor the ſounds repreſented by them in *Perſia*, where alone we muſt ſeek for genuine *Perſian*, as for *French* in *France*, and for *Italian* in *Italy*.

The ſecond method has found two able ſupporters in Mr. HALHED and Mr. WILKINS; to the firſt of whom the publick is indebted for a perſpicuous and ample grammar of the *Bengal* language, and to the ſecond for more advantages in *Indian* literature than *Europe*, or *India*, can ever ſufficiently acknowledge.

Mr. HALHED, having juſtly remarked, ‘ that the two greateſt de-
‘ fects in the orthography of any language are the application of the
‘ ſame letter to ſeveral different ſounds, and of different letters to the
‘ ſame ſound,’ truly pronounces them both to be ‘ ſo common in
‘ *Engliſh*, that he was exceedingly embarraſſed in the choice of letters
‘ to expreſs the ſound of the *Bengal* vowels, and was at laſt by no
‘ means ſatisfied with his own ſelection.’ If any thing diſſatisfies me, in his clear and accurate ſyſtem, it is the uſe of *double* letters for the long vowels (which might however be juſtified) and the frequent intermixture of *Italick* with *Roman* letters in the ſame word; which both in writing and printing muſt be very inconvenient: perhaps it may be added, that his diphthongs are not expreſſed analogouſly to the ſounds of which they are compoſed.

The

The ſyſtem of Mr. WILKINS has been equally well conſidered, and Mr. HALHED himſelf has indeed adopted it in his preface to the *Compilation of Hindu Laws:* it principally conſiſts of double letters to ſignify our third and fifth vowels, and of the common proſodial marks to aſcertain their brevity or their length; but thoſe marks are ſo generally appropriated to books of proſody, that they never fail to convey an idea of metre; nor, if *either* proſodial ſign were adopted, would *both* be neceſſary; ſince the omiſſion of a long mark would evidently denote the ſhortneſs of the unmarked vowel, or converſely. On the whole, I cannot but approve this notation for *Sanſcrit* words, yet require ſomething more univerſally expreſſive of *Aſiatick* letters: as it is perfect, however, in its kind, and will appear in the works of its learned inventor, I ſhall annex, among the examples, four diſtichs from the *Bhágawat* expreſſed both in his method and mine *: a tranſlation of them will be produced on another occaſion; but, in order to render this tract as complete as poſſible, a fuller ſpecimen of *Sanſcrit* will be ſubjoined with the original printed in the characters of *Bengal*, into which the *Bráhmans* of that province tranſpoſe all their books, few of them being able to read the *Dévanágari* letters: ſo far has their indolence prevailed over their piety!

Let me now proceed, not preſcribing rules for others, but explaining thoſe which I have preſcribed for myſelf, to unfold my own ſyſtem, the convenience of which has been proved by careful obſervation and long experience.

It would be ſuperfluous to diſcourſe on the organs of ſpeech, which have been a thouſand times diſſected, and as often deſcribed by muſicians or anatomiſts; and the ſeveral powers of which every man may perceive either by the touch or by ſight, if he will attentively obſerve

* Plate IV.

another

another perſon pronouncing the different claſſes of letters, or pronounce them himſelf diſtinctly before a mirror: but a ſhort analyſis of articulate ſounds may be proper to introduce an examination of every ſeparate ſymbol.

All things abound with errour, as the old ſearchers for truth remarked with deſpondence; but it is really deplorable, that our firſt ſtep from total ignorance ſhould be into groſs inaccuracy, and that we ſhould begin our education in *England* with learning to read *the five vowels*, *two* of which, as we are taught to pronounce them, are clearly diphthongs. There are, indeed, five ſimple vocal ſounds in our language, as in that of *Rome*; which occur in the words *an innocent bull*, though not preciſely in their natural order, for we have retained the true arrangement of the letters, while we capriciouſly diſarrange them in pronunciation; ſo that our eyes are ſatisfied, and our ears diſappointed. The primary elements of articulation are the *ſoft* and *hard breathings*, the *ſpiritus lenis* and *ſpiritus aſper* of the *Latin* Grammarians. If the lips be opened ever ſo little, the breath ſuffered gently to paſs through them, and the feebleſt utterance attempted, a ſound is formed of ſo ſimple a nature, that, when lengthened, it continues nearly the ſame, except that, by the leaſt acuteneſs in the voice it becomes a cry, and is probably the firſt ſound uttered by infants; but if, while this element is articulated, the breath be forced with an effort through the lips, we form an *aſpirate* more or leſs harſh in proportion to the force exerted. When, in pronouncing the ſimple vowel, we open our lips wider, we expreſs a ſound completely articulated, which moſt nations have agreed to place the *firſt* in their ſymbolical ſyſtems: by opening them wider ſtill with the corners of them a little drawn back, we give birth to the *ſecond* of the *Roman* vowels, and by a large aperture, with a farther inflexion of the lips and a higher elevation of the tongue, we utter the *third* of them. By purſing up our lips in the leaſt degree, we convert the ſimple element into another

other ſound of the ſame nature with the *firſt* vowel, and eaſily confounded with it in a broad pronunciation: when this new ſound is lengthened, it approaches very nearly to the *fourth* vowel, which we form by a bolder and ſtronger rotundity of the mouth; a farther contraction of it produces the *fifth* vowel, which in its elongation almoſt cloſes the lips, a ſmall paſſage only being left for the breath. Theſe are all ſhort vowels; and, if an *Italian* were to read the words *an innocent bull*, he would give the ſound of each correſponding long vowel, as in the monoſyllables of his own language, *ſà, ſi, ſò, ſe, ſu*. Between theſe ten vowels are numberleſs gradations, and nice inflexions, which uſe only can teach; and, by the compoſition of them all, might be formed an hundred diphthongs, and a thouſand triphthongs; many of which are found in *Italian*, and were probably articulated by the *Greeks*; but we have only occaſion, in this tract, for two diphthongs, which are compounded of the *firſt* vowel with the *third*, and with the *fifth*, and ſhould be expreſſed by their conſtituent letters: as to thoſe vocal compounds which begin with the *third* and *fifth* ſhort vowels, they are generally and not inconveniently rendered by diſtinct characters, which are improperly ranged among the conſonants. The tongue, which aſſiſts in forming ſome of the vowels, is the principal inſtrument in articulating two liquid ſounds, which have ſomething of a vocal nature; one, by ſtriking the roots of the upper teeth, while the breath paſſes gently through the lips, another, by an inflexion upwards with a tremulous motion; and theſe two liquids coaleſce with ſuch eaſe, that a mixed letter, uſed in ſome languages, may be formed by the firſt of them followed by the ſecond: when the breath is obſtructed by the preſſure of the tongue, and forced between the teeth on each ſide of it, a liquid is formed peculiar to the *Britiſh* dialect of the *Celtick*.

We may now conſider in the ſame order, beginning with the root of the tongue and ending with the perfect cloſe of the lips, thoſe leſs muſical

muſical ſounds, which require the aid of a *vowel*, or at leaſt of the *ſimple breathing*, to be fully articulated; and it may here be premiſed, that the *harſh breathing* diſtinctly pronounced after each of theſe *conſonants*, as they are named by grammarians, conſtitutes its proper *aſpirate*.

By the aſſiſtance of the tongue and the palate are produced two congenial ſounds, differing only as *hard* and *ſoft*; and theſe two may be formed ſtill deeper in the throat, ſo as to imitate, with a long vowel after them, the voice of a raven; but if, while they are uttered, the breath be harſhly protruded, two analogous articulations are heard, the ſecond of which ſeems to characterize the pronunciation of the *Arabs*; while the naſal ſound, very common among the *Perſians* and *Indians*, may be conſidered as the *ſoft palatine* with part of the breath paſſing through the noſe; which organ would by itſelf rather produce a *vocal* ſound, common alſo in *Arabia*, and not unlike the cry of a young antelope and ſome other quadrupeds.

Next come different claſſes of *dentals*, and among the firſt of them ſhould be placed the *ſibilants*, which moſt nations expreſs by an *indented* figure: each of the *dental* ſounds is hard or ſoft, ſharp or obtuſe, and, by thruſting the tip of the tongue between the teeth, we form two ſounds exceedingly common in *Arabick* and *Engliſh*, but changed into liſping ſibilants by the *Perſians* and *French*, while they on the other hand have a ſound unknown to the *Arabs*, and uncommon in our language, though it occurs in ſome words by the compoſition of the hard ſibilant with our laſt vowel pronounced as a diphthong. The liquid *naſal* follows theſe, being formed by the tongue and roots of the teeth, with a little aſſiſtance from the other organ; and we muſt particularly remember, when we attend to the pronunciation of *Indian* dialects, that moſt ſounds of this claſs are varied in a ſingular manner by turning the tongue

upwards, and almoſt bending it back towards the palate, ſo as to exclude them nearly from the order, but not from the analogy, of dentals.

The *labials* form the laſt ſeries, moſt of which are pronounced by the appulſe of the lips on each other or on the teeth, and one of them by their perfect cloſe: the letters, by which they are denoted, repreſent in moſt alphabets the curvature of one lip or of both; and *a natural character* for all articulate ſounds might eaſily be agreed on, if nations would agree on any thing generally beneficial, by delineating the ſeveral organs of ſpeech in the act of articulation, and ſelecting from each a diſtinct and elegant outline. A perfect language would be that, in which every idea, capable of entering the human mind, might be neatly and emphatically expreſſed by one ſpecifick word, ſimple if the idea were ſimple, complex, if complex; and on the ſame principle a perfect ſyſtem of letters ought to contain one ſpecifick ſymbol for every ſound uſed in pronouncing the language to which they belonged: in this reſpect the old *Perſian* or *Zend* approaches to perfection; but the *Arabian* alphabet, which all *Mohammedan* nations have inconſiderately adopted, appears to me ſo complete for the purpoſe of writing *Arabick*, that not a letter could be added or taken away without manifeſt inconvenience, and the ſame may indubitably be ſaid of the *Dévanágarì* ſyſtem; which, as it is more naturally arranged than any other, ſhall here be the ſtandard of my particular obſervations on *Aſiatick* letters. Our *Engliſh* alphabet and orthography are diſgracefully and almoſt ridiculouſly imperfect; and it would be impoſſible to expreſs either *Indian*, *Perſian*, or *Arabian* words in *Roman* characters, as we are abſurdly taught to pronounce them; but a mixture of new characters would be inconvenient, and by the help of the diacritical marks uſed by the *French*, with a few of thoſe adopted in our own treatiſes on *fluxions*, we may apply our preſent alphabet ſo happily to the notation of all *Aſiatick* languages, as to equal

अ आ इ ई उ ऊ ऋ ॠ

ऌ ॡ ऍ ऎ ओ औ अं अः

क का कि की कु कू कृ कॄ

कॢ कॣ के कै को कौ कं कः

क ख ग घ ङ च छ ज झ ञ

ट ठ ड ढ ण त थ द ध न

प फ ब भ म य र ल व श

ष स ह क्ष त्र

equal the *Dévanágarì* itſelf in preciſion and clearneſs, and ſo regularly that any one, who knew the original letters, might rapidly and unerringly tranſpoſe into them all the proper names, appellatives, or cited paſſages, occurring in tracts of *Aſiatick* literature.

अ

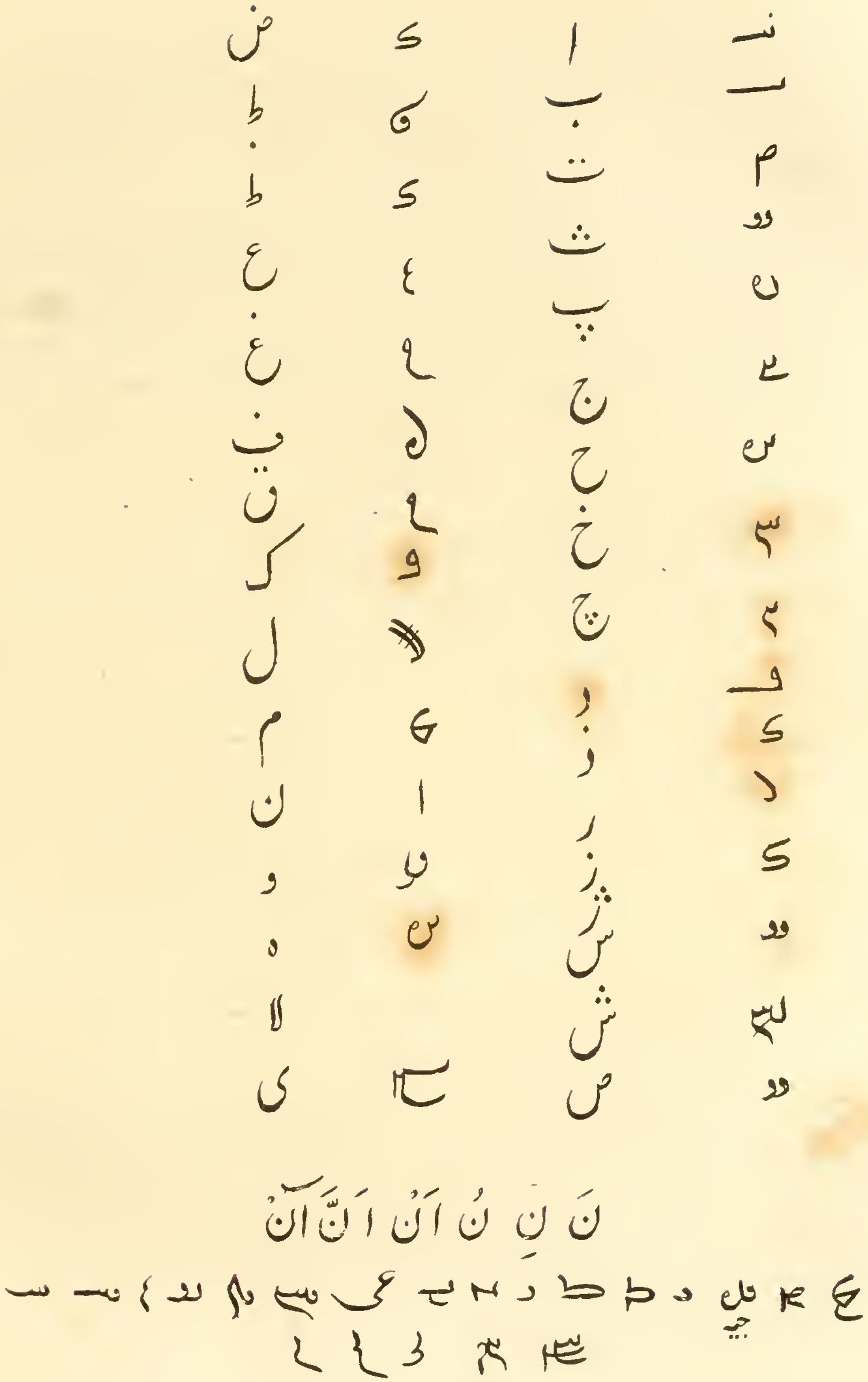
This is the ſimpleſt element of articulation, or firſt *vocal* ſound, concerning which enough has been ſaid: the word *America* begins and ends with it; and its proper ſymbol therefore is A; though it may be often very conveniently expreſſed by E, for reaſons, which I ſhall preſently offer. In our own anomalous language we commonly mark this elementary ſound by our *fifth* vowel, but ſometimes expreſs it by a ſtrange variety both of vowels and diphthongs; as in the phraſe, *a mother bird flutters over her young*; an irregularity, which no regard to the derivation of words or to blind cuſtom can in any degree juſtify. The *Nágarì* letter is called *Acàr*, but is pronounced in *Bengal* like our *fourth* ſhort vowel, and in the *weſt* of *India*, like our *firſt*: in all the dialects properly *Indian* it is conſidered as *inherent* in every conſonant; and is placed laſt in the ſyſtem of the *Tibetians*, becauſe the letters, which include it, are firſt explained in their ſchools. If our double conſonants were invariably connected, as in *Sanſcrit*, it would certainly be the better way to omit the ſimple element, except when it begins a word. This letter anſwers to the *fat-hhah*, or *open* ſound of the *Arabs*, and, in ſome few words, to the *Zeber* of the *Perſians*, or an acute accent placed *above* the letter; but this *Arabian* mark, which was ſupplied in the *Pahlavi* by a diſtinct character, is more frequently pronounced at *Iſahan* either like our *firſt* or our *ſecond* ſhort vowel, as in *chaſhm* and *ferzend*, and the diſtinction ſeems to depend, in general, on the nature of the conſonant, which follows it. Two of our letters, therefore, are neceſſary for the complete

complete notation of the *acàr* and *zeber*; and thus we may be able occaſionally to avoid ridiculous or offenſive equivocations in writing Oriental words, and to preſerve the true pronunciation of the *Perſians*, which differs as widely from that of the *Munimans* in *India*, as the language of our Court at *St. James's* differs from that of the ruſticks in the *Gentle Shepherd*.

आ

When the *firſt* vowel, as the *Perſians* pronounce it in the word *bakht*, is doubled or prolonged as in *bákht*, it has the ſound of the ſecond *Nágarì* vowel, and of the firſt *Arabick* letter, that is, of our long vowel in *caſt*; but the *Arabs* deride the *Perſians* for their broad pronunciation of this letter, which in *Iràn* has always the ſound of our vowel in *call*, and is often ſo prolated, as to reſemble the *fourth* and even the *fifth* of our long vowels. Its natural mark would be the ſhort A *doubled*; but an *acute* accent in the middle of words, or a *grave* at the end of them, will be equally clear, and conformable to the practice of poliſhed nations on the continent of *Europe*. The very broad ſound of the *Arabian* letter, which they call *extended*, and which the *Perſians* extend yet more, as in the word *ásàn*, may aptly enough be repreſented by the proſodial ſign, ſince it is conſtantly long; whereas the mark *hamzah* as conſtantly *ſhortens* the letter, and gives it the ſound of the point above, or below, it; as in the words *ósùl* and *Iſlàm*: the changes of this letter may perplex the learner, but his perplexity will ſoon vaniſh, as he advances. In writing *Aſiatick* names, we frequently confound the broad *à* with its correſpondent ſhort vowel, which we improperly expreſs by an O; thus we write *Coſſim* for *Káſim* in defiance of analogy and correctneſs. Our vowel in *fond* occurs but ſeldom, if ever, in *Arabian*, *Indian*, or *Perſian* words: it is placed, nevertheleſs, in the general ſyſtem with the ſhort proſodial mark, and ſtands at the head of the vowels, becauſe it is in truth only a variation of the ſimple breathing.

Our



ई

Our *third* vowel, correctly pronounced, appears next in the *Nágarì* ſyſtem; for our *ſecond* ſhort vowel has no place in it. This vocal ſound is repreſented in *Arabick* by an accute accent *under* the letter; which at *Mecca* has almoſt invariably the ſame pronunciation; but, ſince, in the *Zend*, a character like the *Greek E-pſilon* repreſents both our *ſecond* and *third* ſhort vowels, the *Perſians* often pronounce *zìr* like *zeber*, calling this country *Hend*, and the natives of it *Hendùs:* nevertheleſs it will be proper to denote the *Sanſcrit icàr*, and the *Arabian caſr* by one unaltered ſymbol; as in the words *Indra* and *Imám*.

ई

The *third* vowel produced or lengthened is, for the reaſon before ſuggeſted, beſt marked by an accent either acute or grave, as in *Italian:*

Se cerca, ſe dice:
L'amico dov'è?
L'amico infelice,
Riſpondi, morì!
Ah! no; sì gran duolo
Non darle per me.
Riſpondi, ma ſolo:
Piangendo partì.

It was once my practice to repreſent this long vowel by two marks, as in the words *Lebeid* and *Deiwàn*, to denote the *point* in *Arabick* as well as the letter above it; but my preſent opinion is, that *Lebìd* and *Díwàn* are more conformable to analogy, and to the *Italian* orthography, which of all *European* ſyſtems approaches neareſt to perfection.

This

उ

This is our *fifth* vowel; for our *fourth* ſhort one is, like our *ſecond*, rejected from the pure pronunciation of the *Sanſcrit* in the weſt of *India* and at *Bánáras*, though the *Bengaleſe* retain it in the firſt *Nágarì* letter, which they call *ocàr:* to the notation of this ſound, our vowel in *full* and the *Perſian* in *gul* ſhould be conſtantly appropriated, ſince it is a ſimple articulation, and cannot without impropriety be repreſented by a double letter. It anſwers to *hu-pſilon*, and, like that, is often confounded with *iota:* thus *muſhc* has the ſound of *miſhc* among the modern *Perſians*, as *Numpha* was pronounced *Nympha* by the *Romans*. The *damm* of the *Arabs* is, however, frequently ſounded, eſpecially in *Perſia*, like our ſhort O in *memory*, and the choice of two marks for a variable ſound is not improper in itſelf, and will ſometimes be found very convenient.

ऊ

The ſame lengthened, and properly expreſſed by an accent, as in the word *virtù:* it is a very long vowel in *Perſian*, ſo as nearly to treble the quantity of its correſpondent ſhort one; and this, indeed, may be obſerved of all the long vowels in the genuine *Isfaháni* pronunciation; but the letter *váù* is often redundant, ſo as not to alter the ſound of the ſhort vowel preceding it; as in *khóſh* and *khód:* it may, nevertheleſs, be right to expreſs that letter by an accent.

ऋ

A vocal ſound peculiar to the *Sanſcrit* language: it is formed by a gentle vibration of the tongue preceding our *third* vowel pronounced *very ſhort*, and may be well expreſſed by the proſodial mark, as in *Rĭſhi*, a Saint. When it is connected with a conſonant, as in *Crĭſhna*,

no

no part of it is uſed but the curve at the bottom. We have a ſimilar ſound in the word *merrily*, the ſecond ſyllable of which is much ſhorter than the firſt ſyllable of *riches*.

ॠ

The ſame complex ſound conſiderably lengthened; and, therefore, diſtinguiſhable by the proſodial ſign of a *long* vowel.

ऌ

In *Bengal*, where the *ra* is often ſunk in the pronunciation of compound ſyllables, this letter expreſſes both ſyllables of our word *lily*; but its genuine ſound, I believe, is *lrĭ*, a ſhort triphthong peculiar to the *Sanſcrit* language.

ॡ

Whatever be the true pronunciation of the former ſymbol, this is only an elongation of it, and may, therefore, be diſtinguiſhed by the metrical ſign of a long vowel.

ऽ

Our *ſecond* long vowel, beſt repreſented, like the others, by an accent, as in *Véda*, the ſacred book of the *Hindus*, which is a derivative from the *Sanſcrit* root *vid*, to *know*. The notation, which I recommend, will have this important advantage, that learned foreigners in *Europe* will in general pronounce the oriental words, expreſſed by it, with as much correctneſs and facility as our own nation.

This

ऐ

This is a diphthong compoſed of our *firſt* and *third* vowels, and expreſſible, therefore, by them, as in the word *Vaidya*, derived from *Véda*, and meaning *a man of the medical caſt:* in *Bengal* it is pronounced as the *Greek* diphthong in *poimèn*, a ſhepherd, was probably ſounded in ancient *Greece*. The *Arabs* and the *Engliſh* articulate this compoſition exactly alike, though we are pleaſed to expreſs it by a ſimple letter, which, on the continent of *Europe*, has it genuine ſound. In the mouth of an *Italian* the conſtituent vowels in the words *mai* and *miei* do not perfectly coaleſce, and, at the cloſe of a verſe, they are ſeparated; but a *Frenchman* and a *Perſian* would pronounce them nearly like the preceding long vowel; as in the word *Mai*, which at *Paris* means our month of the ſame name, and at *Iſfahan* ſignifies *wine:* the *Perſian* word, indeed, might with great propriety be written *mei*, as the diphthong ſeems rather to be compoſed of our *ſecond* and *third* ſhort vowels; a compoſition very common in *Italian* poetry.

ओ

Though a coalition of *acàr* and *ucàr* forms this ſound in *Sanſcrit*, as in the myſtical word *óm*, yet it is in fact a ſimple articulation, and the *fourth* of our long vowels.

औ

Here, indeed, we meet with a proper diphthong, compounded of our *firſt* and *fifth* vowels; and in *Perſia* the conſtituent ſounds are not perfectly united; as in the word *Firdauſi*, which an *Italian* would pronounce exactly like a native of *Iſfahan*. Perhaps, in *Arabick* words, it may be proper to repreſent by an accent the letters *yà* and *wáw*, which,

preceded

preceded by the *open* vowel, form the reſpective diphthongs in *Zohaìr* and *Jaúheri*; but the omiſſion of this accent would occaſion little inconvenience.

अं

This is no vowel, but an abbreviation, at the end of a ſyllable, of the *naſal* conſonants: thus the *Portugueſe* write *Siaó* for *Siam* with a naſal termination; and the accurate M. D'Anville expreſſes great unwillingneſs to write *Siam* for the country, and *Siamois* for the people of it, yet acknowledges his fear of innovating, 'notwithſtanding his 'attachment to the original and proper denominations of countries and 'places.' It appears to me, that the addition of a diſtinct letter *ga* would be an improper and inconvenient mode of expreſſing the naſal ſound, and that we cannot do better than adopt the *Indian* method of diſtinguiſhing it, in *Sanſcrit*, *Chineſe*, and *Perſian* words, by a point above the letter; as in *Sinha*, a lion, *Cánhì*, the name of an illuſtrious Emperor, and *Sámán*, a houſehold.

अः

This too is an abbreviation or ſubſtitute, at the cloſe of a ſyllable, for the *ſtrong aſpirate*, and may be diſtinguiſhed in the middle of a word by a hyphen, as in *duh-c'ha*, pain, though it ſeems often to reſemble the *Arabian hà*, which gives only a more forcible ſound to the vowel, which precedes it, as in *hhicmah*, ſcience. It is well known, that, when ſuch *Arabick* words are uſed in conſtruction, the *final* aſpirate of the firſt noun has the ſound of *tà*; but, as the letter remains unaltered, it ſhould, I think, be preſerved in our characters, and expreſſed either by two *points* above it, as in *Arabick*, or by an accentual mark;

ſince if we write *Zubdahu'lmulc*, or, *the Flower of the Realm*, with a comma to denote the ſuppreſſion of the *álif*, every learner will know, that the firſt word ſhould be pronounced *Zubdat*. The *hà* is often omitted by us, when we write *Perſian* in *Engliſh* letters, but ought invariably to be inſerted, as in *Sháhnámah*; ſince the aſpiration is very perceptibly ſounded in the true pronunciation of *dergáh*, *rúbáh*, and other ſimilar words. The *Sanſcrit* character before us has the ſingular property of being interchangeable, by certain rules, both with *ra*, and *ſa*; in the ſame manner as the *Sylva* of the *Romans* was formed from the *Æolick* word *hylva*, and as *arbos* was uſed in old *Latin* for *arbor*.

क

We come now to the firſt proper conſonant of the *Indian* ſyſtem, in which a ſeries of letters, formed in the throat near the root of the tongue, properly takes the lead. This letter has the ſound of our *k* and *c* in the words *king* and *cannibal*; but there will be great convenience in expreſſing it uniformly by the *ſecond* of thoſe marks, whatever be the vowel following it. The *Arabs*, and perhaps all nations deſcended from SEM, have a remarkable letter ſounded near the palate with a hard preſſure, not unlike the cawing of a raven, as in the word *Káſim*; and for this particular ſound the redundance of our own alphabet ſupplies us with an uſeful ſymbol: the common people in *Hhejàz* and *Egypt* confound it, indeed, with the firſt letter of *Gabr*, and the *Perſians* only add to that letter the hard palatine ſound of the *Arabian kàf*; but, if we diſtinguiſh it invariably by *k*, we ſhall find the utility of appropriating our *c* to the notation of the *Indian* letter now before us. The third letter of the *Roman alphabet* was probably articulated like the *kappa* of the *Greeks*; and we may fairly ſuppoſe, that *Cicero* and *Cithara* were pronounced alike at *Rome* and at *Athens*: the

the *Welſh* apply this letter uniformly to the ſame ſound, as in *cae* and *ceſn*; and a little practice will render ſuch words as *citàb* and *cinnara* familiar to our eyes.

ঘ

We hear much of aſpirated letters; but the only proper *aſpirates* (thoſe I mean, in which a ſtrong breathing is diſtinctly heard after the conſonants) are to be found in the languages of *India*; unleſs the word *cachexy*, which our medical writers have borrowed from the *Greek*, be thought an exception to the rule: this aſpiration may be diſtinguiſhed by a *comma*, as the letter before us is expreſſed in the word *c'hanitra*, a *ſpade*. The *Arabian*, *Perſian*, and *Tuſcan* aſpirate, which is formed by a harſh protruſion of the breath, while the conſonant is roughly articulated near the root of the tongue, may be written as in the word *makhzen*, a *treaſury*.

ঙ

Whatever vowel follow this letter, it ſhould conſtantly be expreſſed as in the words *gul*, a flower, and *gil*, clay; and we may obſerve, as before, that a little uſe will reconcile us to this deviation from our irregular ſyſtem. The *Germans*, whoſe pronunciation appears to be more conſiſtent than our own, would ſcarce underſtand the *Latin* name of their own country, if an *Engliſhman* were to pronounce it, as he was taught at ſchool.

ঝ

The proper aſpirate of the laſt letter, as in the word *Rag'huvanſa*: the *Perſians* and *Arabs* pronounce their *ghain* with a bur in the throat,

and

and a tremulous motion of the tongue, which gives it a ſound reſembling that of *r*, as it is pronounced in *Northumberland*; but it is in truth a compound guttural, though frequently expreſſed by a ſimple letter, as in *Gaza*, which ſhould be written *Ghazzah*, a city of *Paleſtine*, and in *gazelle*, as the *French* naturaliſts call the *ghazàl*, or antelope, of the *Arabians*. The *Perſian* word *míghe*, a cloud, is *még'ha* in *Sanſcrit*; as *míſh*, a ſheep, appears alſo to be derived from *méſha*, by that change of the long vowels, which generally diſtinguiſhes the *Iranian* from the *Indian* pronunciation.

ঙ

This is the *naſal* palatine, which I have already propoſed to denote by a *point* above the letter *n*; ſince the addition of a *g* would create confuſion, and often ſuggeſt the idea of a different ſyllable. Thus ends the firſt ſeries of *Nágarì* letters, conſiſting of the *hard* and *ſoft* guttural, each attended by its proper aſpirate, and followed by a *naſal* of the ſame claſs; which elegant arrangement is continued, as far as poſſible, through the *Sanſcrit* ſyſtem, and ſeems conformable to the beautiful analogy of nature.

ঢ

The next is a ſeries of *compound* letters, as moſt grammarians conſider them, though ſome hold them to be ſimple ſounds articulated near the palate. The firſt of them has no diſtinct ſign in our own alphabet, but is expreſſed, as in the word *China*, by two letters, which are certainly not its component principles: it might, perhaps, be more properly denoted, as it is in the great work of M. D' Herbelot, by *tſh*; but the inconvenience of retaining our own ſymbol will be leſs than that of introducing a new combination, or inventing, after the example of Dr. Franklin,

FRANKLIN, a new character. *China* is a *Sanſcrit* word; and it will be convenient ſo to write it, though I feel an inclination to expreſs it otherwiſe.

ছ

The ſame compoſition with a ſtrong breathing articulated after it. Harſh as it may ſeem, we cannot, if we continue the former ſymbol, avoid expreſſing this ſound, as in the word *ch'handas*, metre.

জ

This too ſeems to have been conſidered by the *Hindus* as a ſimple palatine, but appears in truth to be the complex expreſſion of *dzh:* perhaps the ſame letter may, by a ſmall difference of articulation, partake of two different ſounds. This at leaſt we may obſerve, that the letter under conſideration is confounded, as a ſimple ſound, with *ya*, and, as a compound, with *za*, one of its conſtituents: thus the *yáſmìn* of *Arabia* is by us called *jaſmin*, while the ſame man is *Giorgi* at *Rome* and *Zorzi* at *Venice*; or (to give an example of both in a ſingle word) *yug*, or *junction*, at *Bánáres*, is *jug* in *Bengal*, and was pronounced *zug*, or, in the nominative, *zugon* at *Athens*. We ſhould, however, invariably expreſs the letter before us by *ja*.

The *Arabian* letters *d'hald'*, *d'àd*, and *d'hà* are all pronounced in *Perſia* like *za*, with a ſort of liſp from an attempt to give them their genuine ſound: they may be well expreſſed as in fluxionary characters, by a ſeries of points above them, ż, z̈, z̈.

ঝ

The preceding letter aſpirated, as in the word *Jh'haſha*, a fiſh.

This

ञ

This is the *ſecond* naſal compoſed of the former and the letter *ya*. As the *Italian* word *agnello* and our *onion* contain a compoſition of *n* and *y*, they ſhould regularly be written *anyello* and *onyon*; and the *Indian* found differs only in the greater naſality of the firſt letter, which may be diſtinguiſhed, as before, by a *point*. A very uſeful *Sanſcrit* root, ſignifying *to know*, begins with the letter *ja* followed by this compound *naſal*, and ſhould be written *jn̐yà*; whence *jn̐yána*, knowledge; but this harſh combination is in *Bengal* ſoftened into *gyà*: it is expreſſed by a diſtinct character, which ſtands laſt in the plate annexed *.

ठ

In the curious work entitled *Tohfahu'l Hind*, or *The Preſent of* INDIA, this is the *fourth* ſeries of *Sanſcrit* letters; but in general it has the *third* rank, more agreeably, I think, to the analogy of the ſyſtem. This claſs is pronounced with an inflexion of the tongue towards the roof of the mouth, which gives an obtuſe ſound to the conſonant, and may be diſtinguiſhed by an accent above it. The firſt is the INDIAN *t'a*, as in the word *cót'ara*, a rotten tree, and is commonly expreſſed in *Perſian* writings by *four* points, but would be better marked by the ARABIAN *tà*, which it very nearly reſembles.

ढ

The ſame with a ſtrong breathing after it, as in *Vaicunt"ha*, or *unwearied*, an epithet of *Viſhnu*.

* Plate II.

A remark-

ड

A remarkable letter, which the *Muſlimans* call the INDIAN *dàl*; and expreſs alſo by four points over it; but it ſhould, by analogy to the others, be diſtinguiſhed by an accentual mark as in the word *dan'da*, puniſhment. When the tongue is inverted with a ſlight vibratory motion, this letter has a mixture of the *ra*, with which it is often, but incorrectly, confounded; as in the common word *ber* for *bera*, great. It reſembles the ARABIAN *d'ád*.

ढ

The preceding letter aſpirated, as in *D'hácà*, improperly pronounced *Dacca*. In the ſame manner may be written the ARABIAN *d há*, but without the comma, ſince its aſpirate is leſs diſtinctly heard than in the *Indian* ſound.

ण

This is the *naſal* of the third ſeries, and formed by a ſimilar inverſion of the tongue: in *Sanſcrit* words it uſually follows the letters *ra* and *ſha* (as in *Bráhmen'a*, derived from *Brahman'*, the Supreme Being; *Viſhn'u*, a name of his *preſerving* power); or precedes the other letters of the third claſs.

त

Here begins the *fourth* ſeries, on which we have little more to remark. The firſt letter of this claſs is the common *ta*, or *hard* dental, if it may not rather be conſidered as a *lingual*.

Its

ঘ

Its aſpirate, which ought to be written with a comma, as in the word *Aſwatt'ha*, the *Indian* fig-tree, leſt it be confounded by our countrymen with the *Arabian* ſound in *thurayyà*, the *Pleiads*, which is preciſely the *Engliſh* aſpiration in *think*; a ſound, which the *Perſians* and *French* cannot eaſily articulate: in *Perſian* it ſhould be expreſſed by *s* with a point above it.

দ

The *ſoft* dental in *Dévatà*, or *Deity*.

ধ

The ſame aſpirated as in *D'herma*, juſtice, virtue, or piety. We muſt alſo diſtinguiſh this letter by a comma from the *Arabian* in *dhahab*, gold; a ſound of difficult articulation in *France* and *Perſia*, which we write *thus* very improperly, inſtead of retaining the genuine *Angloſaxon* letter, or expreſſing it, as we might with great convenience, *dhus*.

ন

The ſimple *naſal*, ſounded by the teeth with a little aſſiſtance from the noſtrils, but not ſo much as in many *French* and *Perſian* words. Both this *naſal* and the former occur in the name *Nárâyen'a*, or *dwelling in water*.

প

Next come the *labials* in the ſame order; and firſt the hard labial *pa*, formed by a ſtrong compreſſion of the lips; which ſo ill ſuits the configuration

configuration of an *Arabian* mouth, that it cannot be articulated by an *Arab* without much effort.

ফ

The proper aſpirate of *pa*, as in the word *ſhepherd*, but often pronounced like our *fa*, as in *fela*, inſtead of *p'hela*, fruit. In truth the *fa* is a diſtinct letter; and our *pha*, which in *Engliſh* is redundant, ſhould be appropriated to the notation of this *Indian* labial.

ব

The *ſoft* labial in *Budd'ha*, wiſe, and the ſecond letter in moſt alphabets uſed by *Europeans*; which begin with a vowel, a labial, a palatine, and a lingual: it ought ever to be diſtinguiſhed in *Nágarì* by a tranſverſe bar, though the copyiſts often omit this uſeful diſtinction.

ভ

The *Indian* aſpirate of the preceding letter, as in the word *bhâſhá*, or a *ſpoken* dialect. No comma is neceſſary in this notation, ſince the ſound of *bha* cannot be confounded with any in our own language.

ম

This is the laſt naſal, as in *Menu*, one of the firſt created beings according to the *Indians:* it is formed by cloſing the lips entirely, whilſt the breath paſſes gently through the noſe; and here ends the regular arrangement of the *Nágarì* letters. Another ſeries might have been added, namely, *ſa*, *ſha*, *za*, *zha*, which are in the ſame proportion as *ta*, *tha*, *da*, *dha*, and the reſt; but the two laſt ſounds are not uſed in *Sanſcrit*.

য

Then follows a ſet of letters approaching to the nature of vowels: the firſt of them ſeems in truth to be no more than our *third* ſhort vowel beginning a diphthong, and may, therefore, be thought a ſuperfluous character: ſince this union, however, produces a kind of conſonant articulated near the palate, it is ranked by many among the conſonants, and often confounded with *ja:* hence *Yamunà*, a ſacred river in *India*, called alſo the *Daughter of the Sun*, is written *Jomanes* by the *Greeks*, and *Jumnà*, leſs properly, by the *Engliſh*.

ব

The two liquids *na* and *ma*, one of which is a lingual and the other a labial, are kept apart, in order to preſerve the analogy of the ſyſtem; and the other two are introduced between the two ſemivowels: the firſt of theſe is *ra*, as in RA'MA, the conqueror of *Sílàn*.

ল

The ſecond is *la*, in *Lanca*, another name of that iſland both in *Tibut*, and in *India*. A defect in the organs of the common *Bengaleſe* often cauſes a confuſion between theſe two liquids, and even the ſound of *na* is frequently ſubſtituted for the letter before us.

ব

When this character correſponds, as it ſometimes does in *Sanſcrit*, with our *wa*, it is in fact our *fifth ſhort* vowel preceding another in forming a diphthong, and might eaſily be ſpared in our ſyſtem of letters; but, when it has the ſound of *va*, it is a labial formed by ſtriking the lower

lower lip againſt the upper teeth, and might thus be arranged in a ſeries of proportionals, *pa*, *fa*, *ba*, *va*. It cannot eaſily be pronounced in this manner by the inhabitants of *Bengal* and ſome other provinces, who confound it with *ba*, from which it ought carefully to be diſtinguiſhed; ſince we cannot conceive, that in ſo perfect a ſyſtem as the *Sanſcrit*, there could ever have been two ſymbols for the ſame ſound. In fact the *Montes Parveti* of our ancient Geographers were ſo named from *Parveta*, not *Parbeta*, a mountain. The *wáw* of the *Arabs* is always a vowel, either ſeparate or coaleſcing with another in the form of a diphthong; but in *Perſian* words it is a conſonant, and pronounced like our *va*, though with rather leſs force.

श

Then follow three *ſibilants*, the firſt of which is often, very inaccurately, confounded with the ſecond, and even with the third: it belongs to that claſs of conſonants, which, in the notation here propoſed, are expreſſed by acute accents above them to denote an inverſion of the tongue towards the palate, whence this letter is called in *India* the *palatine ſa*. It occurs in a great number of words, and ſhould be written as in *palás'a*, the name of a ſacred tree with a very brilliant flower. In the ſame manner may be noted the *s'ád* of the *Arabs* and *Hebrews*, which laſt it reſembles in ſhape, and probably reſembled in ſound; except that in *Cas'mír* and the provinces bordering on *Perſia* it is hardly diſtinguiſhable from the following letter.

ष

The *ſecond* is improperly written *ſha* in our *Engliſh* ſyſtem, and *cha*, ſtill more erroneouſly, in that of the *French*; but the form generally known may be retained, to avoid the inconvenience of too great a change even from wrong to right. This letter, of which *ſa* and *ha* are

are not the component parts, is formed ſo far back in the head, that the *Indians* call it a *cerebral:* either it was not articulated by the *Greeks*, or they choſe to expreſs it by their *Xi*; ſince of the *Perſian* word *Ardaſhìr* they have formed *Artaxerxes*.

स

The dental *ſa*, which reſembles the *Hebrew* letter of the ſame ſound, and, like that, is often miſtaken by ignorant copyiſts for the *ma*.

ह

The ſtrong breathing *ha*, but rather miſplaced in the *Nágarì* ſyſtem; ſince it is the ſecond element of articulate ſounds: the *very* hard breathing of the *Arabs* may be well expreſſed by doubling the mark of aſpiration, as in *Muhhammed*, or by an accent above it in the manner of the long vowels, as in *Ah'med*.

क्ष

The *Indian* ſyſtem of letters cloſes with a compound of *ca* and *ſha*, as in the word *paríchhà*, ordeal: it is analogous to our *x*, a ſuperfluous character, of no uſe, that I know of, except in algebra. The *Bengaleſe* give it the ſound of *cya*, or of our *k* in ſuch words as *kind* and *ſky*; but we may conclude, that the other pronunciation is very ancient, ſince the old *Perſians* appear to have borrowed their word *Racſhah* from the *Racſha*, or *demon* of the *Hindus*, which is written with the letter before us. The *Greeks* rendered this letter by their *Khi*, changing *Dacſhin*, or the ſouth, into *Dakhin*.

All the ſounds uſed in *Sanſcrit*, *Arabick*, *Perſian*, and *Hindì*, are arranged ſyſtematically in the table prefixed to this diſſertation *; and the

* Plate I.

ſingular

ſingular letter of the *Arabs*, which they call *âin*, is placed immediately before the conſonants. It might have been claſſed, as the modern *Jews* pronounce it, among the ſtrong *naſals* of the *Indians*; but, in *Arabia* and *Perſia*, it has a very different ſound, of which no verbal deſcription can give an idea, and may not improperly be called a *naſal vowel:* it is uniformly diſtinguiſhed by a *circumflex* either above a ſhort vowel or over the letter preceding a long one, as *îlm*, learning, *ââlim*, learned.

Agreeably to the preceding analyſis of letters, if I were to adopt a new mode of *Engliſh* orthography, I ſhould write *Addiſon's* deſcription of the angel in the following manner, diſtinguiſhing the *ſimple breathing*, or firſt element, which we cannot invariably omit, by a perpendicular line above our firſt or ſecond vowel:

Sò hwen sm énjel, bai divain cămánd,
Widh raiſin tempeſts ſhécs a gilti land,
Sch az ăv lét ór pél Britanya páſt,
Cálm and ſirín hi draivz dhi fyúryas bláſt,
And, plíz'd dh'ālmaitiz ārderz tu perfórm,
Raids in dhi hwerlwind and dairects dhi ſtārm.

This mode of writing poetry would be the touchſtone of bad rhymes, which the eye as well as the ear would inſtantly detect; as in the firſt couplet of this deſcription, and even in the laſt, according to the common pronunciation of the word *perform*. I cloſe this paper with ſpecimens of oriental writing, not as fixed ſtandards of orthography, which no individual has a right to ſettle, but as examples of the method, which I recommend; and, in order to relieve the dryneſs of the ſubject, I annex tranſlations of all but the firſt ſpecimen, which I reſerve for another occaſion.

I.

Four Diſtichs from the SR̀IBHA'GAWAT *.

Mr. WILKINS's Orthography.

ăhămēvāsămēvāgrē nānyădyăt sădăsăt părăm
păſchādahăm yădētăchchă yōvăsĕĕſhyētă sōſmyăhăm

rĕĕtērthăm yăt prătēēyētă nă prătēēyētă chātmănĕĕ
tădvĕĕdyād ātmănō māyām yăthā bhāsō yăthā tămăh

yăthā măhāntĕĕ bhōōtānĕĕ bhōōtēſhōōchchāvăchēſhwănŏŏ
prăvĕĕſhtānyăprăvĕĕſhtānĕĕ tăthā tēſhŏŏ nătēſhwăhăm

ētāvădēvă jĕĕjnāſyăm tăttwă jĕĕjnāsŏŏnātmănăh
ănwăyă vyătĕĕrēkābhyām yăt ſyāt sărvătră sărvădā.

This wonderful paſſage I ſhould expreſs in the following manner:

ahaméváſaméválgrè nányadyat ſadaſat param
pas'chádaham yadétachcha yóvas'iſhyéta ſóſmyaham

rítért'ham yat pratíyéta na pratíyéta chátmani
tadvidyádátmanó máyám yat'hà bháſó yat'hà tamah

yat'hà mahánti bhútáni bhútéſhúchchávachéſhwanu
praviſh'tányapraviſh táni tat'hà téſhu na téſhwaham

étávadéva jijnyáſyam tattwa jijnyáſunátmanah
anwaya vyatirécábhyám yat ſyát ſervatra ſervadà.

* See Plate IV. The Letters are in Plate II.

II. MO'HA

श्रीभगवानुवाच

अहमेवासमेवाग्रे नान्यद्यत् सदसत् परम्
पश्चादहं यदेतच्च योवशिष्येत सोस्म्यहम्

ऋतेर्थं यत् प्रतीयेत न प्रतीयेत चात्मनि
तद्विद्यादात्मनो मायां यथा भासो यथा तमः

यथा महांति भूतानि भूतेषूच्चावचेष्वनु
प्रविष्टान्यप्रविष्टानि तथा तेषु न तेष्वहं

एतावदेव जिज्ञास्यं तत्त्व जिज्ञासुनात्मनः
अन्वय व्यतिरेकाभ्यां यत् स्यात् सर्वत्रसर्वदा

II.

Mo'ha Mudgara.

The title of this fine piece properly ſignifies *The Mallet of Deluſion* or *Folly*, but may be tranſlated *A Remedy for Diſtraction of Mind:* it is compoſed in regular anapæſtick verſes according to the ſtricteſt rules of *Greek* proſody, but in rhymed couplets, two of which here form a *ſlóca*.

মূঢ়জহীহি ধনাগমতৃষ্ণাং কুরু তনুবুদ্ধিমনঃ সুবিতৃষ্ণাং।
যল্লভসে নিজকর্ম্মোপাত্তং বিত্তং তেন বিনোদয় চিত্তং॥

কাতব কান্তা কস্তে পুত্রঃ সংসারোঽয়মতীব বিচিত্রঃ।
কস্য ত্বং বা কুত আয়াতস্তত্ত্বং চিন্তয় তদিদং ভ্রাতঃ॥

মা কুরু ধনজনযৌবনগর্ব্বং হরতি নিমেষাৎকালঃ সর্ব্বং।
মায়াময়মিদমখিলং হিত্বা ব্রহ্মপদং প্রবিশাশু বিদিত্বা॥

নলিনীদলগতজলবত্তরলং তদ্বজ্জীবনমতিশয়চপলং।
ক্ষণমিহ সজ্জনসঙ্গতিরেকা ভবতি ভবার্ণবতরণে নৌকা॥

যাবজ্জনং তাবন্মরণং তাবজ্জননীজঠরে শয়নং।
ইতি সংসারে স্ফুটতরদোষঃ কথমিহ মানব তব সন্তোষঃ॥

দিনযামিন্যৌ সায়ং প্রাতঃ শিশিরবসন্তৌ পুনরায়াতঃ।
কালঃ ক্রীড়তি গচ্ছত্যায়ুস্তদপি ন মুঞ্চত্যাশাবায়ুঃ॥

অঙ্গং গলিতং পলিতং মুণ্ডং দশনবিহীনং জাতং তুণ্ডং।
করধৃতকম্পিতশোভিতদণ্ডং তদপিনমুঞ্চত্যাশাভাণ্ডং॥

সুরবরমন্দিরতরুকোটরবাসঃ শয্যাভূতলমজিনং বাসঃ।
সর্ব্বপরিগ্রহভোগত্যাগঃ কস্যসুখং নকরোতিবিরাগঃ॥

শত্রৌমিত্রেপুত্রেবন্ধৌমাকুরুযত্নং বিগ্রহসন্ধৌ।
ভবসমচিত্তঃ সর্ব্বত্রত্বং বাঞ্ছস্যচিরাদ্যদিবিষ্ণুত্বং॥

ষষ্ঠকুলাচলসপ্তসমুদ্রব্রহ্মপুরন্দরদিনকররুদ্রাঃ।
নত্বং নাহং নায়ং লোকস্তদপিকিমর্থং ক্রিয়তেশোকঃ॥

ত্বয়িময়িচান্যত্রৈকোবিষ্ণুর্ব্যর্থং কুপ্যসিময্যসহিষ্ণুঃ।
সর্ব্বং পশ্যাত্মন্যাত্মানং সর্ব্বত্রোৎসৃজভেদজ্ঞানং॥

বালস্তাবৎক্রীড়াসক্তস্তরুণস্তাবৎতরুনীরক্তঃ।
বৃদ্ধস্তাবৎচিন্তামগ্নঃ পরমেব্রহ্মণিকোপিনলগ্নঃ॥

দ্বাদশপঞ্চটিকাভিরশেষঃ শিষ্যাণাং কথিতোভ্যুপদেশঃ।
যেষাং নৈষরবোতিবিবেকং তেষাং কঃ কুরুতামতিরেকং॥

múd'ha jahíhi dhanágamatrĭshn'ám
curu tenubuddhimanah fuvitrĭshnám
yallabhasè nijacarmópáttam
vittam téna vinódaya chittam.

cá tava cántà caſtè putraḥ
ſanſcáróyam atívavichittrah
caſya twam và cuta áyáta
ſtattwam chintaya tadidam bhrátah.

má curu dhanajanayauvanagarvam
harati niméſhát calah ſarvam
máyámayamidamac'hilam hitwà
brehmapadam previs'ás'u viditwà.

nalinídalagatajalavattaralam
tadvajjívanamatis'aya chapalam
cſhenamiha ſajjana ſangatirécà
bhawati bhawárnavataranè naucà.

angam galitam palitam mund'am
dantavihin'am játam tund'am
caradhṛitacampitas'óbhitadand'am
tadapi namuchatyás'a bhánd'am.

yávajjananam távanmaran'am
távajjananì jat'harè s'ayanam
iti ſansárè ſp'hut'atara dóſhah
cat'hamiha mánava tava ſantóſhah.

dinayáminyau sáyam prátah
s'is'iravaſantau punaráyátah
cálah crid'ati gach'hatyáyu
ſtadapi na munchatyás'áváyuh.

ſuravaramandiratarutalaváſah
s'ayyà bhútalamajinam váſah
ſervaparigrahabhógatyágah
caſya ſuc'ham na caróti virágah.

s'atrau mitrè putrè bandhau
mà curu yatnam vigrahaſandhau
bhava ſamachittah ſervatra twam
váñch'haſyachirád yadi viſhnutwam.

aſh'taculáchalaſeptaſamúdrá
brehmapurandaradinacararudráh
natwam náham náyam lóca
ſtadapi cimart'ham criyatè s'ócah.

twayi mayi chányatraicò viſhnur
vyart'ham cupyaſi mayyaſahiſhnuh
ſervam pas'yátmanyátmánam
ſervatrótſrija bhédajnyánam.

válaſtávat críd'ás'acta
ſtarun'aſtávat tarúnìractah
vriddhaſtávach chintámagnah
peremé brahman'i cópi nalagnah.

dwádas'a pajj'hat'icábhiras'éſhah
s'iſhyánam cat'hitóbhyupadés'ah
yéſhám naiſha caróti vivécam
téſhàm cah curutámatirécam.

A verbal

A verbal Tranſlation.

1. Reſtrain, deluded *mortal*, thy thirſt of acquiring wealth; excite an averſion *from it* in *thy* body, underſtanding, and inclination: with the riches, which thou acquireſt by thy own actions, with theſe gratify thy ſoul.

2. Who *is* thy wife; who thy ſon; how extremely wonderful is even this world; whoſe *creature* thou alſo *art*; whence thou cameſt—meditate on this, O brother, *and again* on this.

3. Make no boaſt of opulence, attendants, youth; all *theſe* time ſnatches away in the twinkling of an eye: checking all this illuſion like *Máyà*, ſet thy heart on the foot of Brahme, ſpeedily gaining knowledge of him.

4. As a drop of water moves tremulous on the lotos-leaf, thus *is* human life inexpreſſibly ſlippery: the company of the virtuous *endures* here but for a moment; that is our ſhip in paſſing the ocean of the world.

5. The body *is* tottering; the head, grey; the mouth, toothleſs: the delicate ſtaff trembles in the hand, which holds it: ſtill the flaggon of covetouſneſs remains unemptied.

6. How ſoon *are we* born! how ſoon dead! how long lying in the mother's womb! How great is the prevalence of vice in this world! Wherefore, O man, haſt thou complacency here below?

7. Day and night, evening and morning, winter and ſpring depart and return: time ſports, life paſſes on; yet the wind of expectation continues unreſtrained.

8. To

8. To dwell under the manſion of the high Gods at the foot of a tree, to have the ground for a couch, and a hide for veſture; to renounce all extrinſick enjoyments,—whom doth not ſuch devotion fill with delight?

9. Place not thy affections too ſtrongly on foe or friend, on a ſon or a kinſman, in war or in peace: be thou even-minded towards all, if thou deſireſt ſpeedily to attain the nature of VISHNU.

10. Eight original mountains, and ſeven ſeas, BRAHME, INDRA, the Sun, and RUDRA, *theſe are permanent:* not thou, not I, not this or that people; wherefore then ſhould anxiety be raiſed *in our minds?*

11. In thee, in me, in every other being *is* VISHNU; fooliſhly art thou offended with me, not bearing my approach: ſee every ſoul in thy own ſoul; in all places lay aſide a notion of diverſity.

12. The boy ſo long delights in his play; the youth ſo long purſues his damſel; the old man ſo long broods over uneaſineſs; *that* no one meditates on the Supreme Being.

13. This is the inſtruction of learners delivered in twelve diſtinct ſtanzas: what more can be done with ſuch, as this work fills not with devotion?

III.

The following elegy, which is choſen as a ſpecimen of *Arabick* *, was compoſed by a learned Philoſopher and Scholar, MI'R MUHAMMED HUSAIN, before his journey to *Haidarábàd* with RICHARD JOHNSON, Eſq.

* Plate V. and Plate III.

má

هذه الأبيات لمير محمد حسين

ما أنس لا أنس التي ... جاءت إلي على حذر
النوم أثقل جفنها ... والقلب طار به الذعر
رصدت أساود قومها ... فتخلست منها الغرر
ترعت خلا خيلا لها ... ألا نفاجئها بشر
تشكو الطريق لظلمة ... فقدت بها نجم السحر
في ليلة قد كحلت ... بسواد جفن القمر
وترى الغمام كأجمل ... ترعى النجوم على أشر
تبكي عيون للسماء ... على حدائقها الزهر
والبرق يبسم ثغره ... عجبا لهاتيك الغير
والرعد كاد يخرق ... الأصماخ في صم الحجر
فهوت تعانقني وقد ... حذرت عناقي من خفر
والدمع بل خدودها ... وسقى رياضا للنظر
وتنفست إذ كلمت ... ورمت فؤادي بالشرر
ظلت تعاتبني على ... أن حد لي عزم السفر
قالت أذبت فؤادنا ... وأذقته حر سقر
تعصي أوامر للهوى ... وتطيع ناصحك الغدر
وتدور من أرض إلى ... أرض وما ترضى المقر
يوما تسير بك البحار ... وتارة ترمي ببر
ماذا أفادك جوله ... حول البلاد سوى الصخر
ألفت أظباء الفلا ... ونسيت أرآم البشر
أم قد مللت جوارنا ... يا ويح خل قد نفر
فارحم على قلبي الذي ... رام السلو وما قدر

تمت

má ánſa lá ánſa állatí
jáat ílayya âlaí hadhar
álnaúmu áthkala jafnahá
waálkalbu t'ára bihi áldhaâr

ras'adat ásáwida kaúmihá
fatakhallaſat minhá álgharar
nazaât khalákhílán' lehá
állá tufájihá biſhar

teſhcú álť arika lid'hulmahin'
fakadat bihá najma álſahhar
fí laílahin' kad cahhalat
biſawádihá jafna álkamar

wa teraí álghamáma caájmulin'
terâi álnujúma âlaí áſhar
tebcí ûyúnon' lilſemái
âlaí h'adáyikihá álzuhar

waálberku yebſimu thegruhu
âjabán' lihática álghiyar
waálrâdu cáda yukharriku
álás'mákha fí s'ummi álh'ajar

fahawat tuâánikuní wakad
h'adharat ínáki min khafar
waáldemû bella khudúdahá
waſakaí riyad'án' lilnad'har

wateneſſaſat

wateneffaſat id'h callamat
waramat fuwádí biálſherar
d'hallat tuâátibuneí âlaí
án jedda lí ázmu álſafar

kálat ádhabta fuwádaná
waádhaktahu h'erra álſakar
taâs'í áwámera lilhawaí
watut'íûu nás'ih'aca álghudar

watedúru min árd'in' ílaí
árd'in' wamá terd'ái álmekarr
yaúmán tesíru bica álbihháru
watárah'an' turmaí bibarr

má dhá áfádaca jaúlahon'
h'aúla álbiládi ſiwaí áld'ajar
aálifta ád hbáa álfelá
wanesíta áráma álbáſher

ám kad melelta jiwáraná
yá wáih'a khillìn kad nafar
fárh'em âlaí kalbí álladhí
ráma álſuluwwa wamá kadar.

The Tranſlation.

1. Never, oh! never ſhall I forget the fair one, who came to my *tent* with timid circumſpection:

2. Sleep ſat heavy on her eye-lids, and her heart fluttered with fear.

3. She

3. She had marked the dragons of her tribe (the *ſentinels)*, and had diſmiſſed all dread of danger from them:

4. She had laid aſide the rings, which uſed to grace her ankles; leſt the ſound of them ſhould expoſe her to calamity:

5. She deplored the darkneſs of the way, which hid from her the morning-ſtar.

6. It was a night, when the eye-laſhes of the moon were tinged with the black powder *(Alcohol)* of the gloom:

7. *A night*, in which thou mighteſt have ſeen the clouds, like camels, eagerly grazing on the ſtars;

8. While the eyes of heaven wept on the bright borders of the ſky;

9. The lightning diſplayed his ſhining teeth, with wonder at this change *in the firmament*;

10. And the thunder almoſt burſt the ears of the deafened rocks.

11. She was deſirous of embracing me, but, through modeſty, declined my embrace.

12. Tears bedewed her cheeks, and, to my eyes, watered a bower of roſes.

13. When ſhe ſpake, her panting ſighs blew flames into my heart.

14. She continued expoſtulating with me on my exceſſive deſire of travel.

15. 'Thou

15. ‘ Thou haſt melted my heart, ſhe ſaid, and made it feel inex-
‘ preſſible anguiſh.

16. ‘ Thou art perverſe in thy conduct to her who loves thee, and
‘ obſequious to thy guileful adviſer.

17. ‘ Thou goeſt round from country to country, and art never
‘ pleaſed with a fixed reſidence.

18. ‘ One while the ſeas roll with thee; and, another while, thou
‘ art agitated on the ſhore.

19. ‘ What fruit, but painful fatigue, can ariſe from rambling over
‘ foreign regions?

20. ‘ Haſt thou aſſociated thyſelf with the wild antelopes of the de-
‘ ſert, and forgotten the tame deer?

21. ‘ Art thou weary then of our neighbourhood? O wo to him,
‘ who flees from his beloved!

22. ‘ Have pity at length on my afflicted heart, which ſeeks relief,
‘ and cannot obtain it.’

Each couplet of the original conſiſts of two *Dimeter Iambicks*, and muſt be read in the proper cadence.

IV.

As a ſpecimen of the old *Perſian* language and character, I ſubjoin a very curious paſſage from the *Zend*, which was communicated to me by Bahman the ſon of Bahra'm, a native of *Yezd*, and, as his name indicates, a *Pársì:* he wrote the paſſage from memory; ſince his

his books in *Pahlavi* and *Derì* are not yet brought to *Bengal*. It is a ſuppoſed anſwer of I'ZAD or GOD to ZERA'HTUSHT, who had aſked by what means mankind could attain happineſs.

Az pid u mád che ce pid u mád ne khoſhnúd bìd hargiz bihiſht ne vínìd; be jáyi cirfah bizah vínìd: mehán rà be ázarm níc dárìd, cehán rà be hích gúnah mayázárìd: aj khíſhávendi derviſh nang medárid: dád u vendád i kháliki yeĉtà beh càr dárid; az riſtákhízi ten pasín endíſheh nemáyìd; mabádá ce aſhù ten khíſh rà dúzakhí cunìd, va ánche be khíſhten naſháhad be caſán mapaſendìd va ma cunìd: herche be gitì cunìd be mainù az aúeh pazírah áyed *.

A Verbal Tranſlation.

" If you do that with which your father and mother are not pleaſed, you ſhall never ſee heaven; inſtead of good ſpirits, you ſhall ſee evil beings: behave with honeſty and with reſpect to the great; and on no account injure the mean: hold not your poor relations a reproach to you: imitate the juſtice and goodneſs of the Only Creator: meditate on the reſurrection of the future body; leſt you make your ſouls and bodies the inhabitants of hell; and whatever would be unpleaſing to yourſelves, think not that pleaſing to others, and do it not: whatever good you do on earth, for that you ſhall receive a retribution in heaven."

It will, perhaps, be ſuſpected (and the language itſelf may confirm the ſuſpicion), that this doctrine has been taken from a religion very different both in age and authority, from that of ZERA'HTUSHT.

V.

The following ſtory in modern *Perſian* was given to me by *Mirzà* ABDU'LRAHHI'M of *Iſfahàn*: it ſeems extracted from one of the

* Plate VII. The *Zend* Letters are in Plate III.

many poems on the loves of MEJNU'N and LAIL'I, the ROMEO and JULIET of the Eaſt. Each verſe conſiſts of a *Cretick* foot followed by two *Choriambi*, or a *Choriambus* and a *Moloſſus*.

شیرمست سرپستان الم پرورش یافتهٔ داهن غم

آب رنگ ورخ لیلای جنون خال رخسارهٔ ماهون مجنون

یافت چون راه بکاشانهٔ عشق آستان شد بدرخانهٔ عشق

برسرش شخص جنون سایه فکند قصهٔ عاشقیش کشت بلند

درعرب هر طرفي غوغا شد نقل او نقل مجالس ها شد

بد امیري بعرب والا شان صاحب مکنت وثروت بجهان

ترکتاز غم هجران دیده پرکل داغ محبت چیده

دیده درطفلی خود سوز فراق تلخي زهر فراقش بمذاق

یافت چون قصهٔ آن دردسکال کرد فرمان بغلامي در حال

که سوي نجد قدم ساز زسر شوبه تعجیل روان چون صرصر

آنکه دلبرده زمجنون بنگاه ببرم زود بیاور همراه

رفت وآورد غلامک در حال لیلي آن پادشه ملک جمال

بغلامي دكرش شد فرمان كه تو هم شو بسوي دشت روان

جانب زينت ارباب جنون شمع پر نور محبت مجنون

زود آور برم آن سوخته را آن جگر سوز غم اندوخته را

رفت و بر گشت غلامک چونگاه والي كشور عشقش همراه

كرد اورا چو نظر مرد امير ديد زاري بغم عشق اسير

پرسش مشخص جنون كرده وطن زخم هجران به تنش پيراهن

موي سر بر بدنش كثرت قبا موزه از آبلهٔ پا بر پا

شانه از خار مغيلان بر موش خرقه از ريگ بيابان بر دوش

گفت گاي كم شدهٔ وادي غم هيچ خواهي كه تمنّات دهم

سر فرازت كنم از مكنت وجاه لبي آرم ببرت خاطر خواه

گفت نې نې كه بعيد است بعيد ذره را هم نظري با خورشيد

گفت خواهي كه كني راست بكو سير آن صفحهٔ رخسار نكو

يا نداري بجمالش ميلي راست بر گوي بجان ليلي

گفت گاي قدوهٔ ارباب كرم ذرهٔ خاك درت تاج سرم

بر دلم درد زلیلی کافی است ۰ خواهش وصل زبی انصافیست

بهر خورسندی این جزو حقیر بس بود پرتوی از مهر منیر

گفت و گردید سوی دشت روان دیده گریان و مژه اشک فشان

Shírmaſti ſeri piſtáni álem
pervereſh yáftehi dámeni ghem

ābi rang ò rokhi lailáyi jonùn
kháli rokhſárehi hámún Mejnún

yáft chún ráh bi cáſhánehi îſhk
āſitán ſhud bideri khánehi îſhk

ber ſereſh ſhakhs'i jonùn ſáyah ficand
kis's'ehi âáſhikì áſh gaſht boland

der ârab her t'arafì ghaughà ſhud
nakli ù nokli mejális-hà ſhud

búd ámírì biârab válà ſhàn
*s'ah'ibi micnat ò ſervat * bijehàṅ*

torc tázi ghemi hejráṅ dídah
pur guli dághi moh'abbat chídah

dídah der t'ifliyi khód súzi ferák
talkhiyi zahri ferákeſh bimeẓák

* The reader will ſupply the point over *s*, when it ſtands for *th*.

yáft

yáft chun kis'ehi ān derd ſigál
card fermán bighulámì der h'ál

ceh súyì najd kadam ſáz zi ſer.
ſhau beh tâjil ravàn chùn s ers'er

ān ceh dil bordah zi Mejnùn bi nigàh
beh berem zúd biyáver hemràh

raft ò āvard ghulámac der h'ál
Laílì ān pádiſhahi mulci jemál

beh ghulámì digareſh ſhud fermán
ceh tò hem ſhau bi súyì daſht raván

jánibi zínati árbábi jonún
ſhemî pur núri moh'abbat Mejnùn

zùd āver berem ān súkhtah rà
ān jigarsùzi ghem ándúkhtah rà

raft ò bergaſht ghulámac chú nigáh
váliyi ciſhvari íſhkeſh hemráh

card úrà chú nazar mardi ámír
díd zárì bi ghemi íſhk ásìr

ber ſereſh ſhakhs'i jonùn cardah vat'en
zakhmi hejràn bi teneſh piráhen

múyi ſer ber bedeneſh gaſhtah kobà
múzah áz ābilahi pà ber pà

ſhánah

ſhánah áz khári mughílán ber mùſh
khirkah áz rígi biyábán ber dúſh

goft cái gomſhudahi vádiyi ghem
hích khwáhì ceh temennát dehem

ſerferázat cunam áz nicnat ó jáh
Laílì árem biberet khát'er khwáh

goft nì nì ceh baílideſt baíld
zerreh rā hem nazarì bà khorſhíd

goft khwáhì ceh conì ráſt bigú
ſairi ān s'afh'ahi rokhſári nicú

yá nedárì bijemáleſh maílì
ráſt bergúyi bi jáni Laílì

goft cái kodvahi árbábi cerem
zerrahi kháci deret táji ſerem

ber dilem derd zi Lailì cáfiſt
khwáheſhi vas l zi bi inſáfiſt

bahri khorſendiyi in jozvi h'akír
bas buvad pertavì áz mihri monír

goft ò gardìd súyì daſht ravàn
dídah giryán ò mizhah áſhcfiſhàn

The

The Tranſlation.

1. *The man, who had* inebriated himſelf with milk from the nipple of Anguiſh, who had been nouriſhed in the lap of Affliction,

2. MEJNU'N, mad with the bright hue and fair face of LAILÌ, himſelf a dark mole on the cheek of the deſert,

3. Having found the way to the manſion of love, became *fixed like* the threſhold on the door of love's palace.

4. Over his head the form of Madneſs had caſt her ſhadow: the tale of his paſſion was loudly celebrated.

5. Among the *Arabs* a tumult aroſe on all ſides: the relation of his adventures was a deſſert in their aſſemblies.

6. A powerful Prince reigned in *Arabia*, poſſeſſing worldly magnificence and riches:

7. He had ſeen the depredations of Grief through abſence from a beloved object: he had plucked many a black-ſpotted flower from *the garden of* love.

8. Even in his infancy he had felt the pain of ſeparation: the bitter taſte of that poiſon remained on his palate.

9. When he learned the ſtory of that afflicted lover, he inſtantly gave an order to a ſlave,

10. *Saying*, 'Make thy head like thy feet in running towards *Najd*; 'go with celerity, like a violent wind:

11. Bring

11. ‘ Bring ſpeedily with thee to my preſence Her, who has ſtolen ‘ the heart of MEJNU'N with a glance.’

12. The ſtripling ran, and in a ſhort time brought LAILÌ, that Empreſs in the dominion of beauty.

13. To another ſlave *the* Prince gave this order: ‘ Run thou alſo ‘ into the deſert,

14. ‘ *Go* to that ornament of frantick lovers, MEJNU'N, the illu- ‘ mined taper of love.

15. ‘ Bring quickly before me that inflamed *youth*, that heart-con- ‘ ſumed anguiſh-pierced lover.’

16. The boy went, and returned, in the twinkling of an eye, accompanied by the ruler in the territories of love.

17. When the Prince looked at him, he beheld a wretch in bondage to the miſery of deſire.

18. Madneſs had fixed her abode on this head: he was clothed, as with a veſt, with the wounds of ſeparation.

19. His locks flowed, like a mantle, over his body: his only ſandal was the callus of his feet.

20. In his hair ſtuck a comb of *Arabian* thorns: a robe of ſand from the deſert covered his back.

21. ‘ O THOU,

21. 'O THOU, ſaid *the Prince*, who haſt been loſt in the valley of 'ſorrow; doſt thou not wiſh me to give thee the object of thy paſſion,

22. 'To exalt thee with dignity and power, to bring LAILÌ before 'thee gratifying thy ſoul?'

23. 'No, no; anſwered he, far, far is it from my wiſh, that an atom 'ſhould be ſeen together with the ſun.'

24. 'Speak truly, replied the Prince, art thou not willing to recreate 'thyſelf on the ſmooth plain of that beautiful cheek?

25. 'Or haſt thou no inclination to enjoy her charms? I adjure 'thee, by the ſoul of LAILÌ, to declare the truth!'

26. He rejoined: 'O chief of men with generous hearts, a particle 'of duſt from thy gate is a diadem on my head.

27. 'The pain of my love for LAILÌ is ſufficient for my heart: a 'wiſh to enjoy her preſence *thus* would be injuſtice.

28. 'To gratify this contemptible ſoul of mine, a ſingle ray from 'that bright luminary would be enough.'

29. He ſpake, and ran towards the deſert, his eye weeping, and his eye-laſhes raining tears.

Theſe couplets would fully anſwer the purpoſe of ſhowing the method, in which *Perſian* may be written according to the original characters, with ſome regard alſo to the *Iſfahánì* pronunciation; but, ſince a very ingenious artiſt, named MUHAMMED GHAU'TH, has engraved a tetra-

ſtich on copper, as a ſpecimen of his art, and ſince no movable types can equal the beauty of *Perſian* writing, I annex his plate *, and add the four lines, which he has ſelected, in *Engliſh* letters: they are too eaſy to require a tranſlation, and too inſignificant to deſerve it.

Huwa'l âzìz
Chaſhmi terah'h'um zi tó dárìm mà
keblah tóyì rù beceh ārìm mà
h'ájati mà áz tò ber āyed temàm
dámenat áz caf naguzárìm mà.

VI.

The firſt ſpecimen of *Hindì*, that occurs to me, is a little *Ghazal* or love-ſong, in a *Choriambick* meaſure, written by GUNNA' BEIGUM, the wife of GHA'ZIU'LDÍN KH'AN, a man of conſummate abilities and conſummate wickedneſs, who has borne an active part in the modern tranſactions of Upper *Hindúſtàn*.

مدعي همسي سخن ساز بسالوسي هي اب تمنا کو یہان مژده مایوسي هي
اه اب کثرت داغ غم خوبانسي تمام صفحه سینه میرا جلوه طاوسي هي
هي میري طرح جکر خون تیرا مدت سي اي حنّا کسکي تجهي خواهش پابوسي هي
عوض درد مزي سي وه بهري هین ساري جس لب زخم نی شمشیر تیري چوسي هي
تهمت عشق عبث کرتي هین مجهپر منت هان یهه سچ ماننی کي خوبان سي تو تک خوسي هي

* Plate VI.

Muddaîì

هو العزیز
چشم ترحم زتو داریم ما
قبلہ تو نے رو بکہ اریم ما
حاجت ما از تو بر اید تمام
دامنت از کف نگذاریم ما
کار محمد غوث ۱۱۲۰

Muddaîì hemsè ſokhan ſáz bi ſálúsì haì
ab tamennà cò yehàn muzhedëi máyúsì haì

áh ab caſrati dághi ghemi khúbán sè temàm
s'afh'aï sínah mérà jilwaï t'áúsì haì

haì mérì t'arah' jigar khúni térà muddatsè
aì h'innà ciſcì tujhè khwáhiſhi pábúsì haì

âwazi derd mezè sè wah bherè hain súrè
jis lebi zakham nè ſhemſhíri térì chúsì haì

tohmati íſhk âbas cartè hain mujhper Minnat
hán yeh ſech milnè cì khúbàn sè tú tuc khúsì haì.

The Tranſlation.

1. My beloved foe ſpeaks of me with diſſimulation; and now the tidings of deſpair are brought hither to the deſire of my ſoul.

2. Alas, that the ſmooth ſurface of my boſom, through the marks of burning in the ſad abſence of lovely youths, is become like the plumage of a peacock.

3. Like me, O *Hinnà* (the fragrant and elegant ſhrub, with the leaves of which the nails of *Arabian* women are dyed crimſon), thy heart has long been full of blood: whoſe foot art thou deſirous of kiſſing?

4. Inſtead of pain, *my beloved*, every wound from thy cimeter ſucks with its lips the ſweetneſs, with which it is filled.

5. The

5. The ſuſpicion of love is vainly caſt on MINNAT—Yes; true it is, that my nature rather leads me to the company of beautiful youths.

Thus have I explained, by obſervations and examples, my method of noting in *Roman* letters the principal languages of *Aſia*; nor can I doubt, that *Armenian*, *Turkiſh*, and the various dialects of *Tartary*, may be expreſſed in the ſame manner with equal advantage; but, as *Chineſe* words are not written in alphabetical characters, it is obvious, that they muſt be noted according to the beſt *pronunciation* uſed in *China*; which has, I imagine, few ſounds incapable of being rendered by the ſymbols uſed in this eſſay.

ON

THE GODS OF GREECE, ITALY, AND INDIA,

WRITTEN IN 1784, *AND SINCE REVISED,*

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

WE cannot juſtly conclude, by arguments preceding the proof of facts, that one idolatrous people muſt have borrowed their deities, rites, and tenets from another; ſince Gods of all ſhapes and dimenſions may be framed by the boundleſs powers of imagination, or by the frauds and follies of men, in countries never connected; but, when features of reſemblance, too ſtrong to have been accidental, are obſervable in different ſyſtems of polytheiſm, without fancy or prejudice to colour them and improve the likeneſs, we can ſcarce help believing, that ſome connection has immemorially ſubſiſted between the ſeveral nations, who have adopted them: it is my deſign in this eſſay, to point out ſuch a reſemblance between the popular worſhip of the old *Greeks* and *Italians* and that of the *Hindus*; nor can there be room to doubt of a great ſimilarity between their ſtrange religions and that of *Egypt*, *China*, *Perſia*, *Phrygia*, *Phœnice*, *Syria*; to which, perhaps, we may ſafely add ſome of the ſouthern kingdoms and even iſlands of *America*; while the *Gothick* ſyſtem, which prevailed in the northern regions of *Europe*, was not merely ſimilar to thoſe of *Greece* and *Italy*, but almoſt the ſame

in

in another dreſs with an embroidery of images apparently *Aſiatick*. From all this, if it be ſatisfactorily proved, we may infer a general union or affinity between the moſt diſtinguiſhed inhabitants of the primitive world, at the time when they deviated, as they did too early deviate, from the rational adoration of the only true GOD.

There ſeem to have been four principal ſources of all mythology. I. Hiſtorical, or natural, truth has been perverted into fable by ignorance, imagination, flattery, or ſtupidity; as a king of *Crete*, whoſe tomb had been diſcovered in that iſland, was conceived to have been the God of *Olympus*, and MINOS, a legiſlator of that country, to have been his ſon, and to hold a ſupreme appellate juriſdiction over departed ſouls; hence too probably flowed the tale of CADMUS, as BOCHART learnedly traces it; hence beacons or volcanos became one-eyed giants and monſters vomiting flames; and two rocks, from their appearance to mariners in certain poſitions, were ſuppoſed to cruſh all veſſels attempting to paſs between them; of which idle fictions many other inſtances might be collected from the *Odyſſey* and the various *Argonautick* poems. The leſs we ſay of *Julian* ſtars, deifications of princes or warriours, altars raiſed, with thoſe of APOLLO, to the baſeſt of men, and divine titles beſtowed on ſuch wretches as CAJUS OCTAVIANUS, the leſs we ſhall expoſe the infamy of grave ſenators and fine poets, or the brutal folly of the low multitude: but we may be aſſured, that the mad apotheoſis of truly great men, or of little men falſely called great, has been the origin of groſs idolatrous errors in every part of the pagan world. II. The next ſource of them appears to have been a wild admiration of the heavenly bodies, and, after a time, the ſyſtems and calculations of Aſtronomers: hence came a conſiderable portion of *Egyptian* and *Grecian* fable; the *Sabian* worſhip in *Arabia*; the *Perſian* types and emblems of *Mihr* or the ſun, and the far extended ado ation of the elements and the powers of nature; and hence perhaps, all the artificial Chronology

of

of the *Chineſe* and *Indians*, with the invention of demigods and heroes to fill the vacant niches in their extravagant and imaginary periods. III. Numberleſs divinities have been created ſolely by the magick of poetry; whoſe eſſential buſineſs it is, to perſonify the moſt abſtract notions, and to place a nymph or a genius in every grove and almoſt in every flower: hence *Hygieia* and *Jaſo*, health and remedy, are the poetical daughters of ÆSCULAPIUS, who was either a diſtinguiſhed phyſician, or medical ſkill perſonified; and hence *Chloris*, or verdure, is married to the *Zephyr*. IV. The metaphors and allegories of moraliſts and metaphyſicians have been alſo very fertile in Deities; of which a thouſand examples might be adduced from PLATO, CICERO, and the inventive commentators on HOMER in their pedigrees of the Gods, and their fabulous leſſons of morality: the richeſt and nobleſt ſtream from this abundant fountain is the charming philoſophical tale of PSYCHE, or the *Progreſs of the Soul*; than which, to my taſte, a more beautiful, ſublime, and well ſupported allegory was never produced by the wiſdom and ingenuity of man. Hence alſo the *Indian* MA'YA', or, as the word is explained by ſome *Hindu* ſcholars, "the firſt inclination of the God-"head to diverſify himſelf (ſuch is their phraſe) by creating worlds," is feigned to be the mother of univerſal nature, and of all the inferiour Gods; as a *Caſhmirian* informed me, when I aſked him, why CA'MA, or *Love*, was repreſented as her ſon; but the word MA'YA', or *deluſion*, has a more ſubtile and recondite ſenſe in the *Védánta* philoſophy, where it ſignifies the ſyſtem of *perceptions*, whether of ſecondary or of primary qualities, which the Deity was believed by EPICHARMUS, PLATO, and many truly pious men, to raiſe by his omnipreſent ſpirit in the minds of his creatures, but which had not, in their opinion, any exiſtence independent of mind.

In drawing a parallel between the Gods of the *Indian* and *European* heathens, from whatever ſource they were derived, I ſhall remember, that

that nothing is leſs favourable to enquiries after truth than a ſyſtematical ſpirit, and ſhall call to mind the ſaying of a *Hindu* writer, "that who-"ever obſtinately adheres to any ſet of opinions, may bring himſelf to "believe that the freſheſt ſandal-wood is a flame of fire:" this will effectually prevent me from inſiſting, that ſuch a God of *India* was *the* JUPITER of *Greece*; ſuch, *the* APOLLO; ſuch, *the* MERCURY: in fact, ſince all the cauſes of polytheiſm contributed largely to the aſſemblage of *Grecian* divinities (though BACON reduces them all to refined allegories, and NEWTON to a poetical diſguiſe of true hiſtory), we find many JOVES, many APOLLOS, many MERCURIES, with diſtinct attributes and capacities; nor ſhall I preſume to ſuggeſt more, than that, in one capacity or another, there exiſts a ſtriking ſimilitude between the chief objects of worſhip in ancient *Greece* or *Italy* and in the very intereſting country, which we now inhabit.

The compariſon, which I proceed to lay before you, muſt needs be very ſuperficial, partly from my ſhort reſidence in *Hinduſtan*, partly from my want of complete leiſure for literary amuſements, but principally becauſe I have no *European* book, to refreſh my memory of old fables, except the conceited, though not unlearned, work of POMEY, entitled the *Pantheon*, and that ſo miſerably tranſlated, that it can hardly be read with patience. A thouſand more ſtrokes of reſemblance might, I am ſure, be collected by any, who ſhould with that view peruſe HESIOD, HYGINUS, CORNUTUS, and the other mythologiſts; or, which would be a ſhorter and a pleaſanter way, ſhould be ſatisfied with the very elegant *Syntagmata* of LILIUS GIRALDUS.

Diſquiſitions concerning the manners and conduct of our ſpecies in early times, or indeed at any time, are always curious at leaſt and amuſing; but they are highly intereſting to ſuch, as can ſay of themſelves with

with CHREMES in the play, " We are men, and take an intereſt in all " that relates to mankind :" They may even be of ſolid importance in an age, when ſome intelligent and virtuous perſons are inclined to doubt the authenticity of the accounts, delivered by MOSES, concerning the primitive world; ſince no modes or ſources of reaſoning can be unimportant, which have a tendency to remove ſuch doubts. Either the firſt eleven chapters of *Geneſis*, all due allowances being made for a figurative Eaſtern ſtyle, are true, or the whole fabrick of our national religion is falſe; a concluſion, which none of us, I truſt, would wiſh to be drawn. I, who cannot help believing the divinity of the MESSIAH, from the undiſputed antiquity and manifeſt completion of many propheſies, eſpecially thoſe of ISAIAH, in the only perſon recorded by hiſtory, to whom they are applicable, am obliged of courſe to believe the ſanctity of the venerable books, to which that ſacred perſon refers as genuine; but it is not the truth of our national religion, as ſuch, that I have at heart: it is truth itſelf; and, if any cool unbiaſſed reaſoner will clearly convince me, that MOSES drew his narrative through *Egyptian* conduits from the primeval fountains of *Indian* literature, I ſhall eſteem him as a friend for having weeded my mind from a capital error, and promiſe to ſtand among the foremoſt in aſſiſting to circulate the truth, which he has aſcertained. After ſuch a declaration, I cannot but perſuade myſelf, that no candid man will be diſpleaſed, if, in the courſe of my work, I make as free with any arguments, that he may have advanced, as I ſhould really deſire him to do with any of mine, that he may be diſpoſed to controvert. Having no ſyſtem of my own to maintain, I ſhall not purſue a very regular method, but ſhall take all the Gods, of whom I diſcourſe, as they happen to preſent themſelves; beginning, however, like the *Romans* and the *Hindus*, with JANU or GANE'SA.

The titles and attributes of this old *Italian* deity are fully comprized in two choriambick verſes of SULPITIUS; and a farther account of him from OVID would here be ſuperfluous:

Jane pater, *Jane* tuens, dive biceps, biformis,
O cate rerum ſator, O principium deorum!

"Father JANUS, all-beholding JANUS, thou divinity with two heads, "and with two forms; O ſagacious planter of all things, and leader "of deities!"

He was the God, we ſee, of *Wiſdom*; whence he is repreſented on coins with *two*, and, on the *Hetruſcan* image found at *Faliſci*, with *four*, faces; emblems of prudence and circumſpection: thus is GANE'SA, the God of *Wiſdom* in *Hinduſtan*, painted with an *Elephant's* head, the ſymbol of ſagacious diſcernment, and attended by a favourite *rat*, which the *Indians* conſider as a wiſe and provident animal. His next great character (the plentiful ſource of many ſuperſtitious uſages) was that, from which he is emphatically ſtyled *the father*, and which the ſecond verſe before-cited more fully expreſſes, *the origin and founder of all things:* whence this notion aroſe, unleſs from a tradition that he firſt built ſhrines, raiſed altars, and inſtituted ſacrifices, it is not eaſy to conjecture; hence it came however, that his name was invoked before any other God; that, in the old ſacred rites, corn and wine, and, in later times, incenſe alſo, were firſt offered to JANUS; that the *doors* or *entrances* to private houſes were called *Januæ*, and any pervious paſſage or thorough-fare, in the plural number, *Jani*, or *with two beginnings*; that he was repreſented holding a rod as guardian of ways, and a key, as *opening*, not gates only, but *all important works and affairs* of mankind; that he was thought to preſide over the morning, or *beginning of day*;

GANÉSA.
श्रीगणेशायनमः

day; that, although the *Roman* year began regularly with *March*, yet the eleventh month, named *Januarius*, was conſidered as *firſt* of the twelve, whence the whole year was ſuppoſed to be under his guidance, and opened with great ſolemnity by the conſuls inaugurated in his fane, where his ſtatue was decorated on that occaſion with freſh laurel; and, for the ſame reaſon, a ſolemn denunciation of war, than which there can hardly be a more momentous national act, was made by the military conſul's opening the gates of his temple with all the pomp of his magiſtracy. The twelve altars and twelve chapels of JANUS might either denote, according to the general opinion, that he leads and governs twelve months, or that, as he ſays of himſelf in OVID, all entrance and acceſs muſt be made through him to the principal Gods, who were, to a proverb, of the ſame number. We may add, that JANUS was imagined to preſide over infants at their birth, or the *beginning* of life.

The *Indian* divinity has preciſely the ſame character: all ſacrifices and religious ceremonies, all addreſſes even to ſuperiour Gods, all ſerious compoſitions in writing, and all worldly affairs of moment, are begun by pious *Hindus* with an invocation of GANE'SA; a word compoſed of *iſa*, the *governor* or *leader*, and *gan'a*, or *a company* of deities, *nine* of which companies are enumerated in the *Amarcóſh*. Inſtances of opening buſineſs auſpiciouſly by an ejaculation to the JANUS of *India* (if the lines of reſemblance here traced will juſtify me in ſo calling him) might be multiplied with eaſe. Few books are begun without the words *ſalutation to* GANE'S, and he is firſt invoked by the *Bráhmans*, who conduct the trial by ordeal, or perform the ceremony of the *hóma*, or ſacrifice to fire: M. SONNERAT repreſents him as highly revered on the Coaſt of *Coromandel*; "where the *Indians*, he ſays, would not on any "account build a houſe, without having placed on the ground an image "of this deity, which they ſprinkle with oil and adorn every day with "flowers; they ſet up his figure in all their temples, in the ſtreets, in "the

" the high roads, and in open plains at the foot of ſome tree; ſo that " perſons of all ranks may invoke him, before they undertake any " buſineſs, and travellers worſhip him, before they proceed on their " journey." To this I may add, from my own obſervation, that in the commodious and uſeful town, which now riſes at *Dharmáranya* or *Gayà*, under the auſpices of the active and benevolent THOMAS LAW, Eſq. collector of *Rotas*, every new-built houſe, agreeably to an immemorial uſage of the *Hindus*, has the name of GANE'SA ſuperſcribed on its door; and, in the old town, his image is placed over the gates of the temples.

We come now to SATURN, the oldeſt of the pagan Gods, of whoſe office and actions much is recorded. The jargon of his being the ſon of Earth and of Heaven, who was the ſon of the Sky and the Day, is purely a confeſſion of ignorance, who were his parents or who his predeceſſors; and there appears more ſenſe in the tradition ſaid to be mentioned by the inquiſitive and well informed PLATO, " that both " SATURN or *time*, and his conſort CYBELE, or the *Earth*, together " with their attendants, were the children of *Ocean* and THETIS, or, " in leſs poetical language, ſprang from the waters of the great deep." CERES, the goddeſs of harveſts, was, it ſeems, their daughter; and VIRGIL deſcribes " the mother and nurſe of all as crowned with tur- " rets, in a car drawn by lions, and exulting in her hundred grand- " ſons, all divine, all inhabiting ſplendid celeſtial manſions." As the God of time, or rather as *time* itſelf perſonified, SATURN was uſually painted by the heathens holding a ſcythe in one hand, and, in the other, a ſnake with its tail in its mouth, the ſymbol of perpetual cycles and revolutions of ages: he was often repreſented in the act of devouring years, in the form of children, and, ſometimes, encircled by the ſeaſons appearing like boys and girls. By the *Latins* he was named SATURNUS; and the moſt ingenious etymology of that word is given by FESTUS

FESTUS the grammarian; who traces it, by a learned analogy to many ſimilar names, *à ſatu*, from planting, becauſe, when he reigned in *Italy*, he introduced and improved agriculture: but his diſtinguiſhing character, which explains, indeed, all his other titles and functions, was expreſſed allegorically by the ſtern of a ſhip or galley on the reverſe of his ancient coins; for which OVID aſſigns a very unſatisfactory reaſon, "becauſe the divine ſtranger arrived in a ſhip on the *Italian* "coaſt;" as if he could have been expected on horſe-back or hovering through the air.

The account, quoted by POMEY from ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR, caſts a clearer light, if it really came from genuine antiquity, on the whole tale of SATURN; "that he predicted an extraordinary fall of "rain, and ordered the conſtruction of a veſſel, in which it was "neceſſary to ſecure men, beaſts, birds, and reptiles from a general "inundation."

Now it ſeems not eaſy to take a cool review of all theſe teſtimonies concerning the birth, kindred, offſpring, character, occupations, and entire life of SATURN, without aſſenting to the opinion of BOCHART, or admitting it at leaſt to be highly probable, that the fable was raiſed on the true hiſtory of NOAH; from whoſe flood a new period of *time* was computed, and a new ſeries of ages may be ſaid to have ſprung; who roſe freſh, and, as it were, newly born from the waves; whoſe wife was in fact the univerſal mother, and, that the earth might ſoon be repeopled, was early bleſſed with numerous and flouriſhing deſcendants: if we produce, therefore, an *Indian* king of divine birth, eminent for his piety and beneficence, whoſe ſtory ſeems evidently to be that of NOAH diſguiſed by *Aſiatick* fiction, we may ſafely offer a conjecture, that he was alſo the ſame perſonage with SATURN. This was MENU, or SATYAVRATA, whoſe pratronymick name was VAIVASWATA, or child

of

of the SUN; and whom the *Indians* believed to have reigned over the whole world in the earlieſt age of their chronology, but to have reſided in the country of *Dravira*, on the coaſt of the Eaſtern *Indian* Peninſula: the following narrative of the principal event in his life I have literally tranſlated from the *Bhágavat*; and it is the ſubject of the firſt *Purána*, entitled that of the *Matſya*, or *Fiſh*.

'Deſiring the preſervation of herds, and of *Bráhmans*, of genii and 'virtuous men, of the *Védas*, of law, and of precious things, the lord 'of the univerſe aſſumes many bodily ſhapes; but, though he pervades, 'like the air, a variety of beings, yet he is himſelf unvaried, ſince he 'has no quality ſubject to change. At the cloſe of the laſt *Calpa*, 'there was a general deſtruction occaſioned by the ſleep of BRAHMA'; 'whence his creatures in different worlds were drowned in a vaſt 'ocean. BRAHMA', being inclined to ſlumber, deſiring repoſe after 'a lapſe of ages, the ſtrong demon HAYAGRI'VA came near him, and 'ſtole the *Védas*, which had flowed from his lips. When HERI, the 'preſerver of the univerſe, diſcovered this deed of the Prince of '*Dánavas*, he took the ſhape of a minute fiſh, called *ſap'harì*. A holy 'king, named SATYAVRATA, then reigned; a ſervant of the ſpirit, 'which moved on the waves, and ſo devout, that water was his only 'ſuſtenance. He was the child of the Sun, and, in the preſent *Calpa*, 'is inveſted by NARA'YAN in the office of *Menu*, by the name of 'SRA'DDHADE'VA, or the God of Obſequies. One day, as he was 'making a libation in the river *Crĭtamálà*, and held water in the palm 'of his hand, he perceived a ſmall fiſh moving in it. The king of '*Dravira* immediately dropped the fiſh into the river together with 'the water, which he had taken from it; when the *ſap'harì* thus 'pathetically addreſſed the benevolent monarch: "How canſt thou, "O king, who ſhoweſt affection to the oppreſſed, leave me in this "river-water, where I am too weak to reſiſt the monſters of the ſtream,

"who

" who fill me with dread?" He, not knowing who had aſſumed the ' form of a fiſh, applied his mind to the preſervation of the *ſap'harì*, ' both from good nature and from regard to his own ſoul; and, having ' heard its very ſuppliant addreſs, he kindly placed it under his pro- ' tection in a ſmall vaſe full of water; but, in a ſingle night, its bulk ' was ſo increaſed, that it could not be contained in the jar, and thus ' again addreſſed the illuſtrious Prince: " I am not pleaſed with living " miſerably in this little vaſe; make me a large manſion, where I may " dwell in comfort." The king, removing it thence, placed it in the ' water of a ciſtern; but it grew three cubits in leſs than fifty minutes, ' and ſaid: " O king, it pleaſes me not to ſtay vainly in this narrow " ciſtern: ſince thou haſt granted me an aſylum, give me a ſpacious " habitation." He then removed it, and placed it in a pool, where, ' having ample ſpace around its body, it became a fiſh of conſiderable ' ſize. " This abode, O king, is not convenient for me, who muſt " ſwim at large in the waters: exert thyſelf for my ſafety; and remove " me to a deep lake:" Thus addreſſed, the pious monarch threw ' the ſuppliant into a lake, and, when it grew of equal bulk with that ' piece of water, he caſt the vaſt fiſh into the ſea. When the fiſh was ' thrown into the waves, he thus again ſpoke to SATYAVRATA: " here the horned ſharks, and other monſters of great ſtrength will de- " vour me; thou ſhouldſt not, O valiant man, leave me in this ' ocean." Thus repeatedly deluded by the fiſh, who had addreſſed him ' with gentle words, the king ſaid: " who art thou, that beguileſt " me in that aſſumed ſhape? Never before have I ſeen or heard of ſo " prodigious an inhabitant of the waters, who, like thee, haſt filled up, " in a ſingle day, a lake an hundred leagues in circumference. Surely, " thou art BHAGAVAT, who appeareſt before me; the great HERI, " whoſe dwelling was on the waves; and who now, in compaſſion to " thy ſervants, beareſt the form of the natives of the deep. Salutation " and praiſe to thee, O firſt male, the lord of creation, of preſervation,

" of

" of deſtruction! Thou art the higheſt object, O ſupreme ruler, of us " thy adorers, who piouſly ſeek thee. All thy deluſive deſcents in this " world give exiſtence to various beings: yet I am anxious to know, for " what cauſe that ſhape has been aſſumed by thee. Let me not, O " lotos-eyed, approach in vain the feet of a deity, whoſe perfect " benevolence has been extended to all; when thou haſt ſhewn us to " our amazement the appearance of other bodies, not in reality " exiſting, but ſucceſſively exhibited." The lord of the univerſe, ' loving the pious man, who thus implored him, and intending to ' preſerve him from the ſea of deſtruction, cauſed by the depravity ' of the age, thus told him how he was to act. " In ſeven days from " the preſent time, O thou tamer of enemies, the three worlds will be " plunged in an ocean of death; but, in the midſt of the deſtroying " waves, a large veſſel, ſent by me for thy uſe, ſhall ſtand before thee. " Then ſhalt thou take all medicinal herbs, all the variety of ſeeds; " and, accompanied by ſeven Saints, encircled by pairs of all brute " animals, thou ſhalt enter the ſpacious ark and continue in it, ſecure " from the flood on one immenſe ocean without light, except the " radiance of thy holy companions. When the ſhip ſhall be agitated by " an impetuous wind, thou ſhalt faſten it with a large ſea-ſerpent on my " horn; for I will be near thee: drawing the veſſel, with thee and thy " attendants, I will remain on the ocean, O chief of men, until a night " of BRAHMA' ſhall be completely ended. Thou ſhalt then know my " true greatneſs, rightly named the ſupreme Godhead; by my favour, " all thy queſtions ſhall be anſwered, and thy mind abundantly inſtruct- " ed." HERI, having thus directed the monarch, diſappeared; and ' SATYAVRATA humbly waited for the time, which the ruler of our ' ſenſes had appointed. The pious king, have ſcattered towards the ' Eaſt the pointed blades of the graſs *darbha*, and turning his face to- ' wards the North, ſate meditating on the feet of the God, who had ' borne the form of a fiſh. The ſea, overwhelming its ſhores, deluged

' the

‘ the whole earth; and it was ſoon perceived to be augmented by
‘ ſhowers from immenſe clouds. He, ſtill meditating on the command
‘ of BHAGAVAT, ſaw the veſſel advancing, and entered it with the
‘ chiefs of *Bráhmans*, having carried into it the medicinal creepers and
‘ conformed to the directions of HERI. The ſaints thus addreſſed him:
“ O king, meditate on CE'SAVA; who will, ſurely, deliver us from
“ this danger, and grant us proſperity.” The God, being invoked by
‘ the monarch, appeared again diſtinctly on the vaſt ocean in the form
‘ of a fiſh, blazing like gold, extending a million of leagues, with one
‘ ſtupendous horn; on which the king, as he had before been com-
‘ manded by HERI, tied the ſhip with a cable made of a vaſt ſer-
‘ pent, and, happy in his preſervation, ſtood praiſing the deſtroyer of
‘ MADHU. When the monarch had finiſhed his hymn, the primeval
‘ male, BHAGAVAT, who watched for his ſafety on the great expanſe
‘ of water, ſpoke aloud to his own divine eſſence, pronouncing a ſacred
‘ *Purána*, which contained the rules of the *Sánc'hya* philoſophy: but
‘ it was an infinite myſtery to be concealed within the breaſt of SATY-
‘ AVRATA; who, ſitting in the veſſel with the ſaints, heard the prin-
‘ ciple of the ſoul, the Eternal Being, proclaimed by the preſerving
‘ power. Then HERI, riſing together with BRAHMA', from the
‘ deſtructive deluge, which was abated, ſlew the demon HAYAGRI'VA,
‘ and recovered the ſacred books. SATYAVRATA, inſtructed in all
‘ divine and human knowledge, was appointed in the preſent *Calpa*, by
‘ the favour of VISHNU, the ſeventh MENU, ſurnamed VAIVASWATA:
‘ but the appearance of a horned fiſh to the religious monarch was
‘ *Máyá*, or deluſion; and he, who ſhall devoutly hear this important
‘ allegorical narrative, will be delivered from the bondage of ſin.’

This epitome of the firſt *Indian* Hiſtory, that is now extant, appears to me very curious and very important; for the ſtory, though whimſically dreſſed up in the form of an allegory, ſeems to prove a primeval

tradition in this country of the *univerſal deluge* deſcribed by MOSES, and fixes conſequently the *time*, when the genuine *Hindu* Chronology actually begins. We find, it is true, in the *Purán*, from which the narrative is extracted, *another deluge* which happened towards the cloſe of the *third* age, when YUDHIST'HIR was labouring under the perſecution of his inveterate foe DURYO'DHAN, and when CRISHNA, who had recently become incarnate for the purpoſe of ſuccouring the pious and of deſtroying the wicked, was performing wonders in the country of *Mat'hurà*; but the ſecond flood was merely *local* and intended only to affect the people of *Vraja:* they, it ſeems, had offended INDRA, the God of the firmament, by their enthuſiaſtick adoration of the wonderful child, "who lifted up the mountain *Góverdhena*, as if it had been a flower, "and, by ſheltering all the herdſmen and ſhepherdeſſes from the ſtorm, "convinced INDRA of his ſupremacy." That the *Satya*, or (if we may venture ſo to call it) the *Saturnian*, age was in truth the age of the *general* flood, will appear from a cloſe examination of the ten *Avatárs*, or *Deſcents*, of the deity in his capacity of preſerver; ſince of the four, which are declared to have happened in the *Satya yug*, the *three firſt* apparently relate to ſome ſtupendous convulſion of our globe from the fountains of the deep, and the fourth exhibits the miraculous puniſhment of pride and impiety: firſt, as we have ſhown, there was, in the opinion of the *Hindus*, an interpoſition of Providence to preſerve a devout perſon and his family (for all the *Pandits* agree, that his wife, though not named, muſt be underſtood to have been ſaved with him) from an inundation, by which all the wicked were deſtroyed; next, the power of the deity deſcends in the form of a *Boar*, the ſymbol of ſtrength, to draw up and ſupport on his tuſks the whole earth, which had been ſunk beneath the ocean; thirdly, the ſame power is repreſented as a *tortoiſe* ſuſtaining the globe, which had been convulſed by the violent aſſaults of demons, while the Gods churned the ſea with the mountain *Mandar*, and forced it to diſgorge the ſacred things and animals,

mals, together with the water of life, which it had ſwallowed: theſe three ſtories relate, I think, to the ſame event, ſhadowed by a moral, a metaphyſical, and an aſtronomical, allegory; and all three ſeem connected with the hieroglyphical ſculptures of the old *Egyptians*. The fourth *Avatár* was a *lion* iſſuing from a burſting column of marble to devour a blaſpheming monarch, who would otherwiſe have ſlain his religious ſon; and of the remaining ſix, not one has the leaſt relation to a deluge: the three, which are aſcribed to the *Trétáyug*, when tyranny and irreligion are ſaid to have been introduced, were ordained for the overthrow of Tyrants, or, their natural types, Giants with a thouſand arms formed for the moſt extenſive oppreſſion; and, in the *Dwáparyug*, the incarnation of CRISHNA was partly for a ſimilar purpoſe, and partly with a view to thin the world of unjuſt and impious men, who had multiplied in that age, and began to ſwarm on the approach of the *Caliyug*, or the age of *contention* and baſeneſs. As to BUDDHA, he ſeems to have been a reformer of the doctrines contained in the *Védas*; and, though his good nature led him to cenſure thoſe ancient books, becauſe they enjoined ſacrifices of cattle, yet he is admitted as the ninth *Avatár* even by the *Bráhmans* of *Cási*, and his praiſes are ſung by the poet JAYADE'VA: his character is in many reſpects very extrarodinary; but, as an account of it belongs rather to Hiſtory than to Mythology, it is reſerved for another diſſertation. The tenth *Avatár*, we are told, is yet to come, and is expected to appear mounted (like the crowned conqueror in the *Apocalyps*) on a white horſe, with a cimeter blazing like a comet to mow down all incorrigible and impenitent offenders, who ſhall then be on earth.

Theſe four *Yugs* have ſo apparent an affinity with the *Grecian* and *Roman* ages, that one origin may be naturally aſſigned to both ſyſtems: the firſt in both is diſtinguiſhed as abounding in *gold*, though *Satya* mean *truth* and *probity*, which were found, if ever, in the times immediately

mediately following ſo tremendous an exertion of the divine power as the deſtruction of mankind by a general deluge; the next is characterized by *ſilver*, and the third, by *copper*; though their uſual names allude to proportions imagined in each between vice and virtue: the preſent, or *earthen*, age ſeems more properly diſcriminated than by *iron*, as in ancient *Europe*; ſince that metal is not baſer or leſs uſeful, though more common in our times and conſequently leſs precious, than copper; while mere *earth* conveys an idea of the loweſt degradation. We may here obſerve, that the true Hiſtory of the World ſeems obviouſly diviſible into *four* ages or periods; which may be called, firſt, the *Diluvian*, or pureſt age; namely, the times preceding the deluge, and thoſe ſucceeding it till the mad introduction of idolatry at *Babel*; next, the *Patriarchal*, or pure, age; in which, indeed, there were mighty hunters of beaſts and of men, from the riſe of patriarchs in the family of SEM to the ſimultaneous eſtabliſhment of great Empires by the deſcendants of his brother HA'M; thirdly, the *Moſaick*, or leſs pure, age; from the legation of MOSES, and during the time, when his ordinances were comparatively well-obſerved and uncorrupted; laſtly, the *Prophetical*, or *impure*, age, beginning with the vehement warnings given by the Prophets to apoſtate Kings and degenerate nations, but ſtill ſubſiſting and to ſubſiſt, until all genuine prophecies ſhall be fully accompliſhed. The duration of the Hiſtorical ages muſt needs be very unequal and diſproportionate; while that of the *Indian Yugs* is diſpoſed ſo regularly and artificially, that it cannot be admitted as natural or probable: men do not become reprobate in a geometrical progreſſion or at the termination of regular periods; yet ſo well-proportioned are the *Yugs*, that even the length of human life is diminiſhed, as they advance, from an hundred thouſand years in a ſubdecuple ratio; and, as the number of principal *Avatárs* in each decreaſes arithmetically from four, ſo the number of years in each decreaſes geometrically, and all together conſtitute the extravagant ſum of four million three hundred and twenty thouſand years,

which

which aggregate, multiplied by ſeventy-one, is the period, in which every MENU is believed to preſide over the world. Such a period, one might conceive, would have ſatisfied ARCHYTAS, the *meaſurer of ſea and earth and the numberer of their ſands*, or ARCHIMEDES, who invented a notation, that was capable of expreſſing the number of them; but the comprehenſive mind of an *Indian* Chronologiſt has no limits; and the reigns of fourteen MENUS are only a ſingle day of BRAHMA', fifty of which days have elapſed, according to the *Hindus*, from the time of the Creation: that all this puerility, as it ſeems at firſt view, may be only an aſtronomical riddle, and allude to the apparent revolution of the fixed ſtars, of which the *Bráhmans* made a myſtery, I readily admit, and am even inclined to believe; but ſo technical an arrangement excludes all idea of ſerious Hiſtory. I am ſenſible, how much theſe remarks will offend the warm advocates for *Indian* antiquity; but we muſt not ſacrifice truth to a baſe fear of giving offence: that the *Védas* were actually written before the flood, I ſhall never believe; nor can we infer from the preceding ſtory, that the learned *Hindus* believe it; for the allegorical ſlumber of BRAHMA' and the theft of the ſacred books mean only, in ſimpler language, that *the human race was become corrupt*; but that the *Védas* are very ancient, and far older than other *Sanſcrit* compoſitions, I will venture to aſſert from my own examination of them, and a compariſon of their ſtyle with that of the *Puráns* and the *Dherma Sáſtra*. A ſimilar compariſon juſtifies me in pronouncing, that the excellent law-book aſcribed to SWA'YAMBHUVA MENU, though not even pretended to have been written by him, is more ancient than the BHA'GAVAT; but that it was compoſed in the firſt age of the world, the *Bráhmans* would find it hard to perſuade me; and the date, which has been aſſigned to it, does not appear in either of the two copies, which I poſſeſs, or in any other, that has been collated for me: in fact the ſuppoſed date is comprized in a verſe, which flatly contradicts the work itſelf; for it was not MENU who compoſed the ſyſtem of law, by the command

command of his father BRAHMA', but a holy perſonage or demigod, named BHRIGU, who revealed to men what MENU had delivered at the requeſt of him and other ſaints or patriarchs. In the *Mánava Sáſtra*, to conclude this digreſſion, the meaſure is ſo uniform and melodious, and the ſtyle ſo perfectly *Sanſcrit*, or *Poliſhed*, that the book muſt be more modern than the ſcriptures of MOSES, in which the ſimplicity, or rather nakedneſs, of the *Hebrew* dialect, metre, and ſtyle, muſt convince every unbiaſſed man of their ſuperior antiquity.

I leave etymologiſts, who decide every thing, to decide whether the word MENU, or, in the nominative caſe, MENUS, has any connexion with MINOS, the Lawgiver, and ſuppoſed ſon of JOVE: the *Cretans*, according to DIODORUS of *Sicily*, uſed to feign, that moſt of the great men, who had been deified, in return for the benefits which they had conferred on mankind, were born in their iſland; and hence a doubt may be raiſed, whether MINOS was really a *Cretan*. The *Indian* legiſlator was the firſt, not the ſeventh, MENU, or SATYAVRATA, whom I ſuppoſe to be the SATURN of *Italy*: part of SATURN's character, indeed, was that of a great lawgiver,

> Qui genus indocile ac diſperſum montibus altis
> Compoſuit, *legeſque dedit*,

and, we may ſuſpect, that all the fourteen MENUS are reducible to one, who was called NUH by the *Arabs*, and probably by the *Hebrews*, though we have diſguiſed his name by an improper pronunciation of it. Some near relation between the ſeventh MENU and the *Grecian* MINOS may be inferred from the ſingular character of the *Hindu* God, YAMA, who was alſo a child of the Sun, and thence named VAIVASWATA: he had too the ſame title with his brother, ŚRA'DDHADE'VA; another of his titles was DHERMARA'JA, or *King of Juſtice*; and a third, PITRI-

PETI,

PETI, or *Lord of the Patriarchs*; but he is chiefly diſtinguiſhed as *judge of departed ſouls*; for the *Hindus* believe, that, when a ſoul leaves its body, it immediately repairs to *Yamapur*, or the city of YAMA, where it receives a juſt ſentence from him, and either aſcends to *Swerga*, or the firſt heaven, or is driven down to *Narac*, the region of ſerpents, or aſſumes on earth the form of ſome animal, unleſs its offence had been ſuch, that it ought to be condemned to a vegetable, or even to a mineral, priſon. Another of his names is very remarkable: I mean that of CA'LA, or *time*, the idea of which is intimately blended with the characters of SATURN and of NOAH; for the name CRONOS has a manifeſt affinity with the word *chronos*, and a learned follower of ZERA'TUSHT aſſures me, that, in the books, which the *Behdins* hold ſacred, mention is made of an *univerſal inundation*, there named the deluge of TIME.

It having been occaſionally obſerved, that CERES was the poetical daughter of SATURN, we cannot cloſe this head without adding, that the *Hindus* alſo have their *Goddeſs of Abundance*, whom they uſually call LACSHMI', and whom they conſider as the daughter (not of MENU, but) of BHRIGU, by whom the firſt Code of ſacred ordinances was promulgated: ſhe is alſo named PEDMA' and CAMALA' from the ſacred Lotos or *Nymphæa*; but her moſt remarkable name is SRI', or, in the firſt caſe, SRI's, which has a reſemblance to the *Latin*, and means *fortune* or *proſperity*. It may be contended, that, although LACSHMI' may be figuratively called the CERES of *Hinduſtan*, yet any two or more idolatrous nations, who ſubſiſted by agriculture, might naturally conceive a Deity to preſide over their labours, without having the leaſt intercourſe with each other; but no reaſon appears, why two nations ſhould concur in ſuppoſing that Deity to be a female: one at leaſt of them would be more likely to imagine, that the *Earth* was a Goddeſs, and that the God of abundance rendered her fertile. Beſides, in very ancient temples near *Gayá*, we ſee images of LACSHMI', with full breaſts

breaſts and a *cord* twiſted under her arm like a *horn of plenty*, which look very much like the old *Grecian* and *Roman* figures of CERES.

The fable of SATURN having been thus analyſed, let us proceed to his deſcendents; and begin, as the Poet adviſes, with JUPITER, whoſe ſupremacy, thunder, and libertiniſm every boy learns from OVID; while his great offices of Creator, Preſerver, and Deſtroyer, are not generally conſidered in the ſyſtems of *European* mythology. The *Romans* had, as we have before obſerved, many JUPITERS, one of whom was only the *Firmament* perſonified, as ENNIUS clearly expreſſes it:

Aſpice hoc ſublime candens, quem invocant omnes *Jovem*.

This JUPITER or DIESPITER is the *Indian* God of the viſible heavens, called INDRA, or the *King*, and DIVESPETIR, or *Lord of the Sky*, who has alſo the character of the *Roman* GENIUS, or Chief of the good ſpirits; but moſt of his epithets in *Sanſcrit* are the ſame with thoſe of the *Ennian* JOVE. His conſort is named SACHI'; his celeſtial city, *Amarávatì*; his palace, *Vaijayanta*; his garden, *Nandana*; his chief elephant, *Airávat*; his charioteer, MA'TALI; and his weapon, *Vajra*, or the thunderbolt: he is the regent of winds and ſhowers, and, though the Eaſt is peculiarly under his care, yet his *Olympus* is *Méru*, or the north pole allegorically repreſented as a mountain of gold and gems. With all his power he is conſidered as a ſubordinate Deity, and far inferior to the *Indian* Triad, BRAHMA', VISHNU, and MAHA'DEVA or SIVA, who are three *forms* of one and the ſame Godhead: thus the principal divinity of the *Greeks* and *Latins*, whom they called ZEUS and JUPITER with irregular inflexions DIOS and JOVIS, was not merely *Fulminator*, the Thunderer, but, like the deſtroying power of *India*, MAGNUS DIVUS, ULTOR, GENITOR; like the preſerving power, CONSERVATOR, SOTER, OPITULUS, ALTOR, RUMINUS, and, like the creating

INDRA.
देवानामस्मिन्वासव:

creating power, the *Giver of Life*; an attribute, which I mention here on the authority of CORNUTUS, a conſummate maſter of mythological learning. We are adviſed by PLATO himſelf to ſearch for the roots of *Greek* words in ſome barbarous, that is, foreign, ſoil; but, ſince I look upon etymological conjectures as a weak baſis for hiſtorical inquiries, I hardly dare ſuggeſt, that ZEV, SIV, and JOV, are the ſame ſyllable differently pronounced: it muſt, however be admitted, that the *Greeks* having no palatial *ſigma*, like that of the *Indians*, might have expreſſed it by their *zéta*, and that the initial letters of *zugon* and *jugum* are (as the inſtance proves) eaſily interchangeable.

Let us now deſcend, from theſe general and introductory remarks, to ſome particular obſervations on the reſemblance of ZEUS or JUPITER to the triple divinity VISHNU, SIVA, BRAHMA´; for that is the order, in which they are expreſſed by the letters A, U, and M, which coaleſce and form the myſtical word O'M; a word, which never eſcapes the lips of a pious *Hindu*, who meditates on it in ſilence: whether the *Egyptian* ON, which is commonly ſuppoſed to mean the Sun, be the *Sanſcrit* monoſyllable, I leave others to determine. It muſt always be remembered, that the learned *Indians*, as they are inſtructed by their own books, in truth acknowledge only One Supreme Being, whom they call BRAHME, or THE GREAT ONE in the neuter gender: they believe his Eſſence to be infinitely removed from the comprehenſion of any mind but his own; and they ſuppoſe him to manifeſt his power by the operation of his divine ſpirit, whom they name VISHNU, the *Pervader*, and NA'RA'YAN, or *Moving on the waters*, both in the maſculine gender, whence he is often denominated the *Firſt Male*; and by this power they believe, that the whole order of nature is preſerved and ſupported; but the *Védántis*, unable to form a diſtinct idea of brute matter independent of mind, or to conceive that the work of Supreme Goodneſs was left a moment to itſelf, imagine that the Deity is

ever preſent to his work, and conſtantly ſupports a ſeries of perceptions, which, in one ſenſe, they call *illuſory*, though they cannot but admit the *reality* of all created forms, as far as the happineſs of creatures can be affected by them. When they conſider the divine power exerted in *creating*, or in giving exiſtence to that which exiſted not before, they called the deity BRAHMA' in the maſculine gender alſo; and, when they view him in the light of *Deſtroyer*, or rather *Changer* of forms, they give him a thouſand names, of which SIVA, I'SA or I'SWARA, RUDRA, HARA, SAMBHU, and MAHA'DE'VA or MAHE'SA, are the moſt common. The firſt operations of theſe three *Powers* are variouſly deſcribed in the different *Purána's* by a number of allegories, and from them we may deduce the *Ionian* Philoſophy of *primeval water*, the doctrine of the Mundane Egg, and the veneration paid to the *Nymphæa*, or *Lotos*, which was anciently revered in *Egypt*, as it is at preſent in *Hinduſtán*, *Tibet*, and *Népal*: the *Tibetians* are ſaid to embelliſh their temples and altars with it, and a native of *Népal* made proſtrations before it on entering my ſtudy, where the fine plant and beautiful flowers lay for examination. Mr. HOLWEL, in explaining his firſt plate, ſuppoſes BRAHMA' to be floating on a leaf of *betel* in the midſt of the abyſs; but it was manifeſtly intended by a bad painter for a lotos-leaf or for that of the *Indian* fig-tree; nor is the ſpecies of pepper, known in *Bengal* by the name of *Támbúla*, and on the Coaſt of *Malabar* by that of *betel*, held ſacred, as he aſſerts, by the *Hindus*, or neceſſarily cultivated under the inſpection of *Bráhmans*; though, as the vines are tender, all the plantations of them are carefully ſecured, and ought to be cultivated by a particular tribe of *Súdras*, who are thence called *Támbúli's*.

That *water* was the primitive element and firſt work of the Creative Power, is the uniform opinion of the *Indian* Philoſophers; but, as they give ſo particular an account of the general deluge and of the Creation, it can never be admitted, that their whole ſyſtem aroſe from traditions concerning

BRAHMA.
धाताहंविश्वेनामुख:

VISHNU.
आदित्याना महंविष्णुः

concerning the flood only, and muſt appear indubitable, that their doctrine is in part borrowed from the opening of *Birásìt* or *Geneſis*, than which a ſublimer paſſage, from the firſt word to the laſt, never flowed or will flow from any human pen: "*In the beginning* GOD created the "heavens and the earth.—And the earth was void and waſte, and dark-"neſs was on the face of the deep, and the Spirit of GOD *moved upon* "the face of the waters; and GOD ſaid: *Let Light be*—and *Light* "*was*." The ſublimity of this paſſage is conſiderably diminiſhed by the *Indian* paraphraſe of it, with which MENU, the ſon of BRAHMA', begins his addreſs to the ſages, who conſulted him on the formation of the univerſe: "This world, ſays he, was all darkneſs, undiſcernible, "undiſtinguiſhable, altogether as in a profound ſleep; till the ſelf-ex-"iſtent inviſible GOD, making it manifeſt with five elements and other "glorious forms, perfectly diſpelled the gloom. He, deſiring to raiſe "up various creatures by an emanation from his own glory, firſt created "the *waters*, and impreſſed them with a power of motion: by that "power was produced a golden Egg, blazing like a thouſand ſuns, in "which was born BRAHMA', ſelf-exiſting, the great parent of all rational "beings. The waters are called *nárà*, ſince they are the offspring of "NERA (or I'SWARA); and thence was NA'RA'YANA named, becauſe "his firſt *ayana*, or *moving*, was on them.

"THAT WHICH IS, the inviſible cauſe, eternal, ſelf-exiſting, but "unperceived, becoming maſculine *from neuter*, is celebrated among "all creatures by the name of BRAHMA'. That God, having dwelled "in the Egg, through revolving years, Himſelf meditating on Him-"ſelf, divided it into two equal parts; and from thoſe halves formed "the heavens and the earth, placing in the midſt the ſubtil ether, "the eight points of the world, and the permanent receptacle of wa-"ters."

To

To this curious deſcription, with which the *Mánava Sáſtra* begins, I cannot refrain from ſubjoining the four verſes, which are the text of the *Bhágavat*, and are believed to have been pronounced by the Supreme Being to BRAHMA': the following verſion is moſt ſcrupulouſly literal*.

" Even I was even at firſt, not any other thing; that, which exiſts, " unperceived; ſupreme: afterwards I AM THAT WHICH IS; and he, " who muſt remain, am I.

" Except the FIRST CAUSE, whatever may appear, and may not " appear, in the mind, know that to be the mind's MA'YA' (or *Delu-* " *ſion*), as light, as darkneſs.

" As the great elements are in various beings, entering, yet not enter- " ing (that is, pervading, not deſtroying), thus am I in them, yet not " in them.

" Even thus far may inquiry be made by him, who ſeeks to know " the principle of mind, in union and ſeparation, which muſt be EVERY " WHERE ALWAYS."

Wild and obſcure as theſe ancient verſes muſt appear in a naked verbal tranſlation, it will perhaps be thought by many, that the poetry or mythology of *Greece* or *Italy* afford no conceptions more awfully magnificent: yet the brevity and ſimplicity of the *Moſaick* diction are unequalled.

As to the creation of the world, in the opinion of the *Romans*, OVID, who might naturally have been expected to deſcribe it with learning and

* See the Original, p. 206. Plate IV.

elegance,

CUVERA
निधे श्रीयक्षरक्षसाम्

elegance, leaves us wholly in the dark, *which of the Gods was the actor in it:* other Mythologiſts are more explicit; and we may rely on the authority of CORNUTUS, that the old *European* heathens conſidered JOVE (not the ſon of SATURN, but of the *Ether*, that is of an unknown parent) as the great *Life-giver*, and *Father of Gods and men*; to which may be added the *Orphean* doctrine, preſerved by PROCLUS, that "the abyſs and em-" pyreum, the earth and ſea, the Gods and Goddeſſes, were produced " by ZEUS or JUPITER." In this character he correſponds with BRAHMA'; and, perhaps, with that God of the *Babylonians* (if we can rely on the accounts of their ancient religion), who, like BRAHMA', reduced the univerſe to order, and, like BRAHMA', *loſt his head*, with the blood of which new animals were inſtantly formed: I allude to the common ſtory, the meaning of which I cannot diſcover, that BRAHMA' had five heads till one of them was cut off by NA'RA'YA'N.

That, in another capacity, JOVE was the *Helper* and *Supporter* of all, we may collect from his old *Latin* epithets, and from CICERO, who informs us, that his uſual name is a contraction of *Juvans Pater*; an etymology, which ſhows the idea entertained of his character, though we may have ſome doubt of its accuracy. CALLIMACHUS, we know, addreſſes him as *the beſtower of all good, and of ſecurity from grief*; and, *ſince neither wealth without virtue, nor virtue without wealth, give complete happineſs*, he prays, like a wiſe poet, for both. An *Indian* prayer for riches would be directed to LACSHMI', the wife of VISHNU, ſince the *Hindu* Goddeſſes are believed to be the *powers* of their reſpective lords: as to CUVE'RA, the *Indian* PLUTUS, one of whoſe names in *Paulaſtya*, he is revered, indeed, as a magnificent Deity, reſiding in the palace of *Alacá*, or borne through the ſky in a ſplendid car named *Puſhpaca*, but is manifeſtly ſubordinate, like the other ſeven Genii, to the three principal Gods, or rather to the principal God conſidered in three capacities. As the ſoul of the world, or the pervading *mind*, ſo finely deſcribed

deſcribed by VIRGIL, we ſee JOVE repreſented by ſeveral *Roman* poets; and with great ſublimity by LUCAN in the known ſpeech of CATO concerning the *Ammonian* oracle, "JUPITER is, wherever we look, "wherever we move." This is preciſely the *Indian* idea of VISHNU, according to the four verſes above exhibited, not that the *Bráhmans* imagine their male Divinity to be the *divine Eſſence* of the great one, which they declare to be wholly incomprehenſible; but, ſince the power of *preſerving* created things by a ſuperintending providence, belongs eminently to the Godhead, they hold that power to exiſt tranſcendently in the *preſerving* member of the Triad, whom they ſuppoſe to be EVERY WHERE ALWAYS, not in ſubſtance, but in ſpirit and energy: here, however, I ſpeak of the *Vaiſhnava's*; for the *Saiva's* aſcribe a ſort of pre-eminence to SIVA, whoſe attributes are now to be conciſely examined.

It was in the capacity of Avenger and Deſtroyer, that JOVE encountered and overthrew the *Titans* and Giants, whom TYPHON, BRIAREUS, TITIUS, and the reſt of their fraternity, led againſt the God of *Olympus*; to whom an Eagle brought *lightning* and *thunderbolts* during the warfare: thus, in a ſimilar conteſt between SIVA and the *Daityas*, or children of DITI, who frequently rebelled againſt heaven, BRAHMA is believed to have preſented the God of Deſtruction with *fiery ſhafts*. One of the many poems, entitled *Rámáyan*, the laſt book of which has been tranſlated into *Italian*, contains an extraordinary dialogue between the crow *Bhuſhunda*, and a rational Eagle, named GARUDA, who is often painted with the face of a beautiful youth, and the body of an imaginary bird; and one of the eighteen *Puránas* bears his name and comprizes his whole hiſtory. M. SONNERAT informs us, that VISHNU is repreſented in ſome places riding on the GARUDA, which he ſuppoſes to be the *Pondicheri* Eagle of BRISSON, eſpecially as the *Bráhmans* of the Coaſt highly venerate that claſs of birds and provide food for numbers of them at ſtated hours: I rather conceive the *Garúda* to be a fabulous

ISWARA.
रुद्राणांशंकरश्चास्मि

fabulous bird, but agree with him, that the *Hindu* God, who rides on it, reſembles the ancient JUPITER. In the old temples at *Gayà*, VISHNU is either mounted on this poetical bird or attended by it together with a little page; but, leſt an etymologiſt ſhould find GANYMED in GARUD, I muſt obſerve that the *Sanſcrit* word is pronounced *Garura*; though I admit, that the *Grecian* and *Indian* ſtories of the celeſtial bird and the page appear to have ſome reſemblance. As the *Olympian* JUPITER fixed his Court and held his Councils on a lofty and brilliant mountain, ſo the appropriated ſeat of MAHA'DE'VA, whom the *Saiva's* conſider as the Chief of the Deities, was mount *Cailáſa*, every ſplinter of whoſe rocks was an ineſtimable gem: his terreſtrial haunts are the ſnowy hills of *Himálaya*, or that branch of them to the Eaſt of the *Brahmaputra*, which has the name of *Chandraſic'hara*, or the *Mountain of the Moon*. When, after all theſe circumſtances, we learn that SIVA is believed to have *three* eyes, whence he is named alſo TRILO'CHAN, and know from PAUSANIAS, not only that *Triophthalmos* was an epithet of ZEUS, but that a ſtatue of him had been found, ſo early as the taking of *Troy*, with *a third eye in his forehead*, as we ſee him repreſented by the *Hindus*, we muſt conclude, that the identity of the two Gods falls little ſhort of being demonſtrated.

In the character of *Deſtroyer* alſo we may look upon this *Indian* Deity as correſponding with the *Stygian* JOVE, or PLUTO; eſpecially ſince CA'LI', or *Time* in the feminine gender, is a name of his conſort, who will appear hereafter to be PROSERPINE: indeed, if we can rely on a *Perſian* tranſlation of the *Bhágavat* (for the original is not yet in my poſſeſſion), the ſovereign of *Pátála*, or the *Infernal Regions*, is the *King of Serpents*, named SE'SHANA'GA; for CRISHNA is there ſaid to have deſcended with his favourite ARJUN to the ſeat of that formidable divinity, from whom he inſtantly obtained the favour, which he requeſted, that the ſouls of a *Bráhman's* ſix ſons, who had been ſlain in battle, might reanimate

reanimate their reſpective bodies; and SE'SHANA'GA is thus deſcribed: "He had a gorgeous appearance, with a thouſand heads, and, on each "of them, a crown ſet with reſplendent gems, one of which was larger "and brighter than the reſt; his eyes gleamed like flaming torches; "but his neck, his tongues, and his body were black; the ſkirts of "his habiliment were yellow, and a ſparkling jewel hung in every one "of his ears; his arms were extended, and adorned with rich bracelets, "and his hands bore the holy ſhell, the radiated weapon, the mace for "war, and the lotos." Thus PLUTO was often exhibited in painting and ſculpture with a diadem and ſceptre; but himſelf and his equipage were of the blackeſt ſhade.

There is yet another attribute of MAHA'DE'VA, by which he is too viſibly diſtinguiſhed in the drawings and temples of *Bengal*. To deſtroy, according to the *Védánti's* of *India*, the *Súfi's* of *Perſia*, and many Philoſophers of our *European* ſchools, is only to *generate* and *reproduce* in another form: hence the God of *Deſtruction* is holden in this country to preſide over *Generation*; as a ſymbol of which he rides on a *white bull*. Can we doubt, that the loves and feats of JUPITER GENITOR (not forgetting the *white bull* of EUROPA) and his extraordinary title of LAPIS, for which no ſatisfactory reaſon is commonly given, have a connexion with the *Indian* Philoſophy and Mythology? As to the deity of *Lampſacus*, he was originally a mere ſcare-crow, and ought not to have a place in any mythological ſyſtem; and, in regard to BACCHUS, the God of *Vintage* (between whoſe acts and thoſe of JUPITER we find, as BACON obſerves, a wonderful affinity), his *Ithyphallick* images, meaſures, and ceremonies alluded probably to the ſuppoſed relation of Love and Wine; unleſs we believe them to have belonged originally to SIVA, one of whoſe names is *Vágís* or BA'GI's, and to have been afterwards improperly applied. Though, in an Eſſay on the Gods of *India*, where the *Bráhmans* are poſitively forbidden to taſte fermented liquors, we can have little

VARUNA.
वरुणो यादसामहम्

little to do with BACCHUS, as God of Wine, who was probably no more than the imaginary Preſident over the vintage in *Italy*, *Greece*, and the lower *Aſia*, yet we muſt not omit SURA'DE'VÍ, the Goddeſs of Wine, who aroſe, ſay the *Hindus*, from the ocean, when it was churned with the mountain *Mandar:* and this fable ſeems to indicate, that the *Indians* came from a country, in which wine was anciently made and conſidered as a bleſſing; though the dangerous effects of intemperance induced their early legiſlators to prohibit the uſe of all ſpirituous liquors; and it were much to be wiſhed, that ſo wiſe a law had never been violated.

Here may be introduced the JUPITER *Marinus*, or NEPTUNE, of the *Romans*, as reſembling MAHA'DE'VA in his *generative* character; eſpecially as the *Hindu* God is the huſband of BHAVA'NÍ, whoſe relation to the *waters* is evidently marked by her image being reſtored to them at the concluſion of her great feſtival called *Durgótſava:* ſhe is known alſo to have attributes exactly ſimilar to thoſe of VENUS *Marina*, whoſe birth from the ſea-foam and ſplendid riſe from the Conch, in which ſhe had been cradled, have afforded ſo many charming ſubjects to ancient and modern artiſts; and it is very remarkable, that the REMBHA' of INDRA's court, who ſeems to correſpond with the popular VENUS, or Goddeſs of Beauty, was produced, according to the *Indian* Fabuliſts, from the froth of the churned ocean. The identity of the *tris'úla* and the *trident*, the weapon of SIVA and of NEPTUNE, ſeems to eſtabliſh this analogy; and the veneration paid all over *India* to the large buccinum, eſpecially when it can be found with the ſpiral line and mouth turned from left to right, brings inſtantly to our mind the muſick of TRITON. The Genius of Water is VARUNA; but he, like the reſt, is far inferior to MAHE'S'A, and even to INDRA, who is the Prince of the beneficent genii.

This way of conſidering the Gods as individual ſubſtances, but as diſtinct perſons in diſtinct characters, is common to the *European* and *Indian* ſyſtems; as well as the cuſtom of giving the higheſt of them the greateſt number of names: hence, not to repeat what has been ſaid of JUPITER, came the triple capacity of DIANA; and hence her petition in CALLIMACHUS, that ſhe might be *polyonymous* or *many-titled*. The conſort of SIVA is more eminently marked by theſe diſtinctions than thoſe of BRAHMA' or VISHNU: ſhe reſembles the ISIS *Myrionymos*, to whom an ancient marble, deſcribed by GRUTER, is dedicated; but her leading names and characters are PA'RVATÍ, DURGA', BHAVA'NÍ.

As the *Mountain-born* Goddeſs, or PA'RVATÍ, ſhe has many properties of the *Olympian* JUNO: her majeſtick deportment, high ſpirit, and general attributes are the ſame; and we find her both on Mount *Cailáſa*, and at the banquets of the Deities, uniformly the companion of her huſband. One circumſtance in the parallel is extremely ſingular: ſhe is uſually attended by her ſon CA'RTICE'YA, who rides on a *peacock*; and, in ſome drawings, his own robe ſeems to be ſpangled with eyes; to which muſt be added that, in ſome of her temples, a *peacock*, without a rider, ſtands near her image. Though CA'RTICE'YA, with his ſix faces and numerous eyes, bears ſome reſemblance to ARGUS, whom JUNO employed as her principal wardour, yet, as he is a Deity of the ſecond claſs, and the Commander of celeſtial Armies, he ſeems clearly to be the ORUS of *Egypt* and the MARS of *Italy*: his name SCANDA, by which he is celebrated in one of the *Puránas*, has a connexion, I am perſuaded, with the old SECANDER of *Perſia*, whom the poets ridiculouſly confound with the *Macedonian*.

The attributes of DURGA', or *Difficult of acceſs*, are alſo conſpicuous in the feſtival above-mentioned, which is called by her name, and in this

CARTICEYA.
सनानी नामहं स्कंदः

this character ſhe reſembles MINERVA, not the peaceful inventreſs of the fine and uſeful arts, but PALLAS, armed with a helmet and ſpear: both repreſent heroick *Virtue*, or Valour united with Wiſdom; both ſlew Demons and Giants with their own hands, and both protected the wiſe and virtuous, who paid them due adoration. As PALLAS, they ſay, takes her name from *vibrating* a lance, and uſually appears in complete armour, thus CURIS, the old *Latian* word for a ſpear, was one of JUNO's titles; and ſo, if GIRALDUS be correct, was HOPLOSMIA, which at *Elis*, it ſeems, meant a female dreſſed in panoply or complete accoutrements. The *unarmed* MINERVA of the *Romans* apparently correſponds, as patroneſs of Science and Genius, with SERESWATI, the wife of BRAHMA', and the emblem of his principal *Creative Power:* both goddeſſes have given their names to celebrated grammatical works; but the *Sáreſwata* of SARU'PA'CHA'RYA is far more conciſe as well as more uſeful and agreeable than the *Minerva* of SANCTIUS. The MINERVA of *Italy* invented the *flute*, and SERESWATÍ preſides over melody: the protectreſs of *Athens* was even, on the ſame account, ſurnamed MUSICE'.

Many learned Mythologiſts, with GIRALDUS at their head, conſider the peaceful MINERVA as the ISIS of *Egypt*; from whoſe temple at *Sais* a wonderful inſcription is quoted by PLUTARCH, which has a reſemblance to the four *Sanſcrit* verſes above exhibited as the text of the *Bhágavat:* "I am all, that hath been, and is, and ſhall be; and my "veil no mortal hath ever removed." For my part I have no doubt, that the ÍSWARA and ÍSÍ of the *Hindus* are the OSIRIS and ISIS of the *Egyptians*; though a diſtinct eſſay in the manner of PLUTARCH would be requiſite in order to demonſtrate their identity: they mean, I conceive, the *Powers of Nature* conſidered as Male and Female; and Isis, like the other goddeſſes, repreſents the active power of her lord, whoſe *eight* forms, under which he becomes viſible to man, were thus enumerated by CA'LIDA'SA near two thouſand years ago: "*Water* was the firſt work of the "Creator;

" Creator; and *Fire* receives the oblation of clarified butter, as the law " ordains; the *Sacrifice* is performed with ſolemnity; the *two Lights* of " heaven diſtinguiſh time; the ſubtil *Ether*, which is the vehicle of " ſound, pervades the univerſe; the *Earth* is the natural parent of all " increaſe; and by *Air* all things breathing are animated: may ISA, " the *power* propitiouſly apparent in theſe eight forms, bleſs and ſuſtain " you!" The *five* elements, therefore, as well as the Sun and Moon, are conſidered as ISA or the *Ruler*, from which word ISI may be regularly formed, though ISA'NI be the uſual name of his *active Power*, adored as the Goddeſs of Nature. I have not yet found in *Sanſcrit* the wild, though poetical, tale of Io; but am perſuaded, that, by means of the *Purânas*, we ſhall in time diſcover all the learning of the *Egyptians* without decyphering their hieroglyphicks: the bull of ISWARA ſeems to be APIS, or AP, as he is more correctly named in the true reading of a paſſage in JEREMIAH; and, if the veneration ſhown both in *Tibet* and *India* to ſo amiable and uſeful a quadruped as the Cow, together with the *regeneration* of the LAMA himſelf, have not ſome affinity with the religion of *Egypt* and the idolatry of *Iſraël*, we muſt at leaſt allow that circumſtances have wonderfully coincided. BHAVA'NI now demands our attention; and in this character I ſuppoſe the wife of MAHA'DE'VA to be as well the JUNO *Cinxia* or LUCINA of the *Romans* (called alſo by them DIANA *Solvizona*, and by the *Greeks* ILITHYIA) as VENUS herſelf; not the *Idalian* queen of laughter and jollity, who, with her Nymphs and Graces, was the beautiful child of poetical imagination, and anſwers to the *Indian* REMBHA' with her celeſtial train of *Apſarâ's*, or damſels of paradiſe; but VENUS *Urania*, ſo luxuriantly painted by LUCRETIUS, and ſo properly invoked by him at the opening of a poem on nature; VENUS, preſiding over *generation*, and, on that account, exhibited ſometimes of both ſexes (an union very common in the *Indian* ſculptures), as in her *bearded* ſtatue at *Rome*, in the images perhaps called *Hermathena*, and in thoſe figures of her, which had the form of a *conical*

CAMA.
मनसश्चास्मिकंदर्पः

cal marble; " for the reaſon of which figure we are left, ſays TACITUS, " in the dark :" the reaſon appears too clearly in the temples and paintings of *Hinduſtan*; where it never ſeems to have entered the heads of the legiſlators or people that any thing natural could be offenſively obſcene; a ſingularity, which pervades all their writings and converſation, but is no proof of depravity in their morals. Both PLATO and CICERO ſpeak of EROS, or the Heavenly CUPID, as the ſon of VENUS and JUPITER; which proves, that the monarch of *Olympus* and the Goddeſs of Fecundity were connected as MAHA'DE'VA and BHAVA'NI: the God CA'MA, indeed, had MA'YA' and CASYAPA, or *Uranus*, for his parents, at leaſt according to the Mythologiſts of *Caſhmír*; but, in moſt reſpects, he ſeems the twin-brother of CUPID with richer and more lively appendages. One of his many epithets is *Dípaca*, the *Inflamer*, which is erroneouſly written *Dípuc*; and I am now convinced, that the ſort of reſemblance, which has been obſerved between his *Latin* and *Sanſcrit* names, is accidental: in each name the three firſt letters are the *root*, and between them there is no affinity. Whether any Mythological connection ſubſiſted between the *amaracus*, with the fragrant leaves of which HYMEN bound his temples, and the *tulasí of India*, muſt be left undetermined: the botanical relation of the two plants (if *amaracus* be properly tranſlated *marjoram*) is extremely near.

One of the moſt remarkable ceremonies, in the feſtival of the *Indian* Goddeſs, is that before-mentioned of caſting her image *into the river*: the *Pandits*, of whom I inquired concerned its origin and import, anſwered, " that it was preſcribed by the *Véda*, they knew not why;" but this cuſtom has, I conceive, a relation to the doctrine, that *water* is a *form* of ÍSWARA, and conſequently of ÍSA'NÍ, who is even repreſented by ſome as the patroneſs of that element, to which her figure is reſtored, after having received all due honours on *earth*, which is conſidered as another *form* of the God of Nature, though ſubſequent, in the order of Creation,

Creation, to the primeval fluid. There ſeems no deciſive proof of one original ſyſtem among idolatrous nations in the worſhip of river-gods and river-goddeſſes, nor in the homage paid to their ſtreams, and the ideas of purification annexed to them: ſince *Greeks*, *Italians*, *Egyptians*, and *Hindus* might (without any communication with each other) have adored the ſeveral divinities of their great rivers, from which they derived pleaſure, health, and abundance. The notion of Doctor MUSGRAVE, that large rivers were ſuppoſed, from their ſtrength and rapidity, to be conducted by Gods, while rivulets only were protected by female deities, is, like moſt other notions of Grammarians on the genders of nouns, overthrown by facts. Moſt of the great *Indian* rivers are feminine; and the three goddeſſes of the waters, whom the *Hindus* chiefly venerate, are GANGA', who ſprang, like armed PALLAS, from the head of the *Indian* JOVE; YAMUNA', daughter of the Sun, and SERESWATÍ: all three meet at *Prayága* thence called *Trivéni*, or *the three plaited locks*; but SERESWATÍ, according to the popular belief, ſinks under ground, and riſes at another *Trivéni* near *Húgli*, where ſhe rejoins her beloved GANGA'. The *Brahmaputra* is, indeed, a male river; and, as his name ſignifies the Son of BRAHMA', I thence took occaſion to feign that he was married to GANGA', though I have not yet ſeen any mention of him, as a God, in the *Sanſcrit* books.

Two incarnate deities of the firſt rank, RA'MA and CRISHNA, muſt now be introduced, and their ſeveral attributes diſtinctly explained. The firſt of them, I believe, was the DIONYSOS of the *Greeks*, whom they named BROMIUS, without knowing why, and BUGENES, when they repreſented him *horned*, as well as LYAIOS and ELEUTHERIOS, the Deliverer, and TRIAMBOS or DITHYRAMBOS, the Triumphant: moſt of thoſe titles were adopted by the *Romans*, by whom he was called BRUMA, TAURIFORMIS, LIBER, TRIUMPHUS; and both nations had records or traditionary accounts of his *giving laws* to men and deciding their

GANGA.
स्रोतसामस्मिजाह्नवी ३१

their conteſts, of his improving navigation and commerce, and, what may appear yet more obſervable, of his conquering *India* and other countries with an army of *Satyrs*, commanded by no leſs a perſonage than PAN; whom LILIUS GIRALDUS, on what authority I know not, aſſerts to have reſided in *Iberia*, "when he had returned, ſays the learned Mythologiſt, from the *Indian* war, in which he accompanied BACCHUS." It were ſuperfluous in a mere eſſay, to run any length in the parallel between this *European* God and the ſovereign of *Ayodhyà*, whom the *Hindus* believe to have been an appearance on earth of the *Preſerving Power*; to have been a Conqueror of the higheſt renown, and the Deliverer of nations from tyrants, as well as of his conſort SÍTA' from the giant RA'VAN, king of *Lancá*, and to have commanded in chief a numerous and intrepid race of thoſe large *Monkeys*, which our naturaliſts, or ſome of them, have denominated *Indian* Satyrs: his General, the Prince of Satyrs, was named HANUMAT, or *with high cheek-bones*; and, with workmen of ſuch agility, he ſoon raiſed a bridge of rocks over the ſea, part of which, ſay the *Hindus*, yet remains; and it is, probably, the ſeries of rocks, to which the *Muſelmans* or the *Portugueſe* have given the fooliſh name of ADAM's (it ſhould be called RA'MA's) bridge. Might not this army of Satyrs have been only a race of mountaineers, whom RA'MA, if ſuch a monarch ever exiſted, had civilized? However that may be, the large breed of *Indian* Apes is at this moment held in high veneration by the *Hindus*, and fed with devotion by the *Bráhmans*, who ſeem, in two or three places on the banks of the *Ganges*, to have a regular endowment for the ſupport of them: they live in tribes of three or four hundred, are wonderfully gentle (I ſpeak as an eye-witneſs), and appear to have ſome kind of order and ſubordination in their little ſylvan polity. We muſt not omit, that the father of *Hanumat* was the God of Wind, named PAVAN, one of the eight Genii; and, as PAN improved the pipe by adding ſix reeds, and "played exquiſitely "on the cithern a few moments after his birth," ſo one of the four ſyſ-

tems

tems of *Indian* muſick bears the name of HANUMAT, or HANUMA'N in the nominative, as its inventor, and is now in general eſtimation.

The war of *Lancá* is dramatically repreſented at the feſtival of RA'MA on the ninth day of the new moon of *Chaitra*; and the drama concludes (ſays HOLWEL, who had often ſeen it) with an exhibition of the fire-ordeal, by which the victor's wife SÍTA' gave proof of her connubial fidelity: "the dialogue, he adds, is taken from one of the Eighteen holy books," meaning, I ſuppoſe, the *Puránas*; but the *Hindus* have a great number of regular dramas at leaſt two thouſand years old, and among them are ſeveral very fine ones on the ſtory of RA'MA. The firſt poet of the *Hindus* was the great VA'LMÍC, and his *Rámáyan* is an Epic Poem on the ſame ſubject, which, in unity of action, magnificence of imagery, and elegance of ſtyle, far ſurpaſſes the learned and elaborate work of NONNUS, entitled *Dionyſiaca*, half of which, or twenty-four books, I peruſed with great eagerneſs, when I was very young, and ſhould have travelled to the concluſion of it, if other purſuits had not engaged me: I ſhall never have leiſure to compare the *Dionyſiacks* with the *Rámáyan*, but am confident, that an accurate compariſon of the two poems would prove DIONYSOS and RA'MA to have been the ſame perſon; and I incline to think, that he was RA'MA, the ſon of CU'SH, who might have eſtabliſhed the firſt regular government in this part of *Aſia*. I had almoſt forgotton, that *Meros* is ſaid by the *Greeks* to have been a mountain of *India*, on which their DIONYSOS was born, and that *Méru*, though it generally means the north pole in the *Indian* geography, is alſo a mountain near the city of *Naiſhada* or *Nyſa*, called by the *Grecian* geographers *Dionyſopolis*, and univerſally celebrated in the *Sanſcrit* poems; though the birth place of RA'MA is ſuppoſed to have been *Ayódhyà* or *Audh*. That ancient city extended, if we believe the *Bráhmans*, over a line of ten *Yojans*, or about forty miles, and the preſent city of *Lac'hnau*, pronounced *Lucnow*, was only a lodge for one of

CRISHNA.
हृषीकेशोवासुदेवोस्मि

of its gates, called *Lacſhmanadwára*, or the gate of LACSHMAN, a brother of RA'MA: M. SONNERAT ſuppoſes *Ayódhyá* to have been *Siam*; a moſt erroneous and unfounded ſuppoſition! which would have been of little conſequence, if he had not grounded an argument on it, that RA'MA was the ſame perſon with BUDDHA, who muſt have appeared many centuries after the conqueſt of *Lancá*.

The ſecond great divinity, CRISHNA, paſſed a life, according to the *Indians*, of a moſt extraordinary and incomprehenſible nature. He was the ſon of DE'VACÍ by VASUD'EVA; but his birth was concealed through fear of the tyrant CANSA, to whom it had been predicted, that a child born at that time in that family would deſtroy him: he was foſtered, therefore, in *Mat'hurá* by an honeſt herdſman, ſurnamed ANANDA, or *Happy*, and his amiable wife YASO'DA', who, like another PALES, was conſtantly occupied in her paſtures and her dairy. In their family were a multitude of young *Gópa's* or *Cowherds*, and beautiful *Gópí's*, or *milkmaids*, who were his playfellows during his infancy; and, in his early youth, he ſelected *nine* damſels as his favourites, with whom he paſſed his gay hours in dancing, ſporting, and playing on his flute. For the remarkable number of his *Gópí's* I have no authority but a whimſical picture, where *nine* girls are grouped in the form of an elephant, on which he ſits and pipes; and, unfortunately, the word *nava* ſignifies both *nine* and *new* or young; ſo that, in the following ſtanza, it may admit of two interpretations:

taran'ijápulinè navaballaví
periſadá ſaha célicutúhalát
drutavilamwitacháruvihárinam
herimaham hřidayéna ſadá vahé.

 "I bear

" I bear in my boſom continually that God, who, for ſportive recrea-
" tion with a train of *nine* (young) dairy-maids, dances gracefully, now
" quick now flow, on the ſands juſt left by the Daughter of the Sun."

Both he and the three RA'MAS are deſcribed as youths of perfect beauty; but the princeſſes of *Hinduſtán*, as well as the damſels of NANDA's farm, were paſſionately in love with CRISHNA, who continues to this hour the darling God of the *Indian* women. The ſect of *Hindus*, who adore him with enthuſiaſtick, and almoſt excluſive, devotion, have broached a doctrine, which they maintain with eagerneſs, and which ſeems general in theſe provinces; that he was diſtinct from all the *Avatárs*, who had only an *anſa*, or portion, of his divinity; while CRISHNA was the *perſon* of VISHNU himſelf in a human form: hence they conſider the third RA'MA, his elder brother, as the eighth *Avatár* inveſted with an *emanation* of his divine radiance; and, in the principal *Sanſcrit* dictionary, compiled about two thouſand years ago, CRISHNA, VA'SADE'VA, GO'VINDA, and other names of the Shepherd God, are intermixed with epithets of NA'RA'YAN, or the Divine Spirit. All the *Avatárs* are painted with gemmed *Ethiopian*, or *Parthian*, coronets; with rays encircling their heads; jewels in their ears; two necklaces, one ſtraight, and one pendent on their boſoms with dropping gems; garlands of well-diſpoſed many-coloured flowers, or collars of pearls, hanging down below their waiſts; looſe mantles of golden tiſſue or dyed ſilk, embroidered on their hems with flowers, elegantly thrown over one ſhoulder, and folded, like ribbands, acroſs the breaſt; with bracelets too on one arm, and on each wriſt: they are naked to the waiſts, and uniformly with *dark azure* fleſh, in alluſion, probably, to the tint of that primordial fluid, on which NA'RA'YAN moved in the beginning of time; but their ſkirts are bright yellow, the colour of the curious pericarpium in the center of the water-lily, where *Nature*, as

Dr.

RÁMA.
रामः कमलपत्राक्षः

SURYA.
ज्योतिषांरविरंशुमान्

Dr. MURRAY obſerves, *in ſome degree diſcloſes her ſecrets*, each ſeed containing, before it germinates, a few perfect leaves: they are ſometimes drawn with that flower in one hand; a radiated elliptical ring, uſed as a miſſile weapon, in a ſecond; the ſacred ſhell, or left-handed buccinum, in a third; and a mace or battle-ax, in a fourth; but CRISHNA, when he appears, as he ſometimes does appear, among the *Avatárs*, is more ſplendidly decorated than any, and wears a rich garland of ſylvan flowers, whence he is named VANAMA'LI, as low as his ankles, which are adorned with ſtrings of pearls. Dark blue, approaching to *black*, which is the meaning of the word *Criſhna*, is believed to have been his complexion; and hence the large bee of that colour is conſecrated to him, and is often drawn fluttering over his head: that azure tint, which approaches to blackneſs, is peculiar, as we have already remarked, to VISHNU; and hence, in the great reſervoir or ciſtern at *Cátmándu* the capital of *Népal*, there is placed in a recumbent poſture a large well-proportioned image of *blue* marble, repreſenting NA'RA'YAN floating on the waters. But let us return to the actions of CRISHNA; who was not leſs heroick, than lovely, and, when a boy, ſlew the terrible ſerpent *Cáliya* with a number of giants and monſters: at a more advanced age, he put to death his cruel enemy CANSA; and, having taken under his protection the king YUDHISHT'HIR and the other *Pándus*, who had been grievouſly oppreſſed by the *Curus*, and their tyrannical chief, he kindled the war deſcribed in the great Epick Poem, entitled the *Mahábhárat*, at the proſperous concluſion of which he returned to his heavenly ſeat in *Vaicont'ha*, having left the inſtructions compriſed in the *Gítà* with his diſconſolate friend ARJUN, whoſe grandſon became ſovereign of *India*.

In this picture it is impoſſible not to diſcover, at the firſt glance, the features of APOLLO, ſurnamed *Nomios*, or the *Paſtoral*, in *Greece*, and OPIFER in *Italy*; who fed the herds of ADMETUS, and ſlew the ſerpent *Python*;

Python; a God amorous, beautiful, and warlike: the word *Góvinda* may be literally tranſlated *Nomios*, as *Céſava* is *Crinitus*, or *with fine hair*; but whether *Gópála*, or the *herdſman*, has any relation to *Apollo*, let our Etymologiſts determine. Colonel VALLANCEY, whoſe learned enquiries into the ancient literature of *Ireland* are highly intereſting, aſſures me, that *Criſhna* in *Iriſh* means the SUN; and we find APOLLO and SOL conſidered by the *Roman* poets as the ſame deity: I am inclined, indeed, to believe, that not only CRISHNA or VISHNU, but even BRAHMA' and SIVA, when united, and expreſſed by the myſtical word O'M, were deſigned by the firſt idolaters to repreſent the Solar fire; but PHŒBUS, or the *orb of the Sun* perſonified, is adored by the *Indians* as the God SU'RYA, whence the ſect, who pay him particular adoration, are called *Sauras:* their poets and painters deſcribe his car as drawn by ſeven green horſes, preceded by ARUN, or the *Dawn*, who acts as his charioteer, and followed by thouſands of Genii worſhipping him and modulating his praiſes. He has a multitude of names, and among them twelve epithets or titles, which denote his diſtinct *powers* in each of the twelve months: thoſe *powers* are called *Adityas*, or ſons of ADITI by CASYAPA, the *Indian* URANUS; and one of them has, according to ſome authorities, the name of VISHNU or *Pervader*. SU'RYA is believed to have deſcended frequently from his car in a human ſhape, and to have left a race on earth, who are equally renowned in the *Indian* ſtories with the *Heliadai* of *Greece:* it is very ſingular, that his two ſons called ASWINAU or ASWINI'CUMA'RAU, in the dual, ſhould be conſidered as twin-brothers, and painted like CASTOR and POLLUX, but they have each the character of ÆSCULAPIUS among the Gods, and are believed to have been born of a nymph, who, in the form of a mare, was impregnated with ſun-beams. I ſuſpect the whole fable of CASYAPA and his progeny to be aſtronomical; and cannot but imagine, that the *Greek* name CASSIOPEIA has a relation to it. Another great *Indian* family are called the *Children of the Moon*, or CHANDRA; who

is

is a male Deity, and conſequently not to be compared with ARTEMIS or DIANA; nor have I yet found a parallel in *India* for the Goddeſs of the *Chaſe*, who ſeems to have been the daughter of an *European* fancy, and very naturally created by the invention of *Bucolick* and *Georgick* poets: yet, ſince the *Moon* is a *form* of I'SWARA, the God of Nature, according to the verſe of CA'LIDA'SA, and ſince I'SA'NI has been ſhown to be his *conſort* or *power*, we may conſider her, in one of her characters, as LUNA; eſpecially as we ſhall ſoon be convinced that, in the ſhades below, ſhe correſponds with the HECATE of *Europe*.

The worſhip of Solar, or Veſtal, *Fire* may be aſcribed, like that of OSIRIS and ISIS, to the ſecond ſource of mythology, or an enthuſiaſtick admiration of Nature's wonderful powers; and it ſeems, as far as I can yet underſtand the *Védas*, to be the principal worſhip recommended in them. We have ſeen, that MAHA'DE'VA himſelf is perſonated by *Fire*; but, ſubordinate to him, is the God AGNI, often called PA'VACA, or the *Purifier*, who anſwers to the VULCAN of *Egypt*, where he was a Deity of high rank; and his wife SWA'HA' reſembles the younger VESTA, or VESTIA, as the *Eolians* pronounced the *Greek* word for a *hearth:* BHAVA'NI, or VENUS, is the conſort of the Supreme Deſtructive and Generative Power; but the *Greeks* and *Romans*, whoſe ſyſtem is leſs regular than that of the *Indians*, married her to their *divine artiſt*, whom they alſo named HEPHAISTOS and VULCAN, and who ſeems to be the *Indian* VISWACARMAN, the *forger of arms* for the Gods, and inventor of the *agnyaſtra*, or *fiery ſhaft*, in the war between them and the *Daityas* or *Titans*. It is not eaſy here to refrain from obſerving (and, if the obſervation give offence in *England*, it is contrary to my intention) that the newly diſcovered planet ſhould unqueſtionably be named VULCAN; ſince the confuſion of analogy in the names of the planets is inelegant, unſcholarly, and unphiloſophical: the name URANUS is appropriated to the firmament; but VULCAN, the ſloweſt of the Gods, and, according

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to the *Egyptian* prieſts, the oldeſt of them, agrees admirably with an orb, which muſt perform its revolution in a very long period; and, by giving it this denomination, we ſhall have ſeven primary planets with the names of as many *Roman* Deities, MERCURY, VENUS, TELLUS, MARS, JUPITER, SATURN, VULCAN.

It has already been intimated, that the MUSES and NYMPHS are the GO'PYA of *Math'urà*, and of *Góverdhan*, the *Parnaſſus* of the *Hindus*; and the lyrick poems of JAYADE'VA will fully juſtify this opinion; but the *Nymphs* of *Muſick* are the *thirty* RA'GINI'S or *Female Paſſions*, whoſe various functions and properties are ſo richly delineated by the *Indian* painters and ſo finely deſcribed by the poets; but I will not anticipate what will require a ſeparate Eſſay, by enlarging here on the beautiful allegories of the *Hindus* in their ſyſtem of muſical modes, which they call RA'GA'S, or *Paſſions*, and ſuppoſed to be Genii or Demigods. A very diſtinguiſhed ſon of BRAHMA', named NA'RED, whoſe actions are the ſubject of a *Purána*, bears a ſtrong reſemblance to HERMES or MERCURY: he was a wiſe legiſlator, great in arts and in arms, an eloquent meſſenger of the Gods either to one another or to favoured mortals, and a muſician of exquiſite ſkill; his invention of the *Viná*, or *Indian* lute, is thus deſcribed in the poem entitled *Mágha:* "NA'RED ſat watching "from time to time his large *Viná*, which, by the impulſe of the "breeze, yielded notes, that pierced ſucceſſively the regions of his ear, "and proceeded by muſical intervals." The law tract, ſuppoſed to have been revealed by NA'RED, is at this hour cited by the *Pandits*; and we cannot, therefore, believe him to have been the patron of *Thieves*; though an innocent theft of CRISHNA'S cattle, by way of putting his divinity to a proof, be ſtrangely imputed, in the *Bhágavat*, to his father BRAHMA'.

The laſt of the *Greek* or *Italian* divinities, for whom we find a parallel in the Pantheon of *India*, is the *Stygian* or *Taurick* DIANA, otherwiſe

NAREDA.
देवर्षीणांनारदः।

wife named HECATE, and often confounded with PROSERPINE; and there can be no doubt of her identity with CA'LI', or the wife of SIVA in his character of the *Stygian* JOVE. To this black Goddeſs with a collar of golden ſkulls, as we ſee her exhibited in all her principal temples, *human ſacrifices* were anciently offered, as the *Védas* enjoined; but, in the preſent age, they are abſolutely prohibited, as are alſo the ſacrifices of bulls and horſes: kids are ſtill offered to her; and, to palliate the cruelty of the ſlaughter, which gave ſuch offence to BUDDHA, the *Bráhmans* inculcate a belief, that the poor victims riſe in the heaven of INDRA, where they become the muſicians of his band. Inſtead of the obſolete, and now illegal, ſacrifices of a man, a bull, and a horſe, called *Neramédha*, *Gómédha*, and *As'wamédha*, the powers of nature are thought to be propitiated by the leſs bloody ceremonies at the end of autumn, when the feſtivals of CA'LI' and LACSHMI' are ſolemnized nearly at the ſame time: now, if it be aſked, how the Goddeſs of Death came to be united with the mild patroneſs of Abundance, I muſt propoſe another queſtion, "How came PROSERPINE to be repreſented "in the *European* ſyſtem as the daughter of CERES?" Perhaps, both queſtions may be anſwered by the propoſition of natural philoſophers, that "the apparent deſtruction of a ſubſtance is the production of it in "a different form." The wild muſick of CA'LI''s prieſts at one of her feſtivals brought inſtantly to my recollection the *Scythian* meaſures of DIANA's adorers in the ſplendid opera of IPHIGENIA in *Tauris*, which GLUCK exhibited at *Paris* with leſs genius, indeed, than art, but with every advantage that an orcheſtra could ſupply.

That we may not diſmiſs this aſſemblage of *European* and *Aſiatick* divinities with a ſubject ſo horrid as the altars of HECATE and CA'LI', let us conclude with two remarks, which properly, indeed, belong to the *Indian* Philoſophy, with which we are not at preſent concerned. Firſt;

Elyſium

Elyſium (not the place, but the bliſs enjoyed there, in which ſenſe MILTON uſes the word) cannot but appear, as deſcribed by the poets, a very tedious and inſipid kind of enjoyment: it is, however, more exalted than the temporary *Elyſium* in the court of INDRA, where the pleaſures, as in MUHAMMED's paradiſe, are wholly ſenſual; but the *Mucti*, or *Elyſian* happineſs of the *Védánta* School is far more ſublime; for they repreſent it as a total abſorption, though not ſuch as to deſtroy conſciouſneſs, in the divine eſſence; but, for the reaſon before ſuggeſted, I ſay no more of this idea of beatitude, and forbear touching on the doctrine of tranſmigration and the ſimilarity of the *Védánta* to the *Sicilian*, *Italick*, and old *Academick* Schools.

Secondly; in the myſtical and elevated character of PAN, as a perſonification of the *Univerſe*, according to the notion of lord BACON, there ariſes a ſort of ſimilitude between him and CRISHNA conſidered as NA'RA'YAN. The *Grecian* god plays divinely on his reed, to expreſs, we are told, etherial harmony; he has his attendant Nymphs of the paſtures and the dairy; his face is as radiant as the ſky, and his head illumined with the horns of a creſcent; whilſt his lower extremities are deformed and ſhaggy, as a ſymbol of the vegetables, which the earth produces, and of the beaſts, who roam over the face of it: now we may compare this portrait, partly with the general character of CRISHNA, the Shepherd God, and partly with the deſcription in the *Bhágavat* of the divine ſpirit exhibited *in the form of this Univerſal World*; to which we may add the following ſtory from the ſame extraordinary poem. The Nymphs had complained to YASO'DA', that the child CRISHNA had been drinking their curds and milk: on being reproved by his foſter-mother for this indiſcretion, he requeſted her to examine his mouth; in which, to her juſt amazement, ſhe beheld the *whole univerſe* in all its plenitude of magnificence.

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We muſt not be ſurprized at finding, on a cloſe examination, that the characters of all the pagan deities, male and female, melt into each other, and at laſt into one or two; for it ſeems a well-founded opinion, that the whole crowd of gods and goddeſſes in ancient *Rome*, and modern *Várânes*, mean only the powers of nature, and principally thoſe of the Sun, expreſſed in a variety of ways and by a multitude of fanciful names.

Thus have I attempted to trace, imperfectly at preſent for want of ampler materials, but with a confidence continually increaſing as I advanced, a parallel between the Gods adored in three very different nations, *Greece*, *Italy*, and *India*; but, which was the original ſyſtem and which the copy, I will not preſume to decide; nor are we likely, I believe, to be ſoon furniſhed with ſufficient grounds for a deciſion: the fundamental rule, that *natural, and moſt human, operations proceed from the ſimple to the compound*, will afford no aſſiſtance on this point; ſince neither the *Aſiatick* nor *European* ſyſtem has any ſimplicity in it; and both are ſo complex, not to ſay abſurd, however intermixed with the beautiful and the ſublime, that the honour, ſuch as it is, of the invention cannot be allotted to either with tolerable certainty.

Since *Egypt* appears to have been the grand ſource of knowledge for the *weſtern*, and *India* for the more *eaſtern*, parts of the globe, it may ſeem a material queſtion, whether the *Egyptians* communicated their Mythology and Philoſophy to the *Hindus*, or converſely; but what the learned of *Memphis* wrote or ſaid concerning *India*, no mortal knows; and what the learned of *Várânes* have aſſerted, if any thing, concerning *Egypt*, can give us little ſatisfaction: ſuch circumſtantial evidence on this queſtion as I have been able to collect, ſhall nevertheleſs be ſtated; becauſe, unſatisfactory as it is, there may be ſomething in it not wholly unworthy of notice; though after all, whatever colonies may have come

from the *Nile* to the *Ganges*, we ſhall, perhaps, agree at laſt with Mr. BRYANT, that *Egyptians*, *Indians*, *Greeks*, and *Italians*, proceeded originally from one central place, and that the ſame people carried their religion and ſciences into *China* and *Japan:* may we not add, even to *Mexico* and *Peru?*

Every one knows, that the true name of *Egypt* is *Mis'r*, ſpelled with a palatial ſibilant both in *Hebrew* and *Arabick:* it ſeems in *Hebrew* to have been the proper name of the firſt ſettler in it; and, when the *Arabs* uſe the word for *a great city*, they probably mean *a city like the capital of Egypt*. Father MARCO, a *Roman* Miſſionary, who, though not a ſcholar of the firſt rate, is incapable, I am perſuaded, of deliberate falſehood, lent me the laſt book of a *Rámáyan*, which he had tranſlated through the *Hindi* into his native language, and with it a ſhort vocabulary of Mythological and Hiſtorical names, which had been explained to him by the *Pandits* of *Betíyà*, where he had long reſided: one of the articles in his little dictionary was, "*Tirút*, a town and province, "in which the prieſts from *Egypt* ſettled;" and, when I aſked him, what name *Egypt* bore among the *Hindus*, he ſaid *Mis'r*, but obſerved, that they ſometimes confounded it with *Abyſſinia*. I perceived, that his memory of what he had written was correct; for *Mis'r* was another word in his index, "from which country, he ſaid, came the *Egyptian* "prieſts, who ſettled in *Tirút*." I ſuſpected immediately, that his intelligence flowed from the *Muſelmans*, who call ſugar-candy *Miſrí* or *Egyptian*; but, when I examined him cloſely, and earneſtly deſired him to recollect from whom he had received his information, he repeatedly and poſitively declared, that "it had been given him by ſeveral *Hindus*, "and particularly by a *Bráhman*, his intimate friend, who was reputed "a conſiderable *Pandit*, and had lived three years near his houſe." We then conceived, that the ſeat of his *Egyptian* colony muſt have been *Tiróhit*, commonly pronounced *Tirút*, and anciently called *Mit'hilà*, the principal

principal town of *Janacadés'a*, or north *Bahàr*; but MAHE'SA *Pandit*, who was born in that very diſtrict, and who ſubmitted patiently to a long examination concerning *Mis'r*, overſet all our concluſions: he denied, that the *Bráhmans* of his country were generally ſurnamed MISR, as we had been informed; and ſaid, that the addition of MISRA to the name of VA'CHESPETI, and other learned authors, was a title formerly conferred on the writers of *miſcellanies*, or *compilers* of various tracts on religion or ſcience, the word being derived from a root ſignifying to *mix*. Being aſked, where the country of *Mis'r* was, "There are two, he anſwered, of that name; one of them *in the weſt* under the dominion of "*Muſelmáns*, and another, which all the *Sáſtras* and *Puránas* mention, "in a mountainous region to the *north* of *Ayódhyà*:" it is evident, that by the firſt he meant *Egypt*, but what he meant by the ſecond, it is not eaſy to aſcertain. A country, called *Tiruhut* by our geographers, appears in the maps between the north-eaſtern frontier of *Audh* and the mountains of *Népal*; but whether that was the *Tirút* mentioned to father MARCO by his friend of *Betíya*, I cannot decide. This only I know with certainty, that *Miſra* is an epithet of two *Bráhmans* in the drama of SACONTALA', which was written near a century before the birth of CHRIST; that ſome of the greateſt lawyers, and two of the fineſt dramatick poets, of *India* have the ſame title; that we hear it frequently in court added to the names of *Hindu* parties; and that none of the *Pandits*, whom I have ſince conſulted, pretend to know the true meaning of the word, as a proper name, or to give any other explanation of it than that it is *a ſurname of* Bráhmans *in the weſt*. On the account given to Colonel KYD by the old *Rájà* of *Criſhnanagar*, "concerning *traditions* "among the *Hindus*, that ſome *Egyptians* had ſettled in this country," I cannot rely; becauſe I am credibly informed by ſome of the *Rájà's* own family, that he was not a man of ſolid learning, though he poſſeſſed curious books, and had been attentive to the converſation of learned men: beſides, I know that his ſon and moſt of his kinſmen have been dabblers

dabblers in *Perſian* literature, and believe them very likely, by confounding one ſource of information with another, to puzzle themſelves and miſlead thoſe, with whom they converſe. The word *Miſ'r*, ſpelled alſo in *Sanſcrit* with a palatial ſibilant, is very remarkable; and, as far as Etymology can help us, we may ſafely derive *Nilus* from the *Sanſcrit* word *níla*, or *blue*; ſince DIONYSIUS expreſsly calls the waters of that river "an *azure* ſtream;" and, if we can depend on MARCO's *Italian* verſion of the *Rámáyan*, the name of *Níla* is given to a lofty and ſacred mountain with a ſummit of pure gold, from which flowed *a river of clear, ſweet, and freſh water*. M. SONNERAT refers to a diſſertation by Mr. SCHMIT, which gained a prize at the Academy of Inſcriptions, "On an *Egyptian* Colony eſtabliſhed in *India*:" it would be worth while to examine his authorities, and either to overturn or verify them by ſuch higher authorities, as are now acceſſible in theſe provinces. I ſtrongly incline to think him right, and to believe that *Egyptian* prieſts have actually come from the *Nile* to the *Gangà* and *Yamunà*, which the *Bráhmans* moſt aſſuredly would never have left: they might indeed, have come either to be inſtructed or to inſtruct; but it ſeems more probable, that they viſited the *Surmans* of *India*, as the ſages of *Greece* viſited them, rather to acquire than to impart knowledge; nor is it likely, that the ſelf-ſufficient *Bráhmans* would have received them as their preceptors.

Be all this as it may, I am perſuaded, that a connexion ſubſiſted between the old idolatrous nations of *Egypt*, *India*, *Greece*, and *Italy*, long before they migrated to their ſeveral ſettlements, and conſequently before the birth of MOSES; but the proof of this propoſition will in no degree affect the truth and ſanctity of the *Moſaick* Hiſtory, which, if confirmation were neceſſary, it would rather tend to confirm. The *Divine Legate*, educated by the daughter of a king, and in all reſpects highly accompliſhed, could not but know the mythological ſyſtem of *Egypt*; but

but he muſt have condemned the ſuperſtitions of that people, and deſpiſed the ſpeculative abſurdities of their prieſts; though ſome of their traditions concerning the creation and the flood were grounded on truth. Who was better acquainted with the mythology of *Athens* than SOCRATES? Who more accurately verſed in the Rabbinical doctrines than PAUL? Who poſſeſſed clearer ideas of all ancient aſtronomical ſyſtems than NEWTON, or of ſcholaſtick metaphyſicks than LOCKE? In whom could the *Romiſh* Church have had a more formidable opponent than in CHILLINGWORTH, whoſe deep knowledge of its tenets rendered him ſo competent to diſpute them? In a word, who more exactly knew the abominable rites and ſhocking idolatry of *Canaan* than MOSES himſelf? Yet the learning of thoſe great men only incited them to ſeek other ſources of truth, piety, and virtue, than thoſe in which they had long been immerſed. There is no ſhadow then of a foundation for an opinion, that MOSES borrowed the firſt nine or ten chapters of *Geneſis* from the literature of *Egypt:* ſtill leſs can the adamantine pillars of our *Chriſtian* faith be moved by the reſult of any debates on the comparative antiquity of the *Hindus* and *Egyptians*, or of any inquiries into the *Indian* Theology. Very reſpectable natives have aſſured me, that one or two miſſionaries have been abſurd enough, in their zeal for the converſion of the *Gentiles*, to urge, "that the *Hindus* were even now almoſt "*Chriſtians*, becauſe their BRAHMA', VISHNU, and MAHE'SA, were no "other than the *Chriſtian* Trinity;" a ſentence, in which we can only doubt, whether folly, ignorance, or impiety predominates. The three *powers*, *Creative*, *Preſervative*, and *Deſtructive*, which the *Hindus* expreſs by the triliteral word *O'm*, were groſsly aſcribed by the firſt idolaters to the *heat*, *light*, and *flame* of their miſtaken divinity, the Sun; and their wiſer ſucceſſors in the Eaſt, who perceived that the Sun was only a created thing, applied thoſe powers to its creator; but the *Indian* Triad, and that of PLATO, which he calls the Supreme Good, the Reaſon,

ſon, and the Soul, are infinitely removed from the holineſs and ſublimity of the doctrine, which pious *Chriſtians* have deduced from texts in the Goſpel, though other *Chriſtians*, as pious, openly profeſs their diſſent from them. Each ſect muſt be juſtified by its own faith and good intentions: this only I mean to inculcate, that the tenet of our church cannot without profaneneſs be compared with that of the *Hindus*, which has only an apparent reſemblance to it, but a very different meaning. One ſingular fact, however, muſt not be ſuffered to paſs unnoticed. That the name of CRISHNA, and the general outline of his ſtory, were long anterior to the birth of our Saviour, and probably to the time of HOMER, we know very certainly; yet the celebrated poem, entitled *Bhágavat*, which contains a prolix account of his life, is filled with narratives of a moſt extraordinary kind, but ſtrangely variegated and intermixed with poetical decorations: the incarnate deity of the *Sanſcrit* romance was cradled, as it informs us, among *Herdſmen*, but it adds, that he was educated among them, and paſſed his youth in playing with a party of milkmaids; a tyrant, at the time of his birth, ordered all newborn males to be ſlain, yet this wonderful babe was preſerved by biting the breaſt, inſtead of ſucking the poiſoned nipple, of a nurſe commiſſioned to kill him; he performed amazing, but ridiculous, miracles in his infancy, and, at the age of ſeven years, held up a mountain on the tip of his little finger: he ſaved multitudes partly by his arms and partly by his miraculous powers; he raiſed the dead by deſcending for that purpoſe to the loweſt regions; he was the meekeſt and beſt-tempered of beings, waſhed the feet of the *Bráhmans*, and preached very nobly, indeed, and ſublimely, but always in their favour; he was pure and chaſte in reality, but exhibited an appearance of exceſſive libertiniſm, and had wives or miſtreſſes too numerous to be counted; laſtly, he was benevolent and tender, yet fomented and conducted a terrible war. This motley ſtory muſt induce an opinion that the ſpurious Goſpels, which

which abounded in the firſt age of *Chriſtianity*, had been brought to *India*, and the wildeſt parts of them repeated to the *Hindus*, who ingrafted them on the old fable of CE'SAVA, the APOLLO of *Greece*.

As to the general extenſion of our pure faith in *Hinduſtán*, there are at preſent many ſad obſtacles to it. The *Muſelmáns* are already a ſort of heterodox *Chriſtians:* they are *Chriſtians*, if LOCKE reaſons juſtly, becauſe they firmly believe the immaculate conception, divine character, and miracles of the MESSIAH; but they are heterodox, in denying vehemently his character of Son, and his equality, as God, with the Father, of whoſe unity and attributes they entertain and expreſs the moſt awful ideas; while they conſider our doctrine as perfect blaſphemy, and inſiſt, that our copies of the Scriptures have been corrupted both by *Jews* and *Chriſtians*. It will be inexpreſſibly difficult to undeceive them, and ſcarce poſſible to diminiſh their veneration for MOHAMMED and ALI, who were both very extraordinary men, and the ſecond, a man of unexceptionable morals: the *Koràn* ſhines, indeed, with a borrowed light, ſince moſt of its beauties are taken from our Scriptures; but it has great beauties, and the *Muſelmáns* will not be convinced that they were borrowed. The *Hindus* on the other hand would readily admit the truth of the Goſpel; but they contend, that it is perfectly conſiſtent with their *Sáſtras:* the deity, they ſay, has appeared innumerable times, in many parts of this world and of all worlds, for the ſalvation of his creatures; and though we adore him in one appearance, and they in others, yet we adore, they ſay, the ſame God, to whom our ſeveral worſhips, though different in form, are equally acceptable, if they be ſincere in ſubſtance. We may aſſure ourſelves, that neither *Muſelmáns* nor *Hindus* will ever be converted by any miſſion from the Church of *Rome*, or from any other church; and the only human mode, perhaps, of cauſing ſo great a revolution will be to tranſlate into *Sanſcrit* and *Perſian*

Perſian ſuch chapters of the Prophets, particularly of ISAIAH, as are indiſputably Evangelical, together with one of the Goſpels, and a plain prefatory diſcourſe containing full evidence of the very diſtant ages, in which the predictions themſelves, and the hiſtory of the divine perſon predicted, were ſeverally made publick; and then quietly to diſperſe the work among the well-educated natives; with whom if in due time it failed of producing very ſalutary fruit by its natural influence, we could only lament more than ever the ſtrength of prejudice, and the weakneſs of unaſſiſted reaſon.

ON

ON

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE HINDUS.

WRITTEN IN JANUARY, 1788,

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

THE great antiquity of the *Hindus* is believed ſo firmly by themſelves, and has been the ſubject of ſo much converſation among *Europeans*, that a ſhort view of their Chronological Syſtem, which has not yet been exhibited from certain authorities, may be acceptable to thoſe, who ſeek truth without partiality to receive opinions, and without regarding any conſequences, that may reſult from their inquiries: the conſequences, indeed, of truth cannot but be deſirable, and no reaſonable man will apprehend any danger to ſociety from a general diffuſion of its light; but we muſt not ſuffer ourſelves to be dazzled by a falſe glare, nor miſtake enigmas and allegories for hiſtorical verity. Attached to no ſyſtem, and as much diſpoſed to reject the *Moſaick* hiſtory, if it be proved erroneous, as to believe it, if it be confirmed by ſound reaſoning from indubitable evidence, I propoſe to lay before you a conciſe account of *Indian* Chronology extracted from *Sanſcrit* books, or collected from converſations with *Pandits*, and to ſubjoin a few remarks on their ſyſtem, without attempting to decide a queſtion, which I ſhall venture to ſtart, "whe-

" ther it is not in fact the ſame with our own, but embelliſhed and ob-
" ſcured by the fancy of their poets and the riddles of their aſtronomers."

One of the moſt curious books in *Sanſcrit*, and one of the oldeſt after the *Véda's*, is a tract on *religious and civil duties*, taken, as it is believed, from the oral inſtructions of MENU, ſon of BRAHMA', to the firſt inhabitants of the earth: a well-collated copy of this intereſting law-tract is now before me; and I begin my diſſertation with a few couplets from the firſt chapter of it: " The ſun cauſes the diviſion of day and night,
" which are of two ſorts, thoſe of men and thoſe of the Gods; the day,
" for the labour of *all* creatures in their ſeveral employments; the night,
" for their ſlumber. A month is a day and night of the Patriarchs; and
" it is divided into two parts; the bright half is *their* day for laborious
" exertions; the dark half, *their* night for ſleep. A year is a day and
" night of the Gods; and that is alſo divided into two halves; the day
" is, when the ſun moves towards the north; the night, when it moves
" towards the ſouth. Learn now the duration of a night and day of
" BRAHMA', with that of the ages reſpectively and in order. Four
" thouſand years *of the Gods* they call the *Crĭta* (or *Satya)*, age; and
" its limits at the beginning and at the end *are*, in like manner, as
" many hundreds. In the three ſucceſſive ages, together with their
" limits at the beginning and end of them, are thouſands and hundreds
" diminiſhed by one. This aggregate of four ages, amounting to twelve
" thouſand divine years, is called an age of the Gods; and a thouſand
" ſuch divine ages added together muſt be conſidered as a day of BRAH-
" MA': his night has alſo the ſame duration. The before mentioned
" age of the Gods, or twelve thouſand of their years, multiplied by
" ſeventy-one, form what is named here below a *Manwantara*. There
" are *alternate* creations and deſtructions *of worlds* through innumerable
" *Manwantara's:* the Being Supremely Deſirable performs all this again
" and again."

Such

Such is the arrangement of infinite time, which the *Hindus* believe to have been revealed from heaven, and which they generally underſtand in a literal ſenſe: it ſeems to have intrinſick marks of being purely aſtronomical; but I will not appropriate the obſervations of others, nor anticipate thoſe in particular, which have been made by two or three of our members, and which they will, I hope, communicate to the ſociety. A conjecture, however, of Mr. PATERSON has ſo much ingenuity in it, that I cannot forbear mentioning it here, eſpecially as it ſeems to be confirmed by one of the couplets juſt-cited: he ſuppoſes, that, as a *month* of mortals is a day and night of the Patriarchs from the analogy of its bright and dark halves, ſo, by the ſame analogy, a day and night of mortals might have been conſidered by the ancient *Hindus* as a month of the lower world; and then a year of ſuch months will conſiſt only of twelve days and nights, and thirty ſuch years will compoſe a lunar year of mortals; whence he ſurmiſes, that the *four million three hundred and twenty thouſand* years, of which the four *Indian* ages are ſuppoſed to conſiſt, mean only years of twelve days; and, in fact, that ſum, divided by *thirty*, is reduced to *an hundred and forty-four thouſand:* now *a thouſand four hundred and forty* years are one *pada*, a period in the *Hindu* aſtronomy, and that ſum, multiplied by *eighteen*, amounts preciſely to *twenty-five thouſand nine hundred and twenty*, the number of years in which the fixed ſtars appear to perform their long revolution eaſtward. The laſt mentioned ſum is the product alſo of *an hundred and forty-four*, which, according to M. BAILLY, was an old *Indian* cycle, into *an hundred and eighty*, or the *Tartarian* period, called *Van*, and of *two thouſand eight hundred and eighty* into *nine*, which is not only one of the lunar cycles, but conſidered by the *Hindus* as a myſterious number and an emblem of Divinity, becauſe, if it be multiplied by any other whole number, the ſum of the figures in the different products remains always nine, as the Deity, who appears in many forms, continues One immutable eſſence. The important period of *twenty-five thouſand nine hundred and twenty* years

years is well known to ariſe from the multiplication of *three hundred and ſixty* into *ſeventy-two*, the number of years in which a fixed ſtar ſeems to move through a degree of a great circle; and, although M. Le GENTIL aſſures us, that the modern *Hindus* believe a complete revolution of the ſtars to be made in *twenty-four thouſand* years, or *fifty-four* ſeconds of a degree to be paſſed in one year, yet we may have reaſon to think, that the old *Indian* aſtronomers had made a more accurate calculation, but concealed their knowledge from the people under the veil of *fourteen* MENWANTARA's, *ſeventy-one* divine ages, compound cycles, and years of different ſorts, from thoſe of BRAHMA' to thoſe of *Pátála*, or the *infernal regions*. If we follow the analogy ſuggeſted by MENU, and ſuppoſe only a day and night to be called a *year*, we may divide the number of years in a divine age by *three hundred and ſixty*, and the quotient will be *twelve thouſand*, or the number of his *divine years* in one age: but, conjecture apart, we need only compare the two periods 4320000 and 25920, and we ſhall find, that among their common diviſors, are 6, 9, 12, &c. 18, 36, 72, 144, &c. which numbers with their ſeveral multiples, eſpecially in a decuple progreſſion, conſtitute ſome of the moſt celebrated periods of the *Chaldeans*, *Greeks*, *Tartars*, and even of the *Indians*. We cannot fail to obſerve, that the number 432, which appears to be the baſis of the *Indian* ſyſtem, is a 60th part of 25920, and, by continuing the compariſon, we might probably ſolve the whole enigma. In the preface to a *Váránes* Almanack I find the following wild ſtanza: "A *thouſand* "Great Ages are a day of BRAHMA'; a *thouſand* ſuch days are an *Indian* "hour of VISHNU; *ſix hundred thouſand* ſuch hours make a period of "RUDRA; and a million of *Rudra's* (or *two quadrillions five hundred and* "*ninety-two thouſand trillions of lunar years*), are but a *ſecond* to the Su- "preme Being." The *Hindu* theologians deny the concluſion of the ſtanza to be orthodox: "*Time*, they ſay, *exiſts not at all with* GOD;" and they adviſe the Aſtronomers to mind their own buſineſs without meddling with theology. The aſtronomical verſe, however, will anſwer our preſent

ſent purpoſe; for it ſhows, in the firſt place, that cyphers are added at pleaſure to ſwell the periods; and, if we take ten cyphers from a *Rudra*, or divide by ten thouſand millions, we ſhall have a period of 259200000 years, which, divided by 60 (the uſual diviſor of *time* among the *Hindus*) will give 4320000, or a Great Age, which we find ſubdivided in the proportion of 4, 3, 2, 1, from the notion of *virtue* decreaſing arithmetically in the *golden*, *ſilver*, *copper*, and *earthen*, ages. But, ſhould it be thought improbable, that the *Indian* aſtronomers in very early times had made more accurate obſervations than thoſe of *Alexandria*, *Bagdád*, or *Marághah*, and ſtill more improbable that they ſhould have relapſed without apparent cauſe into error, we may ſuppoſe, that they formed their divine age by an arbitrary multiplication of 24000 by 180 according to M. Le GENTIL, or of 21600 by 200 according to the comment on the *Súrya Siddhánta*. Now, as it is *hardly* poſſible, that ſuch coincidences ſhould be accidental, we may hold it *nearly* demonſtrated, that the period of a *divine age* was at firſt merely aſtronomical, and may conſequently reject it from our preſent inquiry into the hiſtorical or civil chronology of *India*. Let us, however, proceed to the avowed opinions of the *Hindus*, and ſee, when we have aſcertained their ſyſtem, whether we can reconcile it to the courſe of nature and the common ſenſe of mankind.

The aggregate of their four ages they call a divine age, and believe that, in every thouſand ſuch ages, or in every *day* of BRAHMA', *fourteen* MENU's are ſucceſſively inveſted by him with the ſovereignty of the earth: each MENU, they ſuppoſe, tranſmits his empire to his ſons and grandſons during a period of ſeventy-one divine ages; and ſuch a period they name a *Manwantara*; but, ſince *fourteen* multiplied by *ſeventy-one* are not quite a *thouſand*, we muſt conclude, that *ſix divine ages* are allowed for intervals between the *Manwantara's*, or for the twilight of BRAHMA''s day. Thirty ſuch days, or *Calpas*, conſtitute, in their opinion, *a month* of BRAHMA'; twelve ſuch months, one of his years; and

and an hundred ſuch years, his *age*; of which age they aſſert, that fifty years have elapſed. We are now then, according to the *Hindus*, in the firſt day or *Calpa* of the firſt month of the fifty-firſt year of BRAHMA'S age, and in the twenty-eighth divine age of the ſeventh *Manwantara*, of which divine age the *three firſt* human ages have paſſed, and *four thouſand eight hundred and eighty-eight* of the *fourth*.

In the preſent day of BRAHMA' the firſt MENU was ſurnamed SWA'YAMBHUVA, or *Son of the Self-exiſtent*; and it is He, by whom the *Inſtitutes of Religious and Civil Duties* are ſuppoſed to have been delivered: in his time the Deity deſcended at a *Sacrifice*, and, by his wife SATARU'PA', he had two diſtinguiſhed ſons, and three daughters. This pair was created, for the multiplication of the human ſpecies, after that new creation of the world, which the *Bráhmans* call *Pádmacalpíya*, or the *Lotos*-creation.

If it were worth while to calculate the age of MENU's Inſtitutes, according to the *Bráhmans*, we muſt multiply four million three hundred and twenty thouſand by ſix times ſeventy-one, and add to the product the number of years already paſt in the ſeventh *Manwantara*. Of the five MENU's, who ſucceeded him, I have ſeen little more than the names; but the *Hindu* writings are very diffuſe on the life and poſterity of the *ſeventh* MENU, ſurnamed VAIVASWATA, or *Child of the Sun*: he is ſuppoſed to have had ten ſons, of whom the eldeſt was ICSHWA'CU; and to have been accompanied by ſeven *Rĭſhi's*, or holy perſons, whoſe names were, CASYAPA, ATRI, VASISHTHA, VISWA'MITRA, GAUTAMA, JAMADAGNI, and BHARADWA'JA; an account, which explains the opening of the fourth chapter of the *Gítà*: "This "immutable ſyſtem of devotion, ſays CRISHNA, I revealed to VIVAS-"WAT, *or the Sun*; VIVASWAT declared it to *his ſon* MENU; MENU "explained it to ICSHWA'CU: thus the Chief *Rĭſhi's* know this ſublime "*doctrine* delivered from one to another."

In

In the reign of this *Sun-born* Monarch the *Hindus* believe the whole earth to have been drowned, and the whole human race deſtroyed by a flood, except the pious Prince himſelf, the ſeven *Rĭſhi's*, and their ſeveral wives; for they ſuppoſe his children to have been born after the deluge. This general *pralaya*, or deſtruction, is the ſubject of the firſt *Purána*, or *Sacred Poem*, which conſiſts of fourteen thouſand Stanzas; and the ſtory is conciſely, but clearly and elegantly, told in the eighth book of the *Bhágawata*, from which I have extracted the whole, and tranſlated it with great care, but will only preſent you here with an abridgement of it. " The demon HAYAGRI'VA having purloined the " *Védas* from the cuſtody of BRAHMA', while he was repoſing at the " cloſe of the ſixth *Manwantara*, the whole race of men became corrupt, " except the ſeven *Rĭſhi's*, and SATYAVRATA, who then reigned in " *Dravira*, a maritime region to the ſouth of *Carnáta:* this prince was " performing his ablutions in the river *Crĭtamálà*, when VISHNU ap- " peared to him in the ſhape of a ſmall fiſh, and, after ſeveral augmen- " tations of bulk in different waters, was placed by SATYAVRATA in " the ocean, where he thus addreſſed his amazed votary: ' In *ſeven* days ' all creatures, who have offended me, ſhall be deſtroyed by a deluge, ' but thou ſhalt be ſecured in a capacious veſſel miraculouſly formed: ' take therefore all kinds of medicinal herbs and eſculent grain for food, ' and, together with the ſeven holy men, your reſpective wives, and ' pairs of all animals, enter the ark without fear; then ſhalt thou know ' God face to face, and all thy queſtions ſhall be anſwered.' Saying this, he diſappeared; and, after ſeven days, the ocean " began to " overflow the coaſts, and the earth to be flooded by conſtant ſhowers, " when SATYAVRATA, meditating on the Deity, ſaw a large veſſel " moving on the waters: he entered it, having in all reſpects conformed " to the inſtructions of VISHNU; who, in the form of a vaſt fiſh, ſuffered " the veſſel to be tied with a great ſea ſerpent, as with a cable, to his " meaſureleſs horn. When the deluge had ceaſed, VISHNU ſlew the " demon,

" demon, and recovered the *Véda's*, inſtructed SATYAVRATA in divine " knowledge, and appointed him the ſeventh MENU by the name of " VAIVASWATA.' Let us compare the two *Indian* accounts of the *Creation* and the *Deluge* with thoſe delivered by MOSES. It is not made a queſtion in this tract, whether the firſt chapters of *Geneſis* are to be underſtood in a literal, or merely in an allegorical, ſenſe: the only points before us are, whether the creation deſcribed by the *firſt* MENU, which the *Bráhmans* call that of the *Lotos*, be not the ſame with that recorded in our Scripture, and whether the ſtory of the *ſeventh* MENU be not one and the ſame with that of NOAH. I propoſe the queſtions, but affirm nothing; leaving others to ſettle their opinions, whether ADAM be derived from *ádim*, which in *Sanſcrit* means the *firſt*, or MENU from NUH, the true name of the Patriarch; whether the *Sacrifice*, at which GOD is believed to have deſcended, allude to the offering of ABEL; and, on the whole, whether the two MENU's can mean any other perſons than the great progenitor, and the reſtorer, of our ſpecies.

On a ſuppoſition, that VAIVASWATA, or *Sun-born*, was the NOAH of Scripture, let us proceed to the *Indian* account of his poſterity, which I extract from the *Puránárt'haprecás'a*, or *The Purána's Explained*, a work lately compoſed in *Sanſcrit* by RA'DHA'CA'NTA SARMAN, a *Pandit* of extenſive learning and great fame among the *Hindus* of this province. Before we examine the genealogies of kings, which he has collected from the *Purána's*, it will be neceſſary to give a general idea of the *Avatára's*, or *Deſcents*, of the Deity: the *Hindus* believe innumerable ſuch deſcents or ſpecial interpoſitions of providence in the affairs of mankind, but they reckon *ten* principal *Avatára's* in the current period of four ages; and all of them are deſcribed, in order as they are ſuppoſed to occur, in the following Ode of JAYADE'VA, the great Lyrick Poet of *India*.

1. " Thou

1. " Thou recovereſt the *Véda* in the water of the ocean of de-
" ſtruction, *placing it* joyfully in the boſom of an ark fabricated *by thee*;
" O CE'SAVA, aſſuming the body of a *fiſh:* be victorious, O HERI,
" lord of the Univerſe!

2. " The earth ſtands firm on thy immenſely broad back, which
" grows larger from the callus occaſioned by bearing that vaſt burden,
" O CE'SAVA, aſſuming the body of a *tortoiſe:* be victorious, O HERI,
" lord of the Univerſe!

3. " The earth, placed on the point of thy tuſk, remains fixed like
" the figure of a black antelope on the moon, O CE'SAVA, aſſuming
" the form of a *boar:* be victorious, O HERI, lord of the Univerſe!"

4. The claw with a ſtupendous point, on the exquiſite lotos of thy lion's paw, is the black bee, that ſtung the body of the embowelled HIRANYACASIPU, O CE'SAVA, aſſuming the form of a *man-lion:* be victorious, O HERI, lord of the Univerſe!

5. By thy power thou beguileſt BALI, O thou miraculous dwarf, thou purifier of men with the water (of *Gangà*) ſpringing from thy feet, O CE'SAVA, aſſuming the form of a *dwarf:* be victorious, O HERI, lord of the Univerſe!

6. Thou batheſt in pure water, conſiſting of the blood of *Cſhatriya's*, the world, whoſe offences are removed and who are relieved from the pain of other births, O CE'SAVA, aſſuming the form of PARAS'U-RA'MA: be victorious, O HERI, lord of the Univerſe!

7. With caſe to thyſelf, with delight to the Genii of the eight regions, thou ſcattereſt on all ſides in the plain of combat the demon with

ten heads, O CE'SAVA, aſſuming the form of RA'MA-CHANDRA: be victorious, O HERI, lord of the Univerſe!

8. Thou weareſt on thy bright body a mantle ſhining like a blue cloud, or like the water of *Yamunà* tripping toward thee through fear of thy furrowing *plough ſhare*, O CE'SAVA, aſſuming the form of BALA-RA'MA: be victorious, O HERI, lord of the Univerſe!

9. Thou blameſt (oh, wonderful!) the whole *Véda*, when thou ſeeſt, O kind-hearted, the ſlaughter of cattle preſcribed for ſacrifice, O CE'SAVA, aſſuming the body of BUDDHA: be victorious, O HERI, lord of the Univerſe!

10. For the deſtruction of all the impure thou draweſt thy cimeter like a blazing comet (how tremendous!), O CE'SAVA, aſſuming the body of CALCI: be victorious, O HERI, lord of the Univerſe!

Theſe ten *Avatára's* are by ſome arranged according to the thouſands of divine years in each of the four ages, or in an arithmetical proportion from four to one; and, if ſuch an arrangement were univerſally received, we ſhould be able to aſcertain a very material point in the *Hindu* Chronology; I mean the birth of BUDDHA, concerning which the different *Pandits*, whom I have conſulted, and the ſame *Pandits* at different times, have expreſſed a ſtrange diverſity of opinion. They all agree, that CALCI is yet to come, and that BUDDHA was the laſt conſiderable incarnation of the Deity; but the aſtronomers at *Varánes* place him in the *third* age, and RA'DHA'CA'NT inſiſts, that he appeared after the *thouſandth* year of the *fourth:* the learned and accurate author of the *Dabiſtán*, whoſe information concerning the *Hindus* is wonderfully correct, mentions an opinion of the *Pandits*, with whom he had converſed, that BUDDHA began his career *ten* years before the cloſe of the third age; and

and Go'VERDHANA of *Caſhmìr*, who had once informed me, that CRISHNA deſcended *two centuries* before BUDDHA, aſſured me lately, that the *Caſhmírians* admitted an interval of *twenty-four* years (others allow only *twelve*) between thoſe two divine perſons. The beſt authority, after all, is the *Bhágawat* itſelf, in the firſt chapter of which it is expreſsly declared, that "BUDDHA, the ſon of JINA, would appear at "*Cícat'a*, for the purpoſe of confounding the demons, *juſt at the begin-*"*ning* of the *Caliyug*." I have long been convinced, that, on theſe ſubjects, we can only reaſon ſatisfactorily from *written* evidence, and that our forenſick rule muſt be invariably applied, *to take the declarations of the* Bráhmans *moſt ſtrongly againſt themſelves*, that is, *againſt their pretenſions to antiquity*; ſo that, on the whole, we may ſafely place BUDDHA *juſt at the beginning* of the *preſent* age: but what is the *beginning* of it? When this queſtion was propoſed to RA'DHA'CA'NT, he anſwered: "of a period compriſing more than four hundred thouſand years, the "firſt two or three thouſand may reaſonably be called *the beginning*." On my demanding *written* evidence, he produced a book of ſome authority, compoſed by a learned *Góſwámi*, and entitled *Bhágawatámrita*, or, the *Nectar* of the *Bhágawat*, on which it is a metrical comment; and the couplet which he read from it deſerves to be cited: after the juſt mentioned account of BUDDHA in the text, the commentator ſays,

Aſau vyactah calérabdaſahaſradwitayè gatè,
Múrtih pát'alavernà'ſya dwibhujà chicurójj'hità.

'He *became* viſible, the-thouſand-and-ſecond-year-of-the-Cali-*age*, *be-*'*ing* paſt; his body of-a-colour-between-white-and-ruddy, with-two-'arms, without-hair *on his head*.'

Cícat'a, named in the text as the birth place of BUDDHA, the *Góſwámi* ſuppoſes to have been *Dhermáranya*, a wood near *Gayà*, where a coloſſal image of that ancient Deity ſtill remains: it ſeemed to me of black

black ſtone; but, as I ſaw it by torch-light, I cannot be poſitive as to its colour, which may, indeed, have been changed by time.

The *Bráhmans* univerſally ſpeak of the *Bauddhas* with all the malignity of an intolerant ſpirit; yet the moſt orthodox among them conſider BUDDHA himſelf as an incarnation of VISHNU: this is a contradiction hard to be reconciled; unleſs we cut the knot, inſtead of untying it, by ſuppoſing with GIORGI, that there were *two* BUDDHAS, the younger of whom eſtabliſhed the new religion, which gave ſo great offence in *India*, and was introduced into *China* in the firſt century of our era. The *Caſhmirian* before mentioned aſſerted this fact, without being led to it by any queſtion that implied it; and we may have reaſon to ſuppoſe, that *Buddha* is in truth only a general word for a *Philoſopher:* the author of a celebrated *Sanſcrit* Dictionary, entitled from his name *Amaracóſha*, who was himſelf a *Bauddha*, and flouriſhed in the firſt century before CHRIST, begins his vocabulary with nine words, that ſignify *heaven*, and proceeds to thoſe, which mean *a deity in general*; after which come different *claſſes* of *Gods*, *Demigods*, and *Demons*, all by *generick* names; and they are followed by two very remarkable heads; firſt, (not the *general names* of BUDDHA, but) the names of a *Buddha-in-general*, of which he gives us eighteen, ſuch as *Muni*, *Sáſtrĭ*, *Múnindra*, *Vináyaca*, *Samantabhadra*, *Dhermarája*, *Sugata*, and the like; moſt of them ſignificative of *excellence*, *wiſdom*, *virtue*, and *ſanctity*; ſecondly, the names of a-*particular*-*Buddha*-*Muni*-who-deſcended-in-the-family-of-SA'CYA (thoſe are the very words of the original), and his titles are, *Sácyamuni*, *Sácyaſinha*, *Servárt'haſiddha*, *Saudhódani*, *Gautama*, *Arcabandhu*, or *Kinſman of the Sun*, and *Máyádéviſuta*, or *Child of* MA'YA': thence the author paſſes to the different epithets of particular *Hindu* Deities. When I pointed out this curious paſſage to RA'DHA'CA'NT, he contended, that the firſt eighteen names were *general* epithets, and the following ſeven, *proper*

proper names, or *patronymicks*, of one and the ſame perſon; but RA'MA-LO'CHAN, my own teacher, who, though not a *Bráhman*, is an excellent ſcholar and a very ſenſible unprejudiced man, aſſured me, that *Buddha* was a *generick* word, like *Déva*, and that the learned author, having exhibited the names of a *Dévatà* in general, proceeded to thoſe of a *Buddha* in general, before he came to particulars: he added, that *Buddha* might mean a *Sage* or a *Philoſopher*, though *Budha* was the word commonly uſed for a mere *wiſe man* without ſupernatural powers. It ſeems highly probable, on the whole, that the BUDDHA, whom JAYADE'VA celebrates in his Hymn, was the *Sácyaſinha*, or *Lion of* SACYA, who, though he forbad the ſacrifices of cattle, which the *Véda's* enjoin, was believed to be VISHNU himſelf in a human form, and that another *Buddha*, one perhaps of his followers in a later age, aſſuming his name and character, attempted to overſet the whole ſyſtem of the *Bráhmans*, and was the cauſe of that perſecution, from which the *Bauddhas* are known to have fled into very diſtant regions. May we not reconcile the ſingular difference of opinion among the *Hindus* as to the time of BUDDHA's appearance, by ſuppoſing that they have confounded the *Two Buddha's*, the firſt of whom was born a few years before the cloſe of the laſt age, and the ſecond, when above a thouſand years of the preſent age had elapſed? We know, from better authorities, and with as much certainty as can juſtly be expected on ſo doubtful a ſubject, the real time, compared with our own era, when the ancient BUDDHA began to diſtinguiſh himſelf; and it is for this reaſon principally, that I have dwelled with minute anxiety on the ſubject of the laſt *Avatàr*.

The *Bráhmans*, who aſſiſted ABU'LFAZL in his curious, but ſuperficial, account of his maſter's Empire, informed him, if the figures in the *Áyíni Acbarì* be correctly written, that a period of 2962 years had elapſed from the birth of BUDDHA to the 40th year of ACBAR's reign, which computation will place his birth in the 1360th year before that of our

our Saviour; but, when the *Chineſe* government admitted a new religion from *India* in the firſt century of our era, they made particular inquiries concerning the age of the old *Indian* BUDDHA, whoſe birth, according to COUPLET, they place in the 41ſt year of their 28th cycle, or 1036 years before CHRIST, and they call him, ſays he, FOE the ſon of MOYE or MA'YA'; but M. DE GUIGNES, on the authority of four *Chineſe* Hiſtorians, aſſerts, that FO was born about the year before CHRIST 1027, in the kingdom of *Caſhmír*: GIORGI, or rather CASSIANO, from whoſe papers his work was compiled, aſſures us, that, by the calculation of the *Tibetians*, he appeared only 959 years before the *Chriſtian* epoch; and M. BAILLY, with ſome heſitation, places him 1031 years before it, but inclines to think him far more ancient, confounding him, as I have done in a former tract, with the *firſt* BUDHA, or MERCURY, whom the *Goths* called WODEN, and of whom I ſhall preſently take particular notice. Now, whether we aſſume the medium of the four laſt-mentioned dates, or implicitly rely on the authorities quoted by DE GUIGNES, we may conclude, that BUDDHA was firſt diſtinguiſhed in this country *about a thouſand* years before the beginning of our era; and whoever, in ſo early an age, expects a certain epoch unqualified with *about* or *nearly*, will be greatly diſappointed. Hence it is clear, that, whether the fourth age of the *Hindus* began about *one* thouſand years before CHRIST, according to GOVERDHAN'S account of BUDDHA'S birth, or *two* thouſand, according to that of RA'DHA'CA'NT, the common opinion, that 4888 years of it are now elapſed, is erroneous; and here for the preſent we leave BUDDHA, with an intention of returning to him in due time; obſerving only, that, if the learned *Indians* differ ſo widely in their accounts of the age, when their ninth *Avatàr* appeared in their country, we may be aſſured, that they have no certain Chronology before him, and may ſuſpect the certainty of all the relations concerning even *his* appearance.

The

The received Chronology of the *Hindus* begins with an abſurdity ſo monſtrous, as to overthrow the whole ſyſtem; for, having eſtabliſhed their period of *ſeventy-one divine ages* as the reign of each *Menu*, yet thinking it incongruous to place a holy perſonage in times of *impurity*, they inſiſt, that the *Menu* reigns only in every *golden* age, and diſappears in the *three human ages* that follow it, continuing to dive and emerge, like a waterfowl, till the cloſe of his *Manwantara:* the learned author of the *Puránárt'hapracáſa*, which I will now follow ſtep by ſtep, mentioned this ridiculous opinion with a ſerious face; but, as he has not inſerted it in his work, we may take his account of the ſeventh *Menu* according to its obvious and rational meaning, and ſuppoſe, that VAIVASWATA, the ſon of SU'RYA, the ſon of CASYAPA, or *Uranus*, the ſon of MARI'CHI, or *Light:* the ſon of BRAHMA', which is clearly an allegorical pedigree, reigned in the laſt golden age, or, according to the *Hindus*, three million eight hundred and ninety-two thouſand eight hundred and eighty-eight years ago. But they contend, that he actually reigned on earth *one million ſeven hundred and twenty-eight thouſand* years of mortals, or *four thouſand eight hundred* years of the Gods; and this opinion is another monſter ſo repugnant to the courſe of nature and to human reaſon, that it muſt be rejected as wholly fabulous, and taken as a proof, that the *Indians* know nothing of their *Sun-born* MENU, but his name and the principal event of his life; I mean the *univerſal deluge*, of which the *three* firſt *Avatàr's* are merely allegorical repreſentations, with a mixture, eſpecially in the *ſecond*, of aſtronomical Mythology.

From this MENU the whole race of men is believed to have deſcended; for the ſeven *Rĭſhi's*, who were preſerved with him in the ark, are not mentioned as fathers of human families; but, ſince his daughter ILA' was married, as the *Indians* tell us, to the firſt BUDHA, or *Mercury*, the ſon of CHANDRA, or the *Moon*, a male Deity, whoſe father was ATRI, ſon of BRAHMA' (where again we meet with an allegory purely aſtronomical

aſtronomical or poetical), his poſterity are divided into two great branches, called the *Children of the Sun* from his own ſuppoſed father, and the *Children of the Moon*, from the parent of his daughter's huſband: the lineal male deſcendants in both theſe families are ſuppoſed to have reigned in the cities of *Ayódhyà*, or *Audh*, and *Pratiſht'hána*, or *Vitóra*, reſpectively till the *thouſandth year of the preſent age*, and the names of all the princes in both lines having been diligently collected by RA'DHA'CA'NT from ſeveral *Purána's*, I exhibit them in two columns arranged by myſelf with great attention.

SECOND AGE.

CHILDREN OF THE

	SUN.	MOON.	
	Icshwa'cu,	Budha,	
	Vicucſhi,	*Pururavas*,	
	Cucutſt'ha,	Ayuſh,	
	Anénas,	Nahuſha,	
5.	*Prĭt'hu*,	*Yayáti*,	5.
	Vis'wagandhi,	*Puru*,	
	Chandra,	Janaméjaya,	
	Yuvanás'wa,	Prachinwat,	
	Sráva,	Pravíra,	
10.	Vrihadas'wa,	Menaſyu,	10.
	Dhundhumára,	Chárupada,	
	Drĭd''hás'wa,	Sudyu,	
	Heryas'wa,	Bahugava,	
	Nicumbha,	Sanyáti,	
15.	Crĭs'ás'wa,	Ahanyáti,	15.
	Sénajit,	Raudrás'wa,	
	Yuvanás'wa,	Rĭtéyuſh,	
	Màndhátrĭ,	Rantináva,	
			Purucutſa,

CHILDREN OF THE

	SUN.	MOON.	
	Purucutſa,	Sumati,	
20.	Traſadaſyu,	Aiti,	20.
	Anaranya,	*Duſhmanta*,	
	Heryas'wa,	*Bharata*, *	
	Praruna,	(Vitat'ha,	
	Trivindhana,	Manyu,	
25.	Satyavrata,	Vrĭhatcſhétra,	25.
	Tris'ancu,	Haſtin,	
	Haris'chandra,	Ajamid'ha,	
	Róhita,	Rĭcſha,	
	Harita,	Samwarana,	
30.	Champa,	*Curu*,	30.
	Sudéva,	*Jahnu*,	
	Vijaya,	Surat'ha,	
	Bharuca,	Vidúrat'ha,	
	Vrĭca,	Sárvabhauma,	
35.	Báhuca,	Jayatſéna,	35.
	Sagara,	Rádhica,	
	Aſamanjas,	Ayutáyuſh,	
	Ans'umat,	Acródhana,	
	Bhagírat'ha,	Dévátit'hi,	
40.	Sruta,	Rĭcſha,	40.
	Nábha,	*Dilípa*,	
	Sindhudwípa,	Pratípa,	
	Ayutáyuſh,	Sántanu,	
	Rĭtaperna,	*Vichitravírya*,	
45.	Saudáſa,	Pándu,	45.
	As'maca,	*Yudhiſht'hir*).	
	Múlaca,		

Das'arat'ha,

CHILDREN OF THE

	SUN.	MOON.
	Das'arat'ha,	
	Aíd'abid'i,	
50.	Vis'waſaha,	
	C'hat'wánga,	
	Dírghabáhu,	
	Raghu,	
	Aja,	
55.	*Das'arat'ha*,	
	Ra'ma.	

It is agreed among all the *Pandits*, that Ra'ma, their *ſeventh* incarnate Divinity, appeared as king of *Ayódhyà* in the *interval* between the *ſilver* and the *brazen* ages; and, if we ſuppoſe him to have begun his reign at the very beginning of that interval, ſtill *three thouſand three hundred* years of the Gods, or *a million one hundred and eighty-eight thouſand* lunar years of mortals will remain in the *ſilver* age, during which the *fifty-five* princes between Vaivaswata and Ra'ma muſt have governed the world; but, reckoning *thirty* years for a generation, which is rather too much for a long ſucceſſion of *eldeſt* ſons, as they are ſaid to have been, we cannot, by the courſe of nature, extend the *ſecond* age of the *Hindus* beyond *ſixteen hundred and fifty* ſolar years: if we ſuppoſe them not to have been eldeſt ſons, and even to have lived longer than modern princes in a diſſolute age, we ſhall find only a period of *two thouſand* years; and, if we remove the difficulty by admitting miracles, we muſt ceaſe to reaſon, and may as well believe at once whatever the *Bráhmans* chuſe to tell us.

In the *Lunar* pedigree we meet with another abſurdity equally fatal to the credit of the *Hindu* ſyſtem: as far as the twenty-ſecond degree of deſcent

deſcent from VAIVASWATA, the ſynchroniſm of the two families appears tolerably regular, except that the Children of the Moon were not all *eldeſt* ſons; for king YAYA'TI appointed the youngeſt of his five ſons to ſucceed him in *India*, and allotted inferior kingdoms to the other four, who had offended him; part of the *Dacſhin* or the *South*, to YADU, the anceſtor of CRISHNA; the north, to ANU; the eaſt, to DRUHYA; and the weſt, to TURVASU, from whom the *Pandits* believe, or pretend to believe, in compliment to our nation, that we are deſcended. But of the ſubſequent degrees in the lunar line they know ſo little, that, unable to ſupply a conſiderable interval between BHARAT and VITAT'HA, whom they call his ſon and ſucceſſor, they are under a neceſſity of aſſerting, that the great anceſtor of YUDHISHT''HIR actually reigned *ſeven and twenty thouſand years*; a fable of the ſame claſs with that of his wonderful birth, which is the ſubject of a beautiful *Indian* Drama: now, if we ſuppoſe his life to have laſted no longer than that of other mortals, and admit VITAT'HA and the reſt to have been his regular ſucceſſors, we ſhall fall into another abſurdity; for then, if the generations in both lines were nearly equal, as they would naturally have been, we ſhall find YUDHISHT''HIR, who reigned confeſſedly at the cloſe of the *brazen* age, nine generations older than RA'MA, before whoſe birth the *ſilver* age is allowed to have ended. After the name of BHARAT, therefore, I have ſet an aſteriſk to denote a conſiderable chaſm in the *Indian* Hiſtory, and have inſerted between brackets, as out of their places, his *twenty-four* ſucceſſors, who reigned, if at all, in the following age immediately before the war of the *Mahábhárat*. The fourth *Avatàr*, which is placed in the interval between the *firſt* and *ſecond* ages, and the *fifth* which ſoon followed it, appear to be moral fables grounded on hiſtorical facts: the *fourth* was the puniſhment of an impious monarch by the Deity himſelf *burſting from a marble Column* in the ſhape of a *lion*; and the *fifth* was the humiliation of an arrogant Prince by ſo contemptible an agent as a mendicant *dwarf*. After theſe, and immediately before

before BUDDHA, come three great wariours all named RA'MA; but it may juſtly be made a queſtion, whether they are not three repreſentations of one perſon, or three different ways of relating the ſame Hiſtory: the firſt and ſecond RA'MAS are ſaid to have been contemporary; but whether all or any of them mean RAMA, the ſon of CU'SH, I leave others to determine. The mother of the ſecond RAMA was named CAU'SHALYA', which is a derivative of CUSHALA, and, though his father be diſtinguiſhed by the title or epithet of DA'SARAT'HA, ſignifying, that *his War-chariot bore him to all quarters of the world*, yet the name of CUSH, as the *Cáſhmírians* pronounce it, is preſerved entire in that of his ſon and ſucceſſor, and ſhadowed in that of his anceſtor VICUCSHI; nor can a juſt objection be made to this opinion from the naſal *Arabian* vowel in the word *Râmah* mentioned by MOSES, ſince the very word *Arab* begins with the ſame letter, which the *Greeks* and *Indians* could not pronounce; and they were obliged, therefore, to expreſs it by the vowel, which moſt reſembled it. On this queſtion, however, I aſſert nothing; nor on another, which might be propoſed: "whether "the *fourth* and *fifth Avatàrs* be not allegorical ſtories of the two pre-"ſumptuous monarchs, NIMROD and BELUS." The hypotheſis, that *government* was firſt eſtabliſhed, *laws* enacted, and *agriculture* encouraged in *India* by RAMA about *three thouſand eight hundred* years ago, agrees with the received account of NOAH's death, and the previous ſettlement of his immediate deſcendents.

THIRD AGE.

CHILDREN OF THE

SUN.	MOON.
Cus'ha,	
Atit'hi,	
Niſhadha,	
	Nabhas,

CHILDREN OF THE

	SUN.	MOON.	
	Nabhas,		
5.	Pund'aríca,		
	Cſhémadhanwas,	Vitat'ha,	
	Dévániça,	Manyu,	
	Ahín'agu,	Vrĭhatcſhétra,	
	Páripátra,	Haſtin,	
10.	Ranach'hala,	Ajamíd''ha,	5.
	Vajranábha,	Rĭcſha,	
	Arca,	Samwarana,	
	Sugana,	*Curu*,	
	Vidhrĭti,	*Jahnu*,	
15.	Hiranyanábha,	Surat'ha,	10.
	Puſhya,	Vidúrat'ha,	
	Dhruvaſandhi,	Sárvabhauma,	
	Suders'ana,	Jayatſéna,	
	Agniverna,	Rádhica,	
20.	Síghra,	Ayutáyuſh,	15.
	Maru, ſuppoſed to be ſtill alive.	Acródhana,	
	Praſus'ruta,	Dévatit'hi,	
	Sandhi,	Ricſha,	
	Amers'ana,	Dilípa,	
25.	Mahaſwat,	Pratípa,	20.
	Vis'wabháhu,	Sántanu,	
	Praſénajit,	Vichitravírya,	
	Tacſhaca,	Pándu,	
	Vrihadbala,	*Yudhiſht'hira*,	
30.	Vrihadran'a, Y. B. C. 3100.	*Paricſhit*.	25.

Here

Here we have only *nine* and *twenty* princes of the ſolar line between RA'MA and VRIHADRANA excluſively; and their reigns, during the whole *brazen* age, are ſuppoſed to have laſted near *eight hundred* and *ſixty-four thouſand* years, a ſuppoſition evidently againſt nature; the uniform courſe of which allows only a period of *eight hundred* and *ſeventy*, or, at the very utmoſt, of *a thouſand*, years for *twenty-nine* generations. PARI'CSHIT, the great nephew and ſucceſſor of YUDHISHT''HIR, who had recovered the throne from DURYO'DHAN, is allowed without controverſy to have reigned in the interval between the *brazen* and *earthen* ages, and to have died at the ſetting in of the *Caliyug*; ſo that, if the *Pandits* of *Caſhmìr* and *Varánes* have made a right calculation of BUDDHA's appearance, the preſent, or *fourth*, age muſt have begun about *a thouſand* years before the birth of CHRIST, and conſequently the reign of ICSHWA'CU, could not have been earlier than *four thouſand* years before that great epoch; and even that date will, perhaps, appear, when it ſhall be ſtrictly examined, to be near *two thouſand* years earlier than the truth. I cannot leave the third *Indian* age, in which the virtues and vices of mankind are ſaid to have been equal, without obſerving, that even the cloſe of it is manifeſtly fabulous and poetical, with hardly more *appearance* of hiſtorical truth, than the tale of *Troy* or of the *Argonauts*; for YUDHISHT''HIR, it ſeems, was the ſon of DHERMA, the *Genius of Juſtice*; BHI'MA of PAVAN, or the *God of Wind*; ARJUN of INDRA, or the *Firmament*; NACUL and SAHADE'VA, of the two CUMA'RS, the CASTOR and POLLUX of *India*; and BHI'SHMA, their reputed great uncle, was the child of GANGA', or the GANGES, by SA'NTANU, whoſe brother DE'VA'PI is ſuppoſed to be ſtill alive in the city of *Calápa*; all which fictions may be charming embelliſhments of an heroick poem, but are juſt as abſurd in civil Hiſtory, as the deſcent of two royal families from the Sun and the Moon.

FOURTH

FOURTH AGE.

CHILDREN OF THE

	SUN.	MOON.	
	Urucriya,	*Janaméjaya,*	
	Vatſavrĭddha,	*Satánica,*	
	Prativyóma,	Sahaſráníca,	
	Bhánu,	As'wamédhaja,	
5.	Déváca,	Asímacrĭſhna,	5.
	Sahadéva,	Némichacra,	
	Víra,	Upta,	
	Vrĭhadas'wa,	Chitrarat'ha,	
	Bhánumat,	Suchirat'ha,	
10.	Pratícás'wa,	Dhrĭtimat,	10.
	Supratíca,	Suſhéna,	
	Marudéva,	Sunít'ha,	
	Sunacſhatra,	Nrĭchacſhuh,	
	Puſhcara,	Suc'hinala,	
15.	Antarícſha,	Pariplava,	15.
	Sutapas,	Sunaya,	
	Amitrajit,	Médhávin,	
	Vrĭhadrája,	Nrĭpanjaya,	
	Barhi,	Derva,	
20.	Crĭtanjaya,	Timi,	20.
	Ran'anjaya,	Vrĭhadrat'ha,	
	Sanjaya,	Sudáſa,	
	Slócya,	Satáníca,	
	Suddhóda,	Durmadana,	
25.	Lángalada,	Rahínara,	25.
	Praſénajit,	Dand'apán'i,	
	Cſhudraca,	Nimi,	
	Sumitra, Y. B. C. 2100.	Cſhémaca.	

In

In both families, we ſee, *thirty* generations are reckoned from YUDHISHT'HIR and from VRIHADBALA his contemporary (who was killed, in the war of *Bhárat*, by ABHIMANYU, ſon of ARJUN and father of PARI'CSHIT), to the time, when the *Solar* and *Lunar* dynaſties are believed to have become extinct in the preſent divine age; and for theſe generations the *Hindus* allot a period of *one thouſand* years only, or a *hundred* years for *three* generations; which calculation, though probably too large, is yet moderate enough, compared with their abſurd accounts of the preceding ages: but they reckon exactly the ſame number of years for *twenty* generations only in the family of JARA'SANDHA, whoſe ſon was contemporary with YUDHIST'HIR, and founded a new dynaſty of princes in *Magadha*, or *Bahár*; and this exact coincidence of the time, in which the three races are ſuppoſed to have been extinct, has the appearance of an artificial chronology, formed rather from imagination than from hiſtorical evidence; eſpecially as twenty kings, in an age comparatively modern, could not have reigned a thouſand years. I, nevertheleſs, exhibit the liſt of them as a curioſity; but am far from being convinced, that all of them ever exiſted: that, if they did exiſt, they could not have reigned more than *ſeven hundred* years, I am fully perſuaded by the courſe of nature and the concurrent opinion of mankind.

KINGS OF MAGADHA.

	Sahadéva,	Suchi,	
	Márjári,	Cſhéma,	
	Srutaſravas,	Suvrata,	
	Ayutáyuſh,	Dhermaſútra,	
5.	Niramitra,	Srama,	15.
	Sunacſhatra,	Drĭd'haſéna,	
	Vrihetſéna,	Sumati,	
	Carmajit,	Subala,	
	Srutanjaya,	Suníta,	
10.	Vipra,	Satyajit,	20.

PURAN-

PURANJAYA, ſon of the twentieth king, was put to death by his miniſter SUNACA, who placed his own ſon PRADYO'TA on the throne of his maſter; and this revolution conſtitutes an epoch of the higheſt importance in our preſent inquiry; firſt, becauſe it happened according to the *Bhágawatámrĭta*, two years exactly before BUDDHA's appearance in the ſame kingdom; next, becauſe it is believed by the *Hindus* to have taken place *three thouſand eight hundred* and *eighty-eight* years ago, or *two thouſand one hundred* years before CHRIST; and laſtly, becauſe a regular chronology, according to the number of years in each dynaſty, has been eſtabliſhed from the acceſſion of PRADYO'TA to the ſubverſion of the genuine *Hindu* government; and that chronology I will now lay before you, after obſerving only, that RA'DHA'CA'NT himſelf ſays nothing of BUDDHA in this part of his work, though he particularly mentions the two preceding *Avatára's* in their proper places.

KINGS OF MAGADHA.

	Y.B.C.
Pradyóta, ...	2100
Pálaca,	
Vis'ác'hayúpa,	
Rájaca,	
Nandiverdhana, 5 reigns = 138 years,	
Sis'unága, ...	1962
Cácaverna,	
Cſhémadherman,	
Cſhétrajnya,	
Vidhiſára, 5.	
Ajátaſatru,	
Darbhaca,	

KINGS OF MAGADHA.

	Y.B.C.
Ajaya,	
Nandiverdhana,	
Mahánandi, 10 *r* = 360 *y*.	
NANDA, ...	1602

This prince, of whom frequent mention is made in the *Sanſcrit* books, is ſaid to have been murdered, after a reign of *a hundred years*, by a very learned and ingenious, but paſſionate and vindictive, *Bráhman*, whoſe name was CHA'NACYA, and who raiſed to the throne a man of the *Maurya* race, named CHANDRAGUPTA: by the death of NANDA, and his ſons, the *Cſhatriya* family of PRADYO'TA became extinct.

MAURYA KINGS.

	Y.B.C.
Chandragupta, ...	1502
Váriſára,	
Aś'ócaverdhana,	
Suyaś'as,	
Deś'arat'ha, 5.	
Sangata,	
Sáliś'úca,	
Sómaś'arman,	
Satadhanwas,	
Vřihadrat'ha, 10 *r*. = 137 *y*.	

On the death of the tenth *Maurya* king, his place was aſſumed by his Commander in Chief, PUSHPAMITRA, of the *Sunga* nation or family.

SUNGA

SUNGA KINGS.

	Y.B.C.
Puſhpamitra, ...	1365
Agnimitra,	
Sujyéſht'ha,	
Vaſumitra,	
Abhadraca, 5.	
Pulinda,	
Ghóſha,	
Vajramitra,	
Bhágavata,	
Dévabhúti, 10 *r* = 112 *y*.	

The laſt prince was killed by his miniſter VASUDE'VA, of the *Can'n'a* race, who uſurped the throne of *Magadha*.

CANNA KINGS.

	Y.B.C.
Vaſudéva, ...	1253
Bhúmitra,	
Náráyana,	
Suſarman, 4 *r* = 345 *y*.	

A *Súdra*, of the *Andhra* family, having murdered his maſter SUSARMAN, and ſeized the government, founded a new dynaſty of

ANDHRA KINGS.

	Y.B.C.
Balin,	908
Crĭſhna,	
	Srís'ántacarna,

Sríś'ántacarna,
Paurnamáſa,
Lambódara, 5.
Vivilaca,
Méghaſwáta,
Vat'amána,
Talaca,
Sivaſwáti, 10.
Puríſhabhéru,
Sunandana,
Chacóraca,
Bat'aca,
Gómatin, 15.
Purímat,
Médas'iras,
Siraſcand'ha,
Yajnyas'rì,
Vijaya, 20.
Chandrabíja, 21 $r = 456$ *y.*

After the death of CHANDRABI'JA, which happened, according to the *Hindus*, 396 years before VICRAMA'DITYA, or 452 B.C. we hear no more of *Magadha* as an independent kingdom; but RA'DHA'CA'NT has exhibited the names of *ſeven* dynaſties, in which *ſeventy-ſix* princes are ſaid to have reigned *one thouſand three hundred and ninety-nine* years in *Avabhrĭti*, a town of the *Dacſhin*, or *South*, which we commonly call *Decan:* the names of the ſeven dynaſties, or of the families who eſtabliſhed them, are *Abhíra*, *Gardabhin*, *Canca*, *Yavana*, *Turuſhcara*, *Bhurunda*, *Maula*; of which the *Yavana's* are by ſome, not generally, ſuppoſed to have been *Ionians*, or *Greeks*, but the *Turuſhcaras* and *Maula's* are univerſally believed to have been *Turcs* and *Moguls*; yet RA'DHA'-

CA'NT

CA'NT adds: "when the *Maula* race was extinct, five princes, named "*Bhúnanda, Bangira, Sis'unandi, Yas'ónandi,* and *Pravíraca,* reigned *an* "*hundred and fix* years (or till the year 1053) in the city of *Cilacilà,*" which, he tells me, he underſtands to be in the country of the *Mahárâſhtra's,* or *Mahráta's*; and here ends his *Indian* Chronology; for "after PRAVI'RACA, ſays he, this empire was divided among *Mléch'has,* "or Infidels." This account of the *ſeven modern dynaſties* appears very doubtful in itſelf, and has no relation to our preſent inquiry; for their dominion ſeems confined to the *Decan,* without extending to *Magadha*; nor have we any reaſon to believe, that a race of *Grecian* princes ever eſtabliſhed a kingdom in either of thoſe countries: as to the *Moguls,* their dynaſty ſtill ſubſiſts, at leaſt nominally; unleſs that of *Chengiz* be meant, and his ſucceſſors could not have reigned in any part of *India* for the period of *three hundred* years, which is aſſigned to the *Maulas*; nor is it probable, that the word *Turc,* which an *Indian* could have eaſily pronounced and clearly expreſſed in the *Nágarì* letters, ſhould have been corrupted into *Turuſhcara.* On the whole we may ſafely cloſe the moſt authentick ſyſtem of *Hindu* Chronology, that I have yet been able to procure, with the death of CHANDRABI'JA. Should any farther information be attainable, we ſhall, perhaps, in due time attain it either from books or inſcriptions in the *Sanſcrit* language; but from the materials, with which we are at preſent ſupplied, we may eſtabliſh as indubitable the two following propoſitions; that the *three firſt* ages of the *Hindus* are chiefly *mythological,* whether their mythology was founded on the dark enigmas of their aſtronomers or on the heroick fictions of their poets, and, that the *fourth,* or *hiſtorical,* age cannot be carried farther back than about two thouſand years before CHRIST. Even in the hiſtory of the preſent age, the generations of men and the reigns of kings are extended beyond the courſe of nature, and beyond the average reſulting from the accounts of the *Bráhmans* themſelves; for they aſſign to *an hundred and forty-two* modern reigns a period of *three thouſand one hun-*

dred

dred and fifty-three years, or about *twenty-two* years to a reign one with another; yet they repreſent only four *Canna* princes on the throne of *Magadha* for a period of *three hundred* and *forty-five* years; now it is even more improbable, that four ſucceſſive kings ſhould have reigned *eighty-ſix years and four months* each, than that NANDA ſhould have been king a *hundred* years and murdered at laſt. Neither account can be credited; but, that we may allow the higheſt probable antiquity to the *Hindu* government, let us grant, that *three generations* of men were equal on an average to *an hundred* years, and that *Indian* princes have reigned, one with another, *two and twenty:* then reckoning thirty generations from ARJUN, the brother of YUDHISHT'HIRA, to the extinction of his race, and taking the *Chineſe* account of BUDDHA's birth from M. DE GUIGNES, as the moſt authentick medium between ABU'LFAZL and the *Tibetians*, we may arrange the corrected *Hindu* Chronology according to the following table, ſupplying the word *about* or *nearly*, (ſince perfect accuracy cannot be attained and ought not to be required), before every date.

	Y.B.C.
Abhimanyu *ſon of* ARJUN, . . .	2029
Pradyóta, ...	1029
BUDDHA, ...	1027
Nanda, ...	699
Balin, ...	149
VICRAMA'DITYA, ...	56
DE'VAPA'LA, *king of* Gaur, . . .	23

If we take the date of BUDDHA's appearance from ABU'LFAZL, we muſt place ABHIMANYU 2368 years before CHRIST, unleſs we calculate from the twenty kings of *Magadha*, and allow *ſeven hundred* years, inſtead of *a thouſand*, between ARJUN and PRADYO'TA, which will bring

us

us again very nearly to the date exhibited in the table; and, perhaps, we can hardly approach nearer to the truth. As to *Rájà* NANDA, if he really ſat on the throne a whole century, we muſt bring down the *Andhra* dynaſty to the age of VICRAMA'DITYA, who with his feudatories had probably obtained ſo much power during the reign of thoſe princes, that they had little more than a nominal ſovereignty, which ended with CHANDRABI'JA in the *third* or *fourth* century of the *Chriſtian* era; having, no doubt, been long reduced to inſignificance by the kings of *Gaur*, deſcended from GO'PA'LA. But, if the author of the *Dabiſtàn* be warranted in fixing the birth of BUDDHA *ten* years before the *Caliyug*, we muſt thus correct the Chronological Table:

	Y.B.C.
BUDDHA, ...	1027
Paricſhit, ...	1017
Pradyót (reckoning 20 *or* 30 generations), .	317 or 17
	Y.A.C.
Nanda, ...	13 or 313

This correction would oblige us to place VICRAMA'DITYA before NANDA, to whom, as all the *Pandits* agree, he was long poſterior; and, if this be an hiſtorical fact, it ſeems to confirm the *Bhágawatâmrĭta*, which fixes the beginning of the *Caliyug* about *a thouſand* years before BUDDHA; beſides that BALIN would then be brought down at leaſt to the ſixth and CHANDRABI'JA to the tenth century after CHRIST, without leaving room for the ſubſequent dynaſties, if they reigned ſucceſſively.

Thus have we given a ſketch of *Indian* Hiſtory through the longeſt period fairly aſſignable to it, and have traced the foundation of the *Indian*

Indian empire above *three thouſand eight hundred years* from the preſent time; but, on a ſubject in itſelf ſo obſcure, and ſo much clouded by the fictions of the *Bráhmans*, who, to aggrandize themſelves, have deſignedly raiſed their antiquity beyond the truth, we muſt be ſatisfied with probable conjecture and juſt reaſoning from the beſt attainable data; nor can we hope for a ſyſtem of *Indian* Chronology, to which no objection can be made, unleſs the Aſtronomical books in *Sanſcrit* ſhall clearly aſcertain the places of the colures in ſome preciſe years of the hiſtorical age, not by looſe traditions, like that of a coarſe obſervation by CHIRON, who poſſibly never exiſted (for "he lived, ſays NEWTON, in the *golden* "age," which muſt long have preceded the *Argonautick* expedition), but by ſuch evidence as our aſtronomers and ſcholars ſhall allow to be unexceptionable.

A CHRO-

A

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE,

According to one of the HYPOTHESES *intimated in the preceding Tract.*

CHRISTIAN *and* MUSELMAN.	HINDU.	*Years from* 1788 *of our era.*
ADAM,	MENU I. Age I.	5794
NOAH,	MENU II.	4737
Deluge,		4138
Nimrod,	*Hiranyacaſipu*. Age II.	4006
Bel,	*Bali*,	3892
RAMA,	RAMA. Age III.	3817
Noah's death,		3787
	Pradyóta,	2817
	BUDDHA. Age IV.	2815
	Nanda,	2487
	Balin,	1937
	Vicramáditya,	1844
	Dévapála,	1811
CHRIST,		1787
	Náráyanpála,	1721
	Saca,	1709
Walìd,		1080
Mahmùd,		786
Chengiz,		548
Taimùr,		391
Babur,		276
Nádirſhàh,		49

A

SUPPLEMENT TO THE ESSAY

ON

INDIAN CHRONOLOGY.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

OUR ingenious aſſociate Mr. SAMUEL DAVIS, whom I name with reſpect and applauſe, and who will ſoon, I truſt, convince M. BAILLY, that it is very poſſible, for an *European* to tranſlate and explain the *Súrya Siddhánta*, favoured me lately with a copy, taken by his *Pandit*, of the original paſſage, mentioned in his paper on the Aſtronomical Computations of the *Hindus*, concerning the places of the colures in the time of VARA'HA, compared with their poſition in the age of a certain *Muni*, or ancient *Indian* philoſopher; and the paſſage appears to afford evidence of two actual obſervations, which will aſcertain the chronology of the *Hindus*, if not by rigorous demonſtration, at leaſt by a near approach to it.

The copy of the *Várábíſanhità*, from which the three pages, received by me, had been tranſcribed, is unhappily ſo incorrect (if the tranſcript itſelf was not haſtily made) that every line of it muſt be disfigured by ſome

ſome groſs errour; and my *Pandit*, who examined the paſſage carefully at his own houſe, gave it up as inexplicable; ſo that, if I had not ſtudied the ſyſtem of *Sanſcrit* proſody, I ſhould have laid it aſide in deſpair: but though it was written as proſe, without any ſort of diſtinction or punctuation, yet, when I read it aloud, my ear caught in ſome ſentences the cadence of verſe, and of a particular metre, called *A'ryà*, which is regulated (not by the *number* of ſyllables, like other *Indian* meaſures, but) by the proportion of *times*, or *ſyllabick moments*, in the four diviſions, of which every ſtanza conſiſts. By numbering thoſe moments and fixing their proportion, I was enabled to reſtore the text of VARA'HA, with the perfect aſſent of the learned *Bráhmen*, who attends me; and, with his aſſiſtance, I alſo corrected the comment, written by BHATTO'TPALA, who, it ſeems, was a ſon of the author, together with three curious paſſages, which are cited in it. Another *Pandit* afterwards brought me a copy of the whole original work, which confirmed my conjectural emendations, except in two immaterial ſyllables, and except, that the firſt of the ſix couplets in the text is quoted in the commentary from a different work entitled *Panchaſiddhántică*: five of them were compoſed by VARA'HA himſelf, and the third chapter of his treatiſe begins with them.

Before I produce the original verſes, it may be uſeful to give you an idea of the *A'ryà* meaſure, which will appear more diſtinctly in *Latin* than in any modern language of *Europe*:

Tigridas, apros, thoas, tyrannos, peſſima monſtra, venemur:
Dic hinnulus, dic lepus male quid egerint graminivori.

The couplet might be ſo arranged, as to begin and end with the cadence of an hexameter and pentameter, ſix *moments* being interpoſed in the middle of the long, and ſeven in that of the ſhort, hemiſtich:

Thoas,

Thoas, apros, tigridas nos *venemur*, pejoreſque tyrannos:
Dic tibi cerva, lepus *tibi dic male quid* egerit herbivorus.

Since the *A'ryà* meaſure, however, may be almoſt infinitely varied, the couplet would have a form completely *Roman*, if the proportion of *ſyllabick inſtants*, in the long and ſhort verſes, were *twenty-four* to *twenty*, inſtead of *thirty* to *twenty-ſeven:*

Venor apros tigridaſque, et, peſſima monſtra, tyrannos:
Cerva mali quid agunt herbivoruſque lepus?

I now exhibit the five ſtanzas of VARA'HA in *European* characters, with an etching of the two firſt, which are the moſt important, in the original *Dévanágarì:*

As'léſhárdháddacſhinamuttaramayanan ravérdhaniſht''hádyan
Núnan cadáchidásídyénóctan púrva s'aſtréſhu.
Sámpratamayanan ſavituh carcat'acádyan mrĭgáditas'chányat:
Uctábhávè vicrĭtih pratyacſhaperícſhanair vyactih.
Dúraſt'hachihnavédyádudayé'ſtamayé'pivà ſahaſránſóh,
Ch'háyápravés'anirgamachihnairvà mandálè mahati.
Aprápya macaramarcò vinivrĭttò hanti ſáparán yámyán,
Carcat'acamaſanpráptò vinivrĭttas'chóttarán ſaindrín.
Uttaramayanamatítya vyávrĭttah cſhémas'aſya vrĭddhicarah,
Pracrĭtiſt'has'chápyévan vicrĭtigatir bhayacriduſhnáns'uh.

Of the five couplets thus exhibited, the following tranſlation is moſt ſcrupulouſly literal:

" Certainly the ſouthern ſolſtice was once in the middle of " *As'léſhà*, the northern in the firſt *degree* of *Dhaniſht'hà*, by what *is* " recorded

" recorded in former *Sáſtras*. At preſent one ſolſtice is in the firſt *de-*
" *gree* of *Carcata*, and the other in the firſt of *Macara:* that which *is*
" recorded, not appearing, a change *muſt have happened*; *and* the proof
" ariſes from ocular demonſtrations; *that is*, by obſerving the remote
" object and its marks at the riſing or ſetting of the ſun, or by the
" marks, in a large *graduated* circle, of the ſhadow's ingreſs and egreſs.
" The ſun, by turning back without having reached *Macara*, deſtroys
" the ſouth and the weſt; by turning back without having reached
" *Carcata*, the north and eaſt. By returning, when he has juſt paſſed
" the ſummer ſolſtitial point, he makes wealth ſecure and grain abund-
" ant, ſince he moves thus according to nature; but the ſun, by mov-
" ing unnaturally, excites terrour."

Now the *Hindu* Aſtronomers agree, that the 1ſt *January* 1790 was in the year 4891 of the *Caliyuga*, or their *fourth* period, at the beginning of which, they ſay, the equinoctial points were in the firſt degrees of *Méſha* and *Tulà*; but they are alſo of opinion, that the vernal equinox oſcillates from the third of *Mína* to the twenty-ſeventh of *Méſha* and back again in 7200 years, which they divide into four *pádas*, and conſequently that it moves, in the two intermediate *pádas*, from the firſt to the twenty-ſeventh of *Méſha* and back again in 3600 years; the colure cutting their ecliptick in the firſt of *Méſha*, which coincides with the firſt of *Aſwiní*, at the beginning of every ſuch oſcillatory period. VARA'HA, ſurnamed MIHIRA, or the Sun, from his knowledge of aſtronomy, and uſually diſtinguiſhed by the title of *Achárya*, or teacher of the *Véda*, lived confeſſedly, when the *Caliyuga* was far advanced; and, ſince by actual obſervation he found the ſolſtitial points in the firſt degrees of *Carcata* and *Macara*, the equinoctial points were at the ſame time in the firſt of *Méſha* and *Tulà:* he lived, therefore, in the year 3600 of the fourth *Indian* period, or 1291 years before 1ſt *January* 1790, that is, about the year 499 of our era. This date correſponds with the *ayanánſa*,

ayanánſa, or preceſſion, calculated by the rule of the *Súrya ſiddhánta*; for 19° 21′ 54″ would be the preceſſion of the equinox in 1291 years according to the *Hindu* computation of 54″ annually, which gives us the origin of the *Indian* Zodiack nearly; but, by NEWTON's demonſtrations, which agree as well with the phenomena, as the varying denſity of our earth will admit, the equinox recedes about 50″ every year, and has receded 17° 55′ 50″ ſince the time of VARA'HA, which gives us more nearly in our own ſphere the firſt degree of *Méſha* in that of the *Hindus*. By the obſervation recorded in older *Sáſtras*, the equinox had gone back 23° 20′, or about 1680 years had intervened, between the age of the *Muni* and that of the modern aſtronomer: the former obſervation, therefore, muſt have been made about 2971 years before 1ſt *January* 1790, that is, 1181 before CHRIST.

We come now to the commentary, which contains information of the greateſt importance. By former *Sáſtras* are meant, ſays BHATTO'TPALA, the books of PARA'SARA and of other *Munis*; and he then cites from the *Párá ſarí Sanhità* the following paſſage, which is in modulated proſe and in a ſtyle much reſembling that of the *Védas*:

Sraviſhtádyát pauſhnárdhántan charah s'is'irò; vaſantah pauſhnárdhát róhinyántan; ſaumyádyádas'léſhárdhántan gríſhmah; právrĭd'as'léſhárdhát haſtántan; chitrádyát jyéſht'hárdhántan s'arat; hémantò jyéſht'-'hárdhát vaiſhn'avántan.

" The ſeaſon of *Sis'ira* is from the firſt of *Dhaniſht'hà* to the middle " of *Révatì*; that of *Vaſanta* from the middle of *Révatì* to the end of " *Róhinì*; that of *Gríſhma* from the beginning of *Mrĭgas'iras* to the " middle of *As'léſhà*; that of *Verſhà* from the middle of *As'léſhà* to the " end of *Haſta*; that of *Sarad* from the firſt of *Chitrà* to the middle

" of

" of *Jyéſht'hà*; that of *Hémanta* from the middle of *Jyéſht'hà* to the " end of *Sravanà*."

This account of the ſix *Indian* ſeaſons, each of which is co-extenſive with two ſigns, or four lunar ſtations and a half, places the ſolſtitial points, as VARA'HA has aſſerted, in the firſt degree of *Dhaniſht'hà*, and the middle, or 0° 40′, of *Aſ'léſhà*, while the equinoctial points were in the *tenth* degree of *Bharanì* and 3° 20′ of *Vis'ác'hà*; but, in the time of VARA'HA, the ſolſtitial colure paſſed through the 10th degree of *Punarvaſu* and 3° 20′ of *Uttaráſhárà*, while the equinoctial colure cut the *Hindu* ecliptick in the firſt of *Aſwinì* and 0° 40′ of *Chitrà*, or the *Yóga* and only ſtar of that manſion, which, by the way, is indubitably the *Spike* of the Virgin, from the known longitude of which all other points in the *Indian* Zodiack may be computed. It cannot eſcape notice, that PARA'SARA does not uſe in this paſſage the phraſe *at preſent*, which occurs in the text of VARA'HA; ſo that the places of the colures might have been aſcertained *before* his time, and a conſiderable change might have happened in their true poſition without any change in the phraſes, by which the ſeaſons were diſtinguiſhed; as our popular language in aſtronomy remains unaltered, though the Zodiacal aſteriſms are now removed a whole ſign from the places, where they have left their names: it is manifeſt, nevertheleſs, that PARA'SARA muſt have written *within twelve centuries* before the beginning of our era, and that ſingle fact, as we ſhall preſently ſhow, leads to very momentous conſequences in regard to the ſyſtem of *Indian* hiſtory and literature.

On the compariſon, which might eaſily be made, between the colures of PARA'SAR and thoſe aſcribed by EUDOXUS to CHIRON, the ſuppoſed aſſiſtant and inſtructor of the *Argonauts*, I ſhall ſay very little; becauſe the whole *Argonautick* ſtory (which neither was, according to HERODOTUS, nor, indeed, could have been, originally *Grecian)*, appears, even when

when ſtripped of its poetical and fabulous ornaments, extremely diſputable; and, whether it was founded on a league of the *Helladian* princes and ſtates for the purpoſe of checking, on a favourable opportunity, the overgrown power of *Egypt*, or with a view to ſecure the commerce of the *Euxine* and appropriate the wealth of *Colchis*, or, as I am diſpoſed to believe, on an emigration from *Africa* and *Aſia* of that adventurous race, who had firſt been eſtabliſhed in *Chaldea*; whatever, in ſhort, gave riſe to the fable, which the old poets have ſo richly embelliſhed, and the old hiſtorians have ſo inconſiderately adopted, it ſeems to me very clear, even on the principles of NEWTON, and on the ſame authorities to which he refers, that the voyage of the *Argonauts* muſt have preceded the year, in which his calculations led him to place it. BATTUS built *Cyrene*, ſays our great philoſopher, on the ſite of *Iraſa*, the city of ANTÆUS, in the year 633 before CHRIST; yet he ſoon after calls EURIPYLUS, with whom the *Argonauts* had a conference, king of *Cyrene*, and in both paſſages he cites PINDAR, whom I acknowledge to have been the moſt learned, as well as the ſublimeſt, of poets. Now, if I underſtand PINDAR (which I will not aſſert, and I neither poſſeſs nor remember at preſent the *Scholia*, which I formerly peruſed) the fourth *Pythian* Ode begins with a ſhort panegyrick on ARCESILAS of *Cyrene*; "Where, ſays the bard, the prieſteſs, who ſat near the golden "eagles of JOVE, propheſied of old, when APOLLO was not abſent "from his manſion, that BATTUS, the colonizer of fruitful *Lybia*, "having juſt left the ſacred iſle *(Thera)*, ſhould build a city excell-"ing in cars, on the ſplendid breaſt of earth, and, *with the ſeventeenth* "*generation*, ſhould refer to himſelf the *Therean* prediction of MEDEA, "which that princeſs of the *Colchians*, that impetuous daughter of "ÆETES, breathed from her immortal mouth, and thus delivered to the "half-divine mariners of the warriour JASON." From this introduction to the nobleſt and moſt animated of the *Argonautick* poems, it appears, that *fifteen complete generations* had intervened between the voyage

of JASON and the emigration of BATTUS; ſo that, conſidering *three* generations as equal to *an hundred* or *an hundred and twenty* years, which NEWTON admits to be the *Grecian* mode of computing them, we muſt place that voyage at leaſt *five* or *ſix hundred* years before the time fixed by NEWTON himſelf, according to his own computation, for the building of *Cyrene*; that is, *eleven* or *twelve hundred and thirty-three* years before CHRIST; an age very near on a medium to that of PARA'SARA. If the poet means afterwards to ſay, as I underſtand him, that ARCESILAS, his contemporary, was the *eighth* in deſcent from BATTUS, we ſhall draw nearly the ſame concluſion, without having recourſe to the unnatural reckoning of *thirty-three* or *forty* years to a generation; for PINDAR was forty years old, when the *Perſians*, having croſſed the *Helleſpont*, were nobly reſiſted at *Thermopylæ* and glorioufly defeated at *Salamis:* he was born, therefore, about the ſixty-fifth *Olympiad*, or five hundred and twenty years before our era; ſo that, by allowing more naturally *ſix* or *ſeven hundred* years to *twenty-three* generations, we may at a medium place the voyage of JASON about one thouſand one hundred and ſeventy years before our Saviour, or about *forty-five* years before the beginning of the *Newtonian* chronology.

The deſcription of the old colures by EUDOXUS, if we implicitly rely on his teſtimony and that of HIPPARCHUS, who was, indiſputably, a great aſtronomer for the age, in which he lived, affords, I allow, ſufficient evidence of ſome rude obſervation about 937 years before the *Chriſtian* epoch; and, if the cardinal points had receded from thoſe colures $36^{\circ}\ 29'\ 10''$ at the beginning of the year 1690, and $37^{\circ}\ 52'\ 30''$ on the firſt of *January* in the preſent year, they muſt have gone back $3^{\circ}\ 23'\ 20''$ between the obſervation implied by PARA'SAR and that recorded by EUDOXUS; or, in other words, 244 years muſt have elapſed between the two obſervations: but, this diſquiſition having little relation to our principal ſubject, I proceed to the laſt couplets of our *Indian* aſtronomer

aſtronomer VARA'HA MIHIRA, which, though merely aſtrological and conſequently abſurd, will give occaſion to remarks of no ſmall importance. They imply, that, when the ſolſtices are not in the firſt degrees of *Carcata* and *Macara*, the motion of the ſun is contrary to nature, and being cauſed, as the commentator intimates, by ſome *utpáta*, or preternatural agency, muſt neceſſarily be productive of misfortune; and this vain idea ſeems to indicate a very ſuperficial knowledge even of the ſyſtem, which VARA'HA undertook to explain; but he might have adopted it ſolely as a religious tenet, on the authority of GARGA, a prieſt of eminent ſanctity, who expreſſes the ſame wild notion in the following couplet:

Yadà nivertatè'práptah ſraviſhtámuttaráyanè,
Aſléſhán dacſhiné'práptaſtadàvidyànmahadbhayan

" When *the ſun* returns, not having reached *Dhaniſht'hà* in the " northern ſolſtice, *or* not having reached *As'léſhà* in the ſouthern, then " let *a man* feel great apprehenſion of danger."

PARA'SARA himſelf entertained a ſimilar opinion, that any irregularity in the ſolſtices would indicate approaching calamity: *Yadàpráptò vaiſhnavántam*, ſays he, *udanmárgè prepadyatè, dacſhiné aſléſhám và mahábhayáya*, that is, " When, having reached the end of *Sravanà*, in " the northern path, or half of *As'léſhà* in the ſouthern, he ſtill ad- " vances, *it is* a cauſe of great fear." This notion poſſibly had its riſe, before the regular preceſſion of the cardinal points had been obſerved; but we may alſo remark, that ſome of the lunar manſions were conſidered as inauſpicious, and others as fortunate: thus MENU, the firſt *Indian* lawgiver, ordains, that certain rites ſhall be performed under the influence of a happy *Nacſhatra*; and, where he forbids any female name to be taken from a conſtellation, the moſt learned commentator gives

A'rdrà

Ardrà and *Révatì* as examples of ill omened names, appearing by deſign to ſkip over others, that muſt firſt have occurred to him. Whether *Dhaniſht'hà* and *Aſléſhà* were inauſpicious or proſperous, I have not learned; but, whatever might be the ground of VARA'HA's aſtrological rule, we may collect from his aſtronomy, which was grounded on obſervation, that the ſolſtice had receded *at leaſt* 23° 20′ between his time and that of PARA'SARA; for, though he refers its poſition to the *ſigns*, inſtead of the *lunar manſions*, yet all the *Pandits*, with whom I have converſed on the ſubject, unanimouſly aſſert, that the firſt degrees of *Méſha* and *Aſwinì* are coincident: ſince the two ancient ſages name only the lunar aſteriſms, it is probable, that the ſolar diviſion of the Zodiack into twelve ſigns was not generally uſed in their days; and we know from the comment on the *Súrya Siddhánta*, that the lunar month, by which all religious ceremonies are ſtill regulated, was in uſe before the ſolar. When M. BAILLY aſks, "why the *Hindus* eſtabliſhed the beginning of the preceſſion, according to their ideas of it, in the year of CHRIST 499," to which his calculations alſo had led him, we anſwer, becauſe *in that year* the vernal equinox was found by obſervation in the origin of their ecliptick; and ſince they were of opinion, that it muſt have had the ſame poſition in the firſt year of the *Caliyuga*, they were induced by their erroneous theory to fix the beginning of their fourth period 3600 years before the time of VARA'HA, and to account for PARA'SARA's obſervation by ſuppoſing an *utpáta*, or *prodigy*.

To what purpoſe, it may be aſked, have we aſcertained the age of the *Munis?* Who was PARA'SARA? Who was GARGA? With whom were they contemporary, or with whoſe age may theirs be compared? What light will theſe inquiries throw on the hiſtory of *India* or of mankind? I am happy in being able to anſwer thoſe queſtions with confidence and preciſion.

All

All the *Bráhmens* agree, that only one PARA'SARA is named in their ſacred records; that he compoſed the aſtronomical book before-cited, and a law-tract, which is now in my poſſeſſion; that he was the grandſon of VASISHT'HA, another aſtronomer and legiſlator, whoſe works are ſtill extant, and who was the preceptor of RA'MA, king of *Ayódhyà*; that he was the father of VYA'SA, by whom the *Védas* were arranged in the form, which they now bear, and whom CRISHNA himſelf names with exalted praiſe in the *Gítà*; ſo that, by the admiſſion of the *Pandits* themſelves, we find only three generations between two of the RA'MAS, whom they conſider as incarnate *portions* of the divinity; and PARA'SAR might have lived till the beginning of the *Caliyuga*, which the miſtaken doctrine of an oſcillation in the cardinal points has compelled the *Hindus* to place 1920 years too early. This errour, added to their fanciful arrangement of the four ages, has been the ſource of many abſurdities; for they inſiſt, that VA'LMIC, whom they cannot but allow to have been contemporary with RA'MACHANDRA, lived in the age of VYA'SA, who conſulted him on the compoſition of the *Mahábhárat*, and who was perſonally known to BALARA'MA, the brother of CRISHNA: when a very learned *Bráhmen* had repeated to me an agreeable ſtory of a converſation between VA'LMIC and VYA'SA, I expreſſed my ſurprize at an interview between two bards, whoſe ages were ſeparated by a period of 864,000 years; but he ſoon reconciled himſelf to ſo monſtrous an anachroniſm, by obſerving that the longevity of the *Munis* was preternatural, and that no limit could be ſet to divine power. By the ſame recourſe to miracles or to propheſy, he would have anſwered another objection equally fatal to his chronological ſyſtem: it is agreed by all, that the lawyer YA'GYAWALCYA was an attendant on the court of JANACA, whoſe daughter SI'TA' was the conſtant, but unfortunate, wife of the great RA'MA, the hero of VA'LMIC's poem; but that lawyer himſelf, at the very opening of his work, which now lies before me, names both PARA'SAR and VYA'SA among twenty authors, whoſe tracts form

form the body of original *Indian* law. By the way, ſince VASISHT'HA is more than once named in the *Mánavíſanhità*, we may be certain, that the laws aſcribed to MENU, in whatever age they might have been firſt promulgated, could not have received the form, in which we now ſee them, above *three thouſand* years ago. The age and functions of GARGA lead to conſequences yet more intereſting: he was confeſſedly the *puróhita*, or officiating prieſt, of CRISHNA himſelf, who, when only a herdſman's boy at *Mat'hurà*, revealed his divine character to GARGA, by running to him with more than mortal benignity on his countenance, when the prieſt had invoked NA'RA'YAN. His daughter was eminent for her piety and her learning, and the *Bráhmans* admit, without conſidering the conſequence of their admiſſion, that ſhe is thus addreſſed in the *Véda* itſelf: *Yata úrdhwaṅ nò và ſamópi, GA'RGI, éſha ádityò dyámúrdhànaṅ tapati, dyà và bhúmiṅ tapati, bhúmyà ſubhraṅ tapati, lócán tapati, antaraṅ tapatyanantaraṅ tapati*; or, "That Sun, O daughter of "GARGA, than which nothing is higher, to which nothing is equal, "enlightens the ſummit of the ſky; with the ſky enlightens the earth; "with the earth enlightens the lower worlds; enlightens the higher "worlds, enlightens other worlds; it enlightens the breaſt, enlightens "all beſides the breaſt." From theſe facts, which the *Bráhmans* cannot deny, and from theſe conceſſions, which they unanimouſly make, we may reaſonably infer, that, if VYASA was not the compoſer of the *Védas*, he added at leaſt ſomething of his own to the ſcattered fragments of a more ancient work, or perhaps to the looſe traditions, which he had collected; but, whatever be the comparative antiquity of the *Hindu* ſcriptures, we may ſafely conclude, that the *Moſaick* and *Indian* chronologies are perfectly conſiſtent; that MENU, ſon of BRAHMA', was the *A'dima*, or *firſt*, created mortal, and conſequently our ADAM; that MENU, child of the Sun, was preſerved with *ſeven* others, in a *bahitra* or capacious ark, from an univerſal deluge, and muſt, therefore, be our NOAH; that HIRANYACASIPU, the giant *with a golden axe*, and

and *Vali* or *Bali*, were impious and arrogant monarchs, and, moſt probably, our NIMROD and BELUS; that the three RA'MAS, two of whom were invincible warriors, and the third, not only valiant in war, but the patron of agriculture and *wine*, which derives an epithet from his name, were different repreſentations of the *Grecian* BACCHUS, and either the RA'MA of Scripture, or his colony perſonified, or the Sun firſt adored by his idolatrous family, that a conſiderable emigration from *Chaldea* into *Greece*, *Italy*, and *India*, happened about *twelve* centuries before the birth of our Saviour; that SA'CYA, or SI'SAK, about two hundred years after VYA'SA, either in perſon or by a colony from *Egypt*, imported into this country the mild hereſy of the ancient *Bauddhas*; and that the dawn of true *Indian* hiſtory appears only three or four centuries before the *Chriſtian* era, the preceding ages being clouded by allegory or fable.

As a ſpecimen of that fabling and allegorizing ſpirit, which has ever induced the *Bráhmens* to diſguiſe their whole ſyſtem of hiſtory, philoſophy, and religion, I produce a paſſage from the *Bhágavat*, which, however ſtrange and ridiculous, is very curious in itſelf and cloſely connected with the ſubject of this eſſay: it is taken from the fifth *Scandha*, or ſection, which is written in modulated proſe. "There are ſome, "ſays the *Indian* author, who, for the purpoſe of meditating intenſely "on the holy ſon of VASUDE'VA, imagine yon celeſtial ſphere to re- "preſent the figure of that aquatick animal, which we call *Sis'umára:* "its head being turned downwards, and its body bent in a circle, they "conceive *Dhruva*, or the pole-ſtar, to be fixed on the point of its "tail; on the middle part of the tail they ſee four ſtars, *Prejápati*, "*Agni*, *Indra*, *Dherma*, and on its baſe two others, *Dhátrĭ* and "*Vidhátrĭ:* on its rump are the *Septarſhis*, or ſeven ſtars of the *Sacata*, "or *Wain*; on its back the path of the Sun, called *Ajavít'hì*, or the "*Series of Kids*; on its belly the *Gangà* of the ſky: *Punarvaſu* and

"*Puſhya*

" *Puſhya* gleam reſpectively on its right and left haunches; *A'rdrà* and " *Aś'léſhà* on its right and left feet *or fins*; *Abhijit* and *Uttaráſhád'hà* in " its right and left noſtrils; *Sravanà* and *Purváſhad'hà* in its right and " left eyes; *Dhaniſht'hà* and *Múla* on its right and left ears. Eight con- " ſtellations, belonging to the ſummer ſolſtice, *Maghá*, *Púrvap'halgunì*, " *Uttarap'halgunì*, *Haſta*, *Chitrà*, *Swátì*, *Viſác'hà*, *Anurádhà*, may be " conceived in the ribs of its left ſide; and as many aſteriſms, con- " nected with the winter ſolſtice, *Mrigaś'iras*, *Róhinì*, *Critticà*, *Bha-* " *ranì*, *Aſwinì*, *Révatì*, *Uttarabhadrapadà*, *Púrvabhadrapadà*, may be " imagined on the ribs of its right ſide in an inverſe order: let *Satab-* " *hiſhà* and *Jyéſht'hà* be placed on its right and left ſhoulders. In its " upper jaw is *Agaſtya*, in its lower *Yama*; in its mouth the planet " *Mangala*; in its part of generation, *Sanaiś'chara*; on its hump, *Vri-* " *haſpati*; in its breaſt, the Sun; in its heart, *Náráyan*; in its front " the moon; in its navel, *Uś'anas*; on its two nipples the two *Aſwinas*; " in its aſcending and deſcending breaths, *Budha*; on its throat, *Ráhu*; " in all its limbs, *Cétus*, or comets; and in its hairs, or briſtles, the " whole multitude of ſtars." It is neceſſary to remark, that, although the *ś'iś'umára* be generally deſcribed as the *ſea-hog*, or *porpoiſe*, which we frequently have ſeen playing in the *Ganges*, yet *ſúſmàr*, which ſeems derived from the *Sanſcrit*, means in *Perſian* a large *lizard:* the paſſage juſt exhibited may nevertheleſs relate to an animal of the cetaceous order, and poſſibly to the dolphin of the ancients. Before I leave the ſphere of the *Hindus*, I cannot help mentioning a ſingular fact: in the *Sanſcrit* language *Rĭcſha* means a *conſtellation* and a *bear*, ſo that *Maharcſha* may denote either a *great bear* or a *great aſteriſm*. Etymologiſts may, perhaps, derive the *Megas arctos* of the *Greeks* from an *Indian* compound ill underſtood; but I will only obſerve, with the wild *American*, that a bear *with a very long tail* could never have occurred to the imagination of any one, who had ſeen the animal. I may be permitted to add, on the ſubject of the *Indian* Zodiack, that, if I have erred, in a former

former eſſay, where the longitude of the lunar manſions is computed from the firſt ſtar in our conſtellation of the Ram, I have been led into errour by the very learned and ingenious M. Bailly, who relied, I preſume, on the authority of M. Le Gentil : the origin of the *Hindu* Zodiack, according to the *Súrya Siddhánta*, muſt be nearly ♈ 19° 21′ 54″, in our ſphere, and the longitude of *Chitrà*, or the Spike, muſt of courſe be 199° 21′ 54″ from the vernal equinox ; but, ſince it is difficult by that computation, to arrange the twenty-ſeven manſions and their ſeveral ſtars, as they are delineated and enumerated in the *Retnamálà*, I muſt for the preſent ſuppoſe with M. Bailly, that the *Zodiack* of the *Hindus* had two origins, one conſtant and the other variable ; and a farther inquiry into the ſubject muſt be reſerved for a ſeaſon of retirement and leiſure.

NOTE

TO

MR. VANSITTART'S PAPER

ON

THE AFGHANS BEING DESCENDED FROM THE JEWS.

BY THE PRESIDENT.

THIS account of the *Afghàns* may lead to a very intereſting diſcovery. We learn from ESDRAS, that the Ten Tribes, after a wandering journey, came to a country called *Arſareth*; where, we may ſuppoſe, they ſettled: now the *Afghàns* are ſaid by the beſt *Perſian* hiſtorians to be deſcended from the *Jews*; they have traditions among themſelves of ſuch a deſcent; and it is even aſſerted, that their families are diſtinguiſhed by the names of *Jewiſh* tribes, although, ſince their converſion to the *Iſlám*, they ſtudiouſly conceal their origin; the *Puſhto* language, of which I have ſeen a dictionary, has a manifeſt reſemblance to the *Chaldaick*; and a conſiderable diſtrict under their dominion is called *Hazáreh*, or *Hazáret*, which might eaſily have been changed into the word uſed by ESDRAS. I ſtrongly recommend an inquiry into the literature and hiſtory of the *Afghàns*.

ON

THE ANTIQUITY

OF

THE INDIAN ZODIACK.

By the PRESIDENT.

I ENGAGE to ſupport an opinion (which the learned and induſtrious M. MONTUCLA ſeems to treat with extreme contempt), that the *Indian* diviſion of the Zodiack was not borrowed from the *Greeks* or *Arabs*, but, having been known in this country from time immemorial, and being the ſame in part with that uſed by other nations of the old *Hindu* race, was probably invented by the firſt progenitors of that race before their diſperſion. "The *Indians*, he ſays, have two diviſions of the "Zodiack; one, like that of the *Arabs*, relating to the moon, and con- "ſiſting of *twenty-ſeven* equal parts, by which they can tell very nearly "the hour of the night; another relating to the ſun, and, like ours, con- "taining twelve ſigns, to which they have given as many names cor- "reſponding with thoſe, which we have borrowed from the *Greeks*." All that is true; but he adds: "It is highly probable that they received "them at ſome time or another by the intervention of the *Arabs*; for "no man, ſurely, can perſuade himſelf, that it is the ancient diviſion of "the Zodiack formed, according to ſome authors, by the forefathers of "mankind and ſtill preſerved among the *Hindus*." Now I undertake

to

to prove, that the *Indian* Zodiack was not borrowed mediately or directly from the *Arabs* or *Greeks*; and, ſince the ſolar diviſion of it in *India* is the ſame in ſubſtance with that uſed in *Greece*, we may reaſonably conclude, that both *Greeks* and *Hindus* received it from an older nation, who firſt gave names to the luminaries of heaven, and from whom both *Greeks* and *Hindus*, as their ſimilarity in language and religion fully evinces, had a common deſcent.

The ſame writer afterwards intimates, that "the time, when *Indian* "Aſtronomy received its moſt conſiderable improvement, from which "it has now, as he imagines, wholly declined, was either the age, "when the *Arabs*, who eſtabliſhed themſelves in *Perſia* and *Sogdiana*, "had a great intercourſe with the *Hindus*, or that, when the ſucceſſors "of CHENGI'Z united both *Arabs* and *Hindus* under one vaſt domi-"nion." It is not the object of this eſſay, to correct the hiſtorical errors in the paſſage laſt-cited, nor to defend the aſtronomers of *India* from the charge of groſs ignorance in regard to the figure of the earth and the diſtances of the heavenly bodies; a charge, which MONTUCLA very boldly makes on the authority, I believe, of father SOUCIET: I will only remark, that, in our converſations with the *Pandits*, we muſt never confound the ſyſtem of the *Jyautiſhicas*, or mathematical aſtronomers, with that of the *Pauránicas*, or poetical fabuliſts; for to ſuch a confuſion alone muſt we impute the many miſtakes of *Europeans* on the ſubject of *Indian* ſcience. A venerable mathematician of this province, named RA'MACHANDRA, now in his eightieth year, viſited me lately at *Críſhnanagar*, and part of his diſcourſe was ſo applicable to the inquiries, which I was then making, that, as ſoon as he left me, I committed it to writing. "The *Pauránics*, he ſaid, will tell you, that our earth is a "plane figure ſtudded with eight mountains, and ſurrounded by ſeven "ſeas of milk, nectar, and other fluids; that the part, which we in-"habit, is one of ſeven iſlands, to which eleven ſmaller iſles are ſubor-"dinate;

" dinate; that a God, riding on a huge *elephant*, guards each of the " eight regions; and that a mountain of gold riſes and gleams in the " centre; but we believe the earth to be ſhaped like a *Cadamba* fruit, " or ſpheroidal, and admit only four oceans of ſalt water, all which we " name from the four cardinal points, and in which are many great " peninſulas with innumerable iſlands: they will tell you, that a " dragon's head ſwallows the moon, and thus cauſes an eclipſe; but we " know, that the ſuppoſed head and tail of the dragon mean only the " nodes, or points formed by interſections of the ecliptick and the " moon's orbit; in ſhort, they have imagined a ſyſtem, which exiſts " only in their fancy; but we conſider nothing as true without ſuch " evidence as cannot be queſtioned." I could not perfectly underſtand the old Gymnoſophiſt, when he told me, that the *Rás'ichacra* or *Circle of Signs* (for ſo he called the Zodiack) was like a *Dhuſtúra* flower; meaning the *Datura*, to which the *Sanſcrit* name has been ſoftened, and the flower of which is conical or ſhaped like a funnel: at firſt I thought, that he alluded to a projection of the hemiſphere on the plane of the colure, and to the angle formed by the ecliptick and equator; but a younger aſtronomer named VINA'YACA, who came afterwards to ſee me, aſſured me that they meant only the circular mouth of the funnel, or the baſe of the cone, and that it was uſual among their ancient writers, to borrow from fruits and flowers their appellations of ſeveral plane and ſolid figures.

From the two *Bráhmans*, whom I have juſt named, I learned the following curious particulars; and you may depend on my accuracy in repeating them, ſince I wrote them in their preſence, and corrected what I had written, till they pronounced it perfect. They divide a great circle, as we do, into three hundred and ſixty degrees, called by them *anſas* or *portions*; of which they, like us, allot thirty to each of the twelve ſigns in this order:

Méſha,

Méſha, the Ram.
Vrĭſha, the Bull.
Mit'huna, the Pair.
4. *Carcat'i*, the Crab.
Sinha, the Lion.
Canyà, the Virgin.
Tulà, the Balance.
8. *Vrĭſhchica*, the Scorpion.
Dhanus, the Bow.
Macara, the Sea-Monſter.
Cumbha, the Ewer.
12. *Mína*, the Fiſh.

The figures of the twelve aſteriſms, thus denominated with reſpect to the ſun, are ſpecified, by SRI PETI, author of the *Retnamálà*, in *Sanſcrit* verſes; which I produce, as my vouchers, in the original with a verbal tranſlation:

Méſhádayó náma ſamánarúpĭ,
Vínágadád'nyam mit'hunam nrĭyugmam,
Pradípas'aſyé dadhatí carábhyám
Návi ſt'hitá várin'i canyacaiva.
Tulá tulábhrĭt pretimánapánir
Dhanur dhanuſhmán hayawat parángah,
Mrĭgánanah ſyán macaró't'ha cumbhah
Scandhé neró rictaghat'am dadhánah,
Anyanyapuchch'hábhimuc'hó hi mínah
Matſyadwayam ſwaſt'halacháriníómì.

"The *ram*, *bull*, *crab*, *lion*, and *ſcorpion*, have the figures of thoſe five "animals reſpectively: the *pair* are a damſel playing on a *Vínà* and a "youth wielding a mace: the *virgin* ſtands on a boat in water, holding "in one hand a lamp, in the other an ear of ricecorn: the *balance* is "held by a weigher with a weight in one hand: the *bow*, by an archer, "whoſe hinder parts are like thoſe of a horſe: the *ſea-monſter* has the "face of an antelope: the *ewer* is a waterpot borne on the ſhoulder of "a man, who empties it: the *fiſh* are two with their heads turned to each

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THE HINDOO LUNAR MANSIONS.

" each others tails; and all theſe are ſuppoſed to be in ſuch places as " ſuit their ſeveral natures."

To each of the *twenty-ſeven* lunar ſtations, which they call *nacſhatras*, they allow thirteen *anſas* and one third, or *thirteen degrees twenty minutes*; and their names appear in the order of the ſigns, but without any regard to the figures of them:

As'winì.	*Maghà.*	Múla.
Bharanì.	Púrva p'halgunì.	Púrv*áſhád'ha'*.
Crĭticà.	Uttara *p'halgunì.*	Uttaráſhád'hà.
Róhiní.	Haſta.	*Sravanà.*
Mrĭgaſiras.	*Chitrà.*	Dhaniſht'à.
A'rdrà.	Swátì.	Satabhiſhà.
Punarvaſu.	*Viſác'hà.*	Púrva *bhadrapadá.*
Puſhya.	Anurádhà.	Uttarabhadrapadá.
9. As'léſhà.	18. *Jyéſht'hà.*	27. Révatì.

Between the twenty-firſt and twenty-ſecond conſtellations, we find in the plate three ſtars called *Abhijit*; but they are the laſt quarter of the aſteriſm immediately preceding, or the latter *Aſhár*, as the word is commonly pronounced. A complete revolution of the moon, with reſpect to the ſtars, being made in twenty-ſeven days, odd hours, minutes and ſeconds, and perfect exactneſs being either not attained by the *Hindus* or not required by them, they fixed on the number twenty-ſeven, and inſerted *Abhijit* for ſome aſtrological purpoſe in their nuptial ceremonies. The drawing, from which the plate was engraved, ſeems intended to repreſent the figures of the twenty-ſeven conſtellations, together with *Abhijit*, as they are deſcribed in three ſtanzas by the author of the *Retnamálá:*

1. Turagamuc'hasadrĭcsham yónirúpam cshurábham,
Sacat'asamam at'hain'asyóttamángéna tulyam,
Man'igrĭlhas'ara chacrábháni s'álópamam bham,
Sayanasadrĭs'amanyachchátra paryancarúpam.
2. Hastácárayutam cha maucticasamam
chányat praválópamam,
Dhrĭshyam tórana sannibham balinibham,
satcund'alábham param;
Crudhyatcésarivicraména sadrĭs'am,
s'ayyásamánam param,
Anyad dentiviláfavat st'hitamatah
s'rĭngát'acavyacti bham.
3. Trivicramábham cha mrĭdangarúpam,
Vrĭttam tatónyadyamalábhwayábham,
Paryancarúpam murajánucáram,
Ityévam as'wádibhachacrarúpam.

" A horse's head; *yóni* or *bhaga*; a razor; a wheeled carriage; the " head of an antelope; a gem; a house; an arrow; a wheel; another " house; a bedstead; another bedstead; a hand; a pearl; a piece of " coral; a festoon of leaves; an oblation to the Gods; a rich ear-ring; " the tail of a fierce lion; a couch; the tooth of a wanton elephant, " near which is the kernel of the *s'rĭngátaca* nut; the three footsteps " of VISHNU; a tabor; a circular jewel; a two-faced image; another " couch; and a smaller sort of tabor: such are the figures of *Aswinì* " and the rest in the circle of lunar constellations."

The *Hindu* draughtsman has very ill represented most of the figures; and he has transposed the two *Asvàras* as well as the two *Bhadrapads*; but his figure of *Abhijit*, which looks like our ace of hearts, has a resemblance to the kernel of the *trapa*, a curious water-plant described in a separate

a ſeparate eſſay. In another *Sanſcrit* book the figures of the ſame conſtellations are thus varied:

A horſe's head.	A ſtraight tail.	A conch.
Yóni or *bhaga*.	Two ſtars S. to N.	A winnowing fan.
A flame.	Two, N. to S.	Another.
A waggon.	A hand.	An arrow.
A cat's paw.	A pearl.	A tabor.
One bright ſtar.	Red ſaffron.	A circle of ſtars.
A bow.	A feſtoon.	A ſtaff for burdens.
A child's pencil.	A ſnake.	The beam of a balance.
9. A dog's tail.	18. A boar's head.	27. A fiſh.

From twelve of the aſteriſms juſt enumerated are derived the names of the twelve *Indian* months in the uſual form of patronymicks; for the *Pauránics*, who reduce all nature to a ſyſtem of emblematical mythology, ſuppoſe a celeſtial nymph to preſide over each of the conſtellations, and feign that the God So'MA, or *Lunus*, having wedded twelve of them, became the father of twelve *Genii*, or months, who are named after their ſeveral mothers; but the *Jyautiſhicas* aſſert, that, when their lunar year was arranged by former aſtronomers, the moon was at the full in each month on the very day, when it entered the *nacſhatra*, from which that month is denominated. The manner, in which the derivatives are formed, will beſt appear by a compariſon of the months with their ſeveral conſtellations:

	A's'wina.		Chaitra.
	Cártica.	8.	Vaiſác'ha.
	Márgas'írſha.		Jyaiſht'ha.
4.	Pauſha.		A'ſhára.
	Mágha.		Srávana.
	P'hálguna.	12.	Bhádra.

The

The third month is alſo called *A'grahâyana* (whence the common word *Agran* is corrupted) from another name of *Mrĭgas'iras*.

Nothing can be more ingenious than the memorial verſes, in which the *Hindus* have a cuſtom of linking together a number of ideas otherwiſe unconnected, and of chaining, as it were, the memory by a regular meaſure: thus by putting *teeth* for thirty-two, *Rudra* for eleven, *ſeaſon* for ſix, *arrow* or *element* for five, *ocean*, *Véda*, or *age*, for four, RA'MA, *fire*, or *quality* for three, *eye*, or CUMA'RA for two, and *earth* or *moon* for one, they have compoſed four lines, which expreſs the number of ſtars in each of the twenty-ſeven aſteriſms.

Vahni tri rĭtwiſhu gunéndu critágnibhúta,
Bánás'winétra s'ara bhúcu yugabdhi rámáh,
Rudrábdhirámagunavédas'atá dwiyugma,
Dentá budhairabhihitáh cramas'ó bhatáráh.

That is: "three, three, ſix; five, three, one; four, three, five; "five, two, two; five, one, one; four, four, three; eleven, four and "three; three, four, a hundred; two, two, thirty-two: thus have the "ſtars of the lunar conſtellations, in order as they appear, been num-"bered by the wiſe."

If the ſtanza was correctly repeated to me, the *two Aſhárás* are conſidered as one aſteriſm, and *Abhijit* as three ſeparate ſtars; but I ſuſpect an error in the third line, becauſe *dwibána* or *two and five* would ſuit the metre as well as *bdhiráma*; and becauſe there were only three *Védas* in the early age, when, it is probable, the ſtars were enumerated and the technical verſe compoſed.

Two lunar ſtations, or *manſions*, and a quarter are co-extenſive, we ſee, with one ſign; and nine ſtations correſpond with four ſigns: by counting,

counting, therefore, thirteen degrees and twenty minutes from the firſt ſtar in the head of the Ram, incluſively, we find the whole extent of *Aſwinì*, and ſhall be able to aſcertain the other ſtars with ſufficient accuracy; but firſt let us exhibit a comparative table of both *Zodiacks*, denoting the manſions, as in the *Várânes* almanack, by the firſt letters or ſyllables of their names:

Months.	Solar Asterisms.	Mansions.
A'ſwin	Méſh	A + bh + $\frac{c}{4}$
Cártic	Vrĭſh	$\frac{3c}{4}$ + rò + $\frac{M}{2}$
A'graháyan	Mit'hun	$\frac{M}{2}$ + á + $\frac{3P}{4}$
Pauſh	Carcat' 4.	$\frac{P}{4}$ + p + s'l. 9.
Mágh	Sinh	m + PU + $\frac{U}{4}$
P'hálgun	Canyà	$\frac{3U}{4}$ + h + $\frac{ch}{2}$
Chaitr	Tulà	$\frac{ch}{2}$ + s + $\frac{3v}{4}$
Vaiſác'h	Vriſchic 8.	$\frac{v}{4}$ + a + j 18.
Jaiſht'h	Dhan	mú + pù + $\frac{n}{4}$
A'ſhár	Macar	$\frac{3u}{4}$ + S + $\frac{dh}{2}$
Srávan	Cumbh	$\frac{dh}{2}$ + s' + $\frac{3pú}{4}$
Bhádr	Mín 12.	$\frac{pú}{4}$ + *u* + r. 27.

Hence we may readily know the ſtars in each manſion, as they follow in order:

Lunar

Lunar Mansions.	Solar Asterisms.	Stars.
Aſwiní.	Ram.	*Three*, in and near the head.
Bharaní.	——	*Three*, in the tail.
Crĭticà.	Bull.	*Six*, of the Pleiads.
Róhiní.	——	*Five*, in the head and neck.
Mrĭgaſiras.	Pair.	*Three*, in or near the feet, perhaps in the Galaxy.
A'rdrà.	——	*One*, on the knee.
Punarvaſu.	——	*Four*, in the heads, breaſt and ſhoulder.
Puſhya.	Crab.	*Three*, in the body and claws.
As'léſhà.	Lion.	*Five*, in the face and mane.
Maghà.	——	*Five*, in the leg and haunch.
Púrvap'halgunì.	——	*Two*; one in the tail.
Uttarap'halgunì.	Virgin.	*Two*, on the arm and zone.
Haſta.	——	*Five*, near the hand.
Chitrà.	——	*One*, in the ſpike.
Swáti.	Balance.	*One*, in the N. Scale.
Vis'ác'hà.	——	*Four*, beyond it.
Anurádhà.	Scorpion.	*Four*, in the body.
Jyéſht'hà.	——	*Three*, in the tail.
Múla.	Bow.	*Eleven*, to the point of the arrow.
Púrváſhára.	——	*Two*, in the leg.
Uttaráſhára.	Sea-monſter.	*Two*, in the horn.
Sravanà.	——	*Three*, in the tail.
Dhaniſht'à.	Ewer.	*Four*, in the arm.
Satabhiſhà.	——	*Many*, in the ſtream.
Púrvabhadrapadà.	Fiſh.	*Two*, in the firſt fiſh.
Uttarabhadrapadà.	——	*Two*, in the cord.
Révatì.	——	*Thirty-two*, in the ſecond fiſh and cord.

Wherever

Wherever the *Indian* drawing differs from the memorial verſe in the *Retnamálà*, I have preferred the authority of the writer to that of the painter, who has drawn ſome terreſtrial things with ſo little ſimilitude, that we muſt not implicitly rely on his repreſentation of objects merely celeſtial: he ſeems particularly to have erred in the ſtars of *Dhaniſht'à*.

For the aſſiſtance of thoſe, who may be inclined to re-examine the twenty-ſeven conſtellations with a chart before them, I ſubjoin a table of the degrees, to which the *nacſhatras* extend reſpectively from the firſt ſtar in the aſteriſm of *Aries*, which we now ſee near the beginning of the ſign *Taurus*, as it was placed in the ancient ſphere.

N.	D.	M.	N.	D.	M.	N.	D.	M.
I.	13°.	20′.	X.	133°.	20′.	XIX.	253°.	20′.
II.	26°.	40′.	XI.	146°.	40′.	XX.	266°.	40′.
III.	40°.	0′.	XII.	160°.	0′.	XXI.	280°.	0′.
IV.	53°.	20′.	XIII.	173°.	20′.	XXII.	293°.	20′.
V.	66°.	40′.	XIV.	186°.	40′.	XXIII.	306°.	40′.
VI.	80°.	0′.	XV.	200°.	0′.	XXIV.	320°.	0′.
VII.	93°.	20′.	XVI.	213°.	20′.	XXV.	333°.	20′.
VIII.	106°.	40′.	XVII.	226°.	40′.	XXVI.	346°.	40′.
IX.	120°.	0′.	XVIII.	240°.	0′.	XXVII.	360°.	0′.

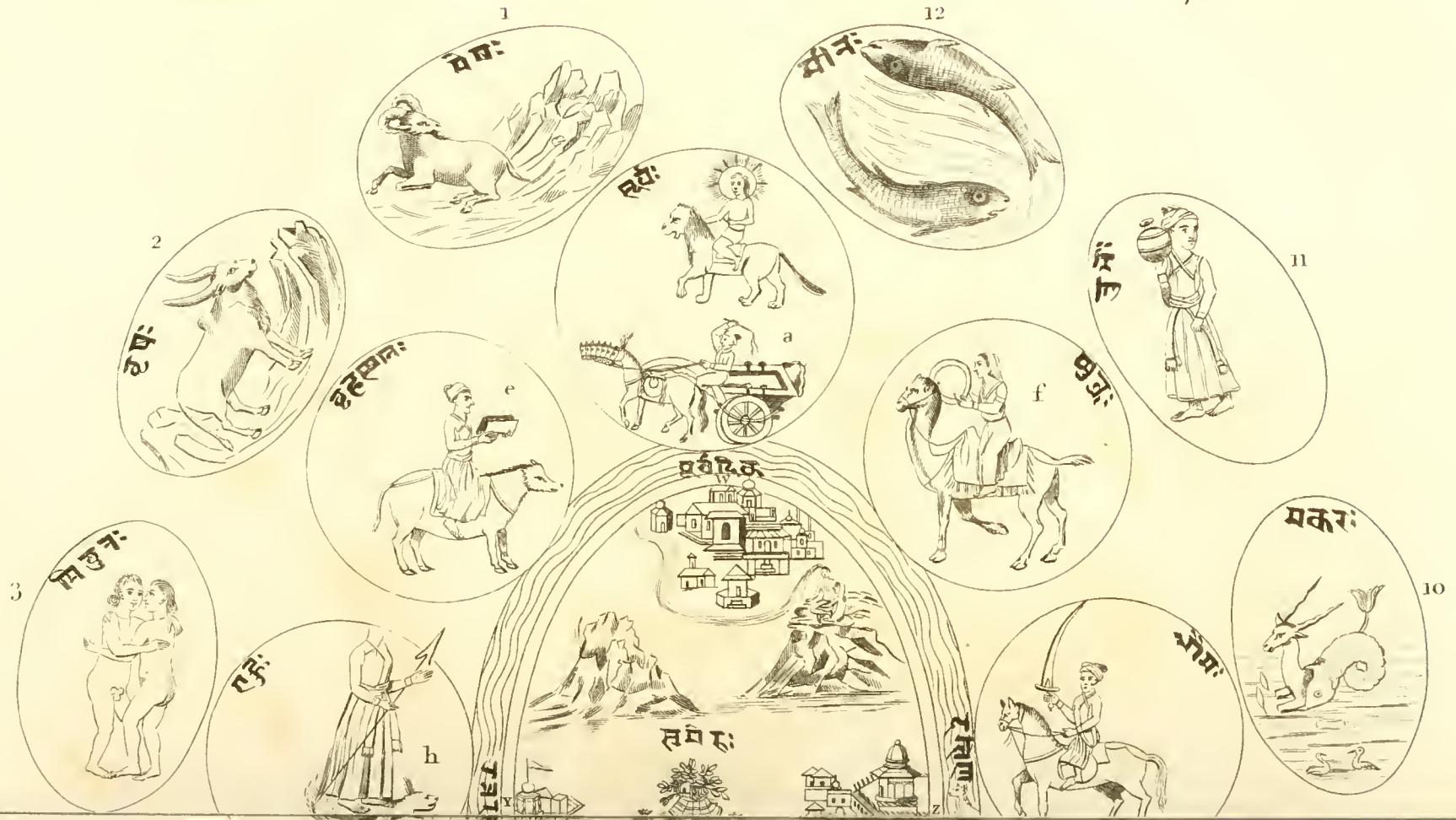
The aſteriſms of the *firſt* column are in the ſigns of *Taurus*, *Gemini*, *Cancer*, *Leo*; thoſe of the *ſecond*, in *Virgo*, *Libra*, *Scorpio*, *Sagittarius*; and thoſe of the *third*, in *Capricornus*, *Aquarius*, *Piſces*, *Aries*: we cannot err much, therefore, in any ſeries of *three* conſtellations; for, by counting 13° 20′ forwards and backwards, we find the ſpaces occupied by the two extremes, and the intermediate ſpace belongs of courſe to the middlemoſt. It is not meaned, that the diviſion of the *Hindu* Zodiack into ſuch ſpaces is exact to a minute, or that *every* ſtar of each aſteriſm

aſteriſm muſt neceſſarily be found in the ſpace to which it belongs; but the computation will be accurate enough for our purpoſe, and no lunar manſion can be very remote from the path of the moon: how Father SOUCIET could dream, that *Viſác'hà* was in the Northern Crown, I can hardly comprehend; but it ſurpaſſes all comprehenſion, that M. BAILLY ſhould copy his dream, and give reaſons to ſupport it; eſpecially as four ſtars, arranged pretty much like thoſe in the *Indian* figure, preſent themſelves obviouſly near the balance or the ſcorpion. I have not the boldneſs to exhibit the individual ſtars in each manſion, diſtinguiſhed in BAYER's method by *Greek* letters; becauſe, though I have little doubt, that the five ſtars of *Aſléſhà*, in the form of a wheel, are $\eta, \gamma, \zeta, \mu, \varepsilon$, of the Lion, and thoſe of *Múla*, $\gamma, \varepsilon, \delta, \zeta, \phi, \tau, \sigma, \nu, o, \xi, \pi$, of the *Sagittary*, and though I think many of the others equally clear, yet, where the number of ſtars in a manſion is leſs than three, or even than four, it is not eaſy to fix on them with confidence; and I muſt wait, until ſome young *Hindu* aſtronomer, with a good memory and good eyes, can attend my leiſure on ſerene nights at the proper ſeaſons, to point out in the firmament itſelf the ſeveral ſtars of all the conſtellations, for which he can find names in the *Sanſcrit* language: the only ſtars, except thoſe in the *Zodiack*, that have yet been diſtinctly named to me, are the *Septarſhi*, *Dhruva*, *Arundhatì*, *Viſhnupad*, *Mátrimandel*, and, in the ſouthern hemiſphere, *Agaſtya*, or *Canopus*. The twenty-ſeven *Yóga* ſtars, indeed, have particular names, in the order of the *nacſhatras*, to which they belong; and ſince we learn, that the *Hindus* have determined *the latitude, longitude, and right aſcenſion of each*, it might be uſeful to exhibit the liſt of them: but at preſent I can only ſubjoin the names of twenty-ſeven *Yógas*, or diviſions of the Ecliptick.

Viſhcambha.	*Ganda.*	*Parigha.*
Priti.	*Vriddhi.*	*Siva.*
		A'yuſhmat.

ORIENTAL ZODIACK.

Vol. I. *pa. 345.*



From 1 *to* 12 *are the* 12 *Signs*. a *The Sun*. b *The Moon*. c *Mars*. d *Mercury*. e *Jupiter*. f *Venus*. g *Saturn*. h *Dragons Head or Ascending Node*. i *Dragons Tail or Descending Node*. *The center is the Earth surrounded by the Sea, marked with the four Cardinal Points*. E. W. N. S. W. X. Y. Z.

A'yuſhmat.	*Dhruva.*	*Siddha.*
Saubhágya.	*Vyágháta.*	*Sádhya.*
Sóbhana.	*Herſhana.*	*Subha.*
Atiganda.	*Vajra.*	*Sucra.*
Sucarman.	*Aſrij.*	*Bráhman.*
Dhríti.	*Vyatipáta.*	*Indra.*
Súla.	*Variyas.*	*Vaidhríti.*

Having ſhown in what manner the *Hindus* arrange the *Zodiacal* ſtars with reſpect to the ſun and moon, let us proceed to our principal ſubject, *the antiquity of that double arrangement.* In the firſt place, the *Bráhmans* were always too proud to borrow their ſcience from the *Greeks*, *Arabs*, *Moguls*, or any nation of *Mléchch'has*, as they call thoſe, who are ignorant of the *Védas*, and have not ſtudied the language of the Gods: they have often repeated to me the fragment of an old verſe, which they now uſe proverbially, *na níchò yavanátparah*, or *no baſe creature can be lower than a Yavan*; by which name they formerly meant an *Ionian* or *Greek*, and now mean a *Mogul*, or, generally, a *Muſelman*. When I mentioned to different *Pandits*, at ſeveral times and in ſeveral places, the opinion of MONTUCLA, they could not prevail on themſelves to oppoſe it by ſerious argument; but ſome laughed heartily; others, with a ſarcaſtick ſmile, ſaid it was a *pleaſant imagination*; and all ſeemed to think it a notion bordering on phrenſy. In fact, although the figures of the twelve *Indian* ſigns bear a wonderful reſemblance to thoſe of the *Grecian*, yet they are too much varied for a mere copy, and the nature of the variation proves them to be original; nor is the reſemblance more extraordinary than that, which has often been obſerved, between our *Gothick* days of the week and thoſe of the *Hindus*, which are dedicated to the ſame luminaries, and (what is yet more ſingular) revolve in the ſame order: *Ravi*, the Sun; *Sóma*, the Moon; *Mangala*, Tuiſco; *Budha*, Woden; *Vrihaſpati*, Thor; *Sucra*, Freya;

Freya ; *Sani*, Sater ; yet no man ever imagined, that the *Indians* borrowed ſo remarkable an arrangement from the *Goths* or *Germans*. On the planets I will only obſerve, that SUCRA, the regent of *Venus*, is, like all the reſt, a *male* deity, named alſo USANAS, and believed to be a ſage of infinite learning ; but ZOHRAH, the NA'HI'D of the *Perſians*, is a goddeſs like the FREYA of our *Saxon* progenitors: the drawing, therefore, of the planets, which was brought into *Bengal* by Mr. JOHNSON, relates to the *Perſian* ſyſtem, and repreſents the genii ſuppoſed to preſide over them, exactly as they are deſcribed by the poet HA'TIFI': "He bedecked the firmament with ſtars, and ennobled this earth with "the race of men; he gently turned the auſpicious new moon of the "feſtival, like a bright jewel, round the ankle of the ſky; he placed "the *Hindu* SATURN on the ſeat of that reſtive elephant, the revolving "ſphere, and put the rainbow into his hand, as a hook to coerce the "intoxicated beaſt; he made ſilken ſtrings of ſun-beams for the lute "of VENUS; and preſented JUPITER, who ſaw the felicity of true "religion, with a roſary of cluſtering Pleiads. The bow of the ſky "became that of MARS, when he was honoured with the command of "the celeſtial hoſt; for GOD conferred ſovereignty on the Sun, and "ſquadrons of ſtars were his army."

The names and forms of the lunar conſtellations, eſpecially of *Bharanì* and *Abhijit*, indicate a ſimplicity of manners peculiar to an ancient people ; and they differ entirely from thoſe of the *Arabian* ſyſtem, in which the very firſt aſteriſm appears in the dual number, becauſe it conſiſts only of two ſtars. *Menzil*, or *the place of alighting*, properly ſignifies a *ſtation* or *ſtage*, and thence is uſed for an ordinary day's *journey* ; and that idea ſeems better applied than *manſion* to ſo inceſſant a traveller as the moon: the *menázilu'l kamar*, or *lunar ſtages*, of the *Arabs* have *twenty-eight* names in the following order, the particle *al* being underſtood before every word:

Sharatàn.

Sharatàn.	Nathrah.	Ghafr.	Dhábih'.
But'ain.	Tarf.	Zubáníyah.	Bulaâ.
Thurayyà.	Jabhah.	Iclìl.	Suûd.
Debaràn.	Zubrah.	Kalb.	Akhbíya.
Hakâah.	Sarfah.	Shaulah.	Mukdim.
Hanâah.	Awwà.	Naâïm.	Múkhir.
7. Dhiráâ.	14. Simàc.	21. Beldah.	28. Riſhà.

Now, if we can truſt the *Arabian* lexicographers, the number of ſtars in their ſeveral *menzils* rarely agrees with thoſe of the *Indians*; and two ſuch nations muſt naturally have obſerved, and might naturally have named, the principal ſtars, near which the moon paſſes in the courſe of each day, without any communication on the ſubject: there is no evidence, indeed, of a communication between the *Hindus* and *Arabs* on any ſubject of literature or ſcience; for, though we have reaſon to believe, that a commercial intercourſe ſubſiſted in very early times between *Yemen* and the weſtern coaſt of *India*, yet the *Bráhmans*, who alone are permitted to read the ſix *Védángas*, one of which is the aſtronomical *Sáſtra*, were not then commercial, and, moſt probably, neither could nor would have converſed with *Arabian* merchants. The hoſtile irruption of the *Arabs* into *Hinduſtán*, in the eighth century, and that of the *Moguls* under CHENGI'Z, in the thirteenth, were not likely to change the aſtronomical ſyſtem of the *Hindus*; but the ſuppoſed conſequences of *modern* revolutions are out of the queſtion; for, if any hiſtorical records be true, we know with as poſitive certainty, that AMARSINH and CA'LIDA'S compoſed their works before the birth of CHRIST, as that MENANDER and TERENCE wrote before that important epoch: now the twelve *ſigns* and twenty-ſeven *manſions* are mentioned, by the ſeveral names before exhibited, in a *Sanſcrit* vocabulary by the firſt of thoſe *Indian* authors, and the ſecond of them frequently alludes to *Róhinì* and the reſt by name in his *Fatal Ring*, his *Children of the Sun*, and his *Birth* of CUMA'RA; from which poem I produce

produce two lines, that my evidence may not ſeem to be collected from mere converſation:

Maitrè muhúrtè s'as'alánch'hanéna,
Yógam gatáſúttarap'halganíſhu.

" When the ſtars of *Uttarap'halgun* had joined in a fortunate hour " the fawn-ſpotted moon."

This teſtimony being deciſive againſt the conjecture of M. Montucla, I need not urge the great antiquity of Menu's Inſtitutes, in which the twenty-ſeven aſteriſms are called the daughters of Dacsha and the conſorts of So'ma, or the Moon, nor rely on the teſtimony of the *Bráhmans*, who aſſure me with one voice, that the names of the *Zodiacal* ſtars occur in the *Védas*; three of which I firmly believe, from internal and external evidence, to be more than *three thouſand* years old. Having therefore proved what I engaged to prove, I will cloſe my eſſay with a general obſervation. The reſult of Newton's reſearches into the hiſtory of the primitive ſphere was, " that the practice of obſerving " the ſtars began in *Egypt* in the days of Ammon, and was propagated " thence by conqueſt in the reign of his ſon Sisac, into *Africk*, *Europe*, " and *Aſia*; ſince which time Atlas formed the ſphere of the *Lybians*; " Chiron, that of the *Greeks*; and the *Chaldeans*, a ſphere of their " own:" now I hope, on ſome other occaſions, to ſatisfy the publick, as I have perfectly ſatisfied myſelf, that " the practice of obſerving the " ſtars began, with the rudiments of civil ſociety, in the country of " thoſe, whom we call *Chaldeans*; from which it was propagated into " *Egypt*, *India*, *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Scandinavia*, before the reign of " Sisac or Sa'cya, who by conqueſt ſpread a new ſyſtem of reli- " gion and philoſophy from the *Nile* to the *Ganges* about a thouſand " years before Christ; but that Chiron and Atlas were allego- " rical or mythological perſonages, and ought to have no place in the " ſerious hiſtory of our ſpecies."

ON

THE LITERATURE OF THE HINDUS,

FROM THE SANSCRIT.

Communicated by GOVERDHAN CAUL, *tranſlated, with a ſhort Commentary,*

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

THE TEXT.

THERE are eighteen *Vidyá's*, or parts of *true Knowledge*, and ſome branches of Knowledge *falſely ſo called*; of both which a ſhort account ſhall here be exhibited.

The firſt *four* are the immortal *Véda's* evidently revealed by GOD; which are entitled, in one compound word, *Rigyajuhſámát'harva*, or, in ſeparate words, *Rich*, *Yajuſh*, *Sáman*, and *At'harvan:* the *Rigvéda* conſiſts of *five* ſections; the *Yajurvéda*, of *eighty-ſix*; the *Sámavéda*, of a *thouſand*; and the *At'harvavéda*, of *nine*; with eleven hundred *s'ác'ha's*, or Branches, in various diviſions and ſubdiviſions. The *Véda's* in truth are infinite; but were reduced by VYA'SA to this number and order: the principal part of them is that, which explains the Duties of Man in a methodical arrangement; and in the *fourth* is a ſyſtem of divine ordinances.

From theſe are deduced the four *Upavédas*, namely, *Ayuſh*, *Gándharva*, *Dhanuſh*, and *St'hápatya*; the firſt of which, or *Ayurvéda*, was delivered

delivered to mankind by BRAHMA', INDRA, DHANWANTARI, and *five* other Deities; and comprizes the theory of Diſorders and Medicines, with the practical methods of curing Diſeaſes. The ſecond, or Muſick, was invented and explained by BHARATA: it is chiefly uſeful in raiſing the mind by devotion to the felicity of the Divine nature. The third *Upavéda* was compoſed by VISWAMITRA on the fabrication and uſe of arms and implements handled in war by the tribe of *Cſhatriya's*. VIS'WACARMAN revealed the *fourth* in various treatiſes on *ſixty-four* Mechanical Arts, for the improvement of ſuch as exerciſe them.

Six *Anga's*, or *Bodies* of Learning, are alſo derived from the ſame ſource: their names are, *Sicſhà*, *Calpa*, *Vyácarana*, *Ch'handas*, *Jyótiſh*, and *Niructi*. The *firſt* was written by PA'NINI, an inſpired Saint, on the *pronunciation* of vocal ſounds; the *ſecond* contains a detail of religious acts and ceremonies from the firſt to the laſt; and from the branches of theſe works a variety of rules have been framed by A's'WALA'YANA, and others: the *third*, or the Grammar, entitled *Pán'iníya*, conſiſting of *eight* lectures or chapters (*Vriddhiradaij*, and ſo forth), was the production of three *Rĭſhi's*, or holy men, and teaches the proper diſcriminations of words in conſtruction; but other leſs abſtruſe Grammars, compiled merely for popular uſe, are not conſidered as *Anga's:* the *fourth*, or *Proſody*, was taught by a *Muni*, named PINGALA, and treats of charms and incantations in verſes aptly framed and variouſly meaſured; ſuch as the *Gáyatri*, and a thouſand others. *Aſtronomy* is the *fifth* of the *Védánga's*, as it was delivered by SU'RYA, and other divine perſons: it is neceſſary in calculations of time. The *ſixth*, or *Niructi*, was compoſed by YA'SCA (ſo is the manuſcript; but, perhaps, it ſhould be VYA'SA) on the ſignification of difficult words and phraſes in the *Véda's*.

Laſtly, there are four *Upánga's*, called *Purána*, *Nyáya*, *Mímánsà*, and *Dherma s'áſtra*. Eighteen *Purána's*, that of BRAHMA, and the reſt,

reſt, were compoſed by VYA'SA for the inſtruction and entertainment of mankind in general. *Nyáya* is derived from the root *ní*, to *acquire* or *apprehend*; and, in this ſenſe, the books on *apprehenſion*, *reaſoning*, and *judgement*, are called *Nyáya:* the principal of theſe are the work of GAUTAMA in *five* chapters, and that of CANA'DA in *ten*; both teaching the meaning of ſacred texts, the difference between juſt and unjuſt, right and wrong, and the principles of knowledge, all arranged under *twenty-three* heads. *Mímánsà* is alſo *two-fold*; both ſhowing what acts are pure or impure, what objects are to be deſired or avoided, and by what means the ſoul may aſcend to the Firſt Principle: the *former*, or *Carma Mímánsà*, comprized in *twelve* chapters, was written by JAIMINI, and diſcuſſes queſtions of moral Duties and Law; next follows the *Upáſaná Cánda* in four lectures (*Sancarſhana* and the reſt), containing a ſurvey of Religious Duties; to which part belong the rules of SA'NDILYA, and others, on devotion and duty to GOD. Such are the contents of the *Púrva*, or *former*, *Mímánsà*. The *Uttara*, or *latter*, abounding in queſtions on the Divine Nature and other ſublime ſpeculations, was compoſed by VYA'SA, in *four* chapters and *ſixteen* ſections: it may be conſidered as the brain and ſpring of all the *Anga's*; it expoſes the heretical opinions of RA'MA'NUJA, MA'DHWA, VALLABHA, and other Sophiſts; and, in a manner ſuited to the comprehenſion of adepts, it treats on the true nature of GANE'SA, BHA'SCARA, or the Sun, NI'LACANTA, LACSHMI', and other *forms* of One Divine Being. A ſimilar work was written by S'RI' S'ANCARA, demonſtrating the Supreme Power, Goodneſs, and Eternity of GOD.

The Body of *Law*, called *Smrĭti*, conſiſts of *eighteen* books, each divided under three general heads, the duties of *religion*, the adminiſtration of *juſtice*, and the puniſhment or *expiation* of crimes: they were delivered, for the inſtruction of the human ſpecies, by MENU, and other ſacred perſonages.

As

As to *Ethicks*, the *Véda's* contain all that relates to the duties of Kings; the *Purána's*, what belongs to the relation of huſband and wife; and the duties of friendſhip and ſociety (which complete the triple diviſion) are taught ſuccinctly in both: this double diviſion of *Anga's* and *Upánga's* may be conſidered as denoting the double benefit ariſing from them in *theory* and *practice*.

The *Bhárata* and *Rámáyana*, which are both *Epick Poems*, comprize the moſt valuable part of ancient Hiſtory.

For the information of the lower claſſes in religious knowledge, the *Páſúpata*, the *Pancharátra*, and other works, fit for nightly meditation, were compoſed by SIVA, and others, in an hundred and ninety-two parts on different ſubjects.

What follow are not really divine, but contain infinite contradictions. *Sánc'hya* is twofold, that with IS'WARA and that without IS'WARA: the *former* is intitled *Pátanjala* in one chapter of four ſections, and is uſeful in removing doubts by pious contemplation; the *ſecond*, or *Cápila*, is in ſix chapters on the production of all things by the union of PRACRITI, or *Nature*, and PURUSHA, or the *Firſt Male*: it comprizes alſo, in eight parts, rules for devotion, thoughts on the inviſible power, and other topicks. Both theſe works contain a ſtudied and accurate *enumeration* of natural bodies and their principles; whence this philoſophy is named *Sánc'hya*. Others hold, that it was ſo called from its *reckoning three ſorts* of *pain*.

The *Mímánsà*, therefore, is in *two* parts; the *Nyáya*, in *two*; and the *Sánc'hya*, in *two*; and theſe *ſix* Schools comprehend all the doctrine of the Theiſts.

Laſt

Laſt of all appears a work written by BUDDHA; and there are alſo *ſix* Atheiſtical ſyſtems of Philoſophy, entitled *Yógáchára*, *Saudhánta*, *Vaibháſhica*, *Mádhyamica*, *Digambara*, and *Chárvác*; all full of indeterminate phraſes, errors in ſenſe, confuſion between diſtinct qualities, incomprehenſible notions, opinions not duly weighed, tenets deſtructive of natural equality, containing a jumble of Atheiſm and Ethicks; diſtributed, like our Orthodox books, into a number of ſections, which omit what ought to be expreſſed, and expreſs what ought to be omitted; abounding in falſe propoſitions, idle propoſitions, impertinent propoſitions: ſome aſſert, that the heterodox Schools have no *Upánga's*; others, that they have ſix *Anga's*, and as many *Sánga's*, or *Bodies* and other *Appendices*.

Such is the analyſis of univerſal knowledge, *Practical* and *Speculative*.

THE COMMENTARY.

This firſt chapter of a rare *Sanſcrit* Book, entitled *Vidyáderſa*, or a *View of Learning*, is written in ſo cloſe and conciſe a ſtyle, that ſome parts of it are very obſcure, and the whole requires an explanation. From the beginning of it we learn, that the *Véda's* are conſidered by the *Hindus* as the fountain of all knowledge human and divine; whence the verſes of them are ſaid in the *Gítà* to be the *leaves* of that holy tree, to which the Almighty Himſelf is compared:

úrdhwa múlam adhah ś'ác'ham aś'watt'ham práhuravyayam
ch'handánſi yaſya pernáni yaſtam véda ſa védavit.

" The wiſe have called the Incorruptible One an *Aś'watt'ha* with its " roots above and its branches below; the leaves of which are the " ſacred meaſures: he, who knows this tree, knows the *Véda's*."

All the *Pandits* inſiſt, that *As'watt'ha* means the *Pippala*, or *Religious Fig-tree* with heart-ſhaped pointed and tremulous leaves; but the compariſon of heavenly knowledge, deſcending and taking root on earth, to the *Vat'a*, or great *Indian* Fig-tree, which has moſt conſpicuouſly its roots on high, or at leaſt has radicating branches, would have been far more exact and ſtriking.

The *Véda's* conſiſts of three *Cán'd'a's* or *General Heads*; namely, *Carma*, *Jnyána*, *Upáſanà*, or *Works*, *Faith*, and *Worſhip*; to the firſt of which the Author of the *Vidyáderſa* wiſely gives the preference, as MENU himſelf prefers *univerſal benevolence* to the *ceremonies* of religion:

Japyénaiva tu ſanſiddhyèdbráhmanó nátra ſanſayah:
Curyádanyatravá curyánmaitró bráhmana uchyatè.

that is: "By ſilent adoration undoubtedly a *Bráhman* attains holineſs; "but every *benevolent man*, whether he perform or omit that ceremony, "is juſtly ſtyled a *Bráhman*." This triple diviſion of the *Véda's* may ſeem at firſt to throw light on a very obſcure line in the *Gítà*:

Traigunyaviſhayah védà niſtraigunya bhavárjuna

or, "The *Véda's* are attended with *three* qualities: be not thou a man "of *three* qualities, O ARJUNA."

But ſeveral *Pandits* are of opinion, that the phraſe muſt relate to the three *guna's*, or *qualities* of the mind, that of *excellence*, that of *paſſion*, and that of *darkneſs*; from the laſt of which a Hero ſhould be wholly exempt, though examples of it occur in the *Véda's*, where animals are ordered to be *ſacrificed*, and where horrid incantations are inſerted for the *deſtruction* of enemies.

It

It is extremely ſingular, as Mr. WILKINS has already obſerved, that, notwithſtanding the fable of BRAHMA'S *four* mouths, each of which uttered a *Véda*, yet moſt ancient writers mention only *three Véda's*, in order as they occur in the compound word *Rigyajuhſáma*; whence it is inferred, that the *At'harvan* was written or collected after the three firſt; and the two following arguments, which are entirely new, will ſtrongly confirm this inference. In the eleventh book of MENU, a work aſcribed to the *firſt* age of mankind, and certainly of high antiquity, the *At'harvan* is mentioned by name, and ſtyled the *Véda* of *Véda's*; a phraſe, which countenances the notion of DA'RA' SHECU'H, who aſſerts, in the preface to his *Upaniſhat*, that "the *three* firſt *Védas* are named "ſeparately, becauſe the *At'harvan* is a corollary from them all, and "contains the quinteſſence of them." But this verſe of MENU, which occurs in a modern copy of the work brought from *Bánáras*, and which would ſupport the antiquity and excellence of the *fourth Véda*, is entirely omitted in the beſt copies, and particularly in a very fine one written at *Gayá*, where it was accurately collated by a learned *Bráhman*; ſo that, as MENU himſelf in other places names only three *Véda's*, we muſt believe this line to be an interpolation by ſome admirer of the *At'harvan*; and ſuch an artifice overthrows the very doctrine, which it was intended to ſuſtain.

The next argument is yet ſtronger, ſince it ariſes from *internal* evidence; and of this we are now enabled to judge by the noble zeal of Colonel POLIER in collecting *Indian* curioſities; which has been ſo judiciouſly applied and ſo happily exerted, that he now poſſeſſes a complete copy of the *four Védas* in eleven large volumes.

On a curſory inſpection of thoſe books it appears, that even a learner of *Sanſcrit* may read a conſiderable part of the *At'harvavéda* without a dictionary; but that the ſtyle of the other *three* is ſo obſolete, as to ſeem almoſt

almoſt a different dialect: when we are informed, therefore, that few *Bráhmans* at *Bánáras* can underſtand any part of the *Véda's*, we muſt preſume, that none are meant, but the *Rich*, *Yajuſh*, and *Sáman*, with an exception of the *Át'harvan*, the language of which is comparatively modern; as the learned will perceive from the following ſpecimen:

Yatra brahmavidò yánti díchayà tapasà ſaha agnirmántatra nayatwagnirmédhán dedhátumè, agnayé ſwáhà. váyurmán tatra nayatu váyuh prán'án dedhátu mè, váyuwè ſwáhà. ſúryò mán tatra nayatu chacſhuh ſuryò dedhátu mè, sùryáya ſwáhà; chandrò mán tatra nayatu manaſchandrò dedhátu mé, chandráya ſwáhà. ſómò mán tatra nayatu payah ſómò dedhàtu mé, ſómáya ſwáhà. Indrò *mán tatra nayatu balamindrò dedhátu mé, indráya ſwáhà. ápò mán tatra nayatwámrítammópatiſhtatu, adbhyah ſwáhà. yatra brahmavidò yánti díchayà tapasà ſaha, brahmà mán tatra nayatu brahma brahmà dedhátu mé, brahmanè ſwáhà.*

that is, "Where they, who know the Great One, go, through holy "rites and through piety, thither may *fire* raiſe me! May fire receive "my ſacrifices! Myſterious praiſe to fire! May *air* waft me thither! "May air increaſe my ſpirits! Myſterious praiſe to air! May the *Sun* "draw me thither! May the ſun enlighten my eye! Myſterious praiſe "to the ſun! May the *Moon* bear me thither! May the moon receive "my mind! Myſterious praiſe to the moon! May the plant *Sóma* lead "me thither! May *Sóma* beſtow on me its hallowed milk! Myſterious "praiſe to *Sóma!* May INDRA, or the *firmament*, carry me thither! "May INDRA give me ſtrength! Myſterious praiſe to INDRA! May "*water* bear me thither! May water bring me the ſtream of immorta"lity! Myſterious praiſe to the waters! Where they, who know the "Great One, go, through holy rites and through piety, thither may "BRAHMA' conduct me! May BRAHMA' lead me to the Great One! "Myſterious praiſe to BRAHMA'!"

Several

Several other paſſages might have been cited from the firſt book of the *At'harvan*, particularly a tremendous *incantation* with conſecrated *graſs*, called *Darbbha*, and a ſublime Hymn to *Cála*, or time; but a ſingle paſſage will ſuffice to ſhow the ſtyle and language of this extraordinary work. It would not be ſo eaſy to produce a genuine extract from the other *Véda's:* indeed, in a book, entitled *Sivavédánta*, written in *Sanſcrit*, but in *Cáſhmirian* letters, a ſtanza from the *Yajurvéda* is introduced; which deſerves for its ſublimity to be quoted here; though the regular cadence of the verſes, and the poliſhed elegance of the language, cannot but induce a ſuſpicion, that it is a more modern paraphraſe of ſome text in the ancient Scripture:

natatra ſúryò bháti nacha chandra táracau, némá vidyutó bhánti cuta éva vahnih: taméva bhántam anubháti ſervam, taſya bháſá ſervamidam vibháti.

that is, "There the ſun ſhines not, nor the moon and ſtars: theſe light-"nings flaſh not *in that place*; how ſhould even fire blaze *there?* GOD "irradiates all this bright ſubſtance; and by its effulgence the univerſe "is enlightened."

After all, the books on divine *Knowledge*, called *Véda*, or what is *known*, and *Sruti*, or what has been *heard*, from revelation, are ſtill ſuppoſed to be very numerous; and the *four* here mentioned are thought to have been ſelected, as containing all the information neceſſary for man. MOHSANI FA'NI', the very candid and ingenious author of the *Dabiſtàn*, deſcribes in his firſt chapter a race of old *Perſian* ſages, who appear from the whole of his account to have been *Hindus*; and we cannot doubt, that the book of MAHA'BA'D, or MENU, which was written, he ſays, *in a celeſtial dialect*, means the *Véda*; ſo that, as ZERA'TUSHT was only a reformer, we find in *India* the true ſource of the ancient *Perſian* religion. To this head belong the numerous

Tantra,

Tantra, *Mantra*, *Agama*, and *Nigama*, *Sáſtra's*, which conſiſt of *incantations* and other texts of the *Védas*, with remarks on the occaſions, on which they may be ſucceſsfully applied. It muſt not be omitted, that the *Commentaries* on the *Hindu* Scriptures, among which that of VASISHTHA ſeems to be reputed the moſt excellent, are innumerable; but, while we have acceſs to the fountains, we need not waſte our time in tracing the rivulets.

From the *Védas* are immediately deduced the practical arts of *Chirurgery* and *Medicine*, *Muſick* and *Dancing*, *Archery*, which comprizes the whole art of war, and *Architecture*, under which the ſyſtem of *Mechanical* arts is included. According to the *Pandits*, who inſtructed ABU'LFAZL, each of the *four* Scriptures gave riſe to one of the *Upavéda's*, or *Sub-ſcriptures*, in the order in which they have been mentioned; but this exactneſs of analogy ſeems to favour of refinement.

Infinite advantage may be derived by *Europeans* from the various *Medical* books in *Sanſcrit*, which contain the names and deſcriptions of *Indian* plants and minerals, with their uſes, diſcovered by experience, in curing diſorders: there is a vaſt collection of them from the *Cheraca*, which is conſidered as a work of SIVA, to the *Róganirúpana* and the *Nidána*, which are comparatively modern. A number of books, in proſe and verſe, have been written on *Muſick*, with ſpecimens of *Hindu* airs in a very elegant notation; but the *Silpa s'áſtra*, or Body of Treatiſes on *Mechanical arts*, is believed to be loſt.

Next in order to theſe are the ſix *Védánga's*, three of which belong to *Grammar*; one relates to religious ceremonies; a fifth to the whole compaſs of Mathematicks, in which the author of *Lílávatí* was eſteemed the moſt ſkilful man of his time; and the *ſixth*, to the explanation of

of obſcure words or phraſes in the *Védas*. The grammatical work of PA'NINI, a writer ſuppoſed to have been inſpired, is entitled *Siddhánta Caumudi*, and is ſo abſtruſe, as to require the lucubrations of many years, before it can be perfectly underſtood. When *Cás'ínát'ha Serman*, who attended Mr. WILKINS, was aſked what he thought of the *Pán'iníya*, he anſwered very expreſſively, that "it was a foreſt;" but, ſince Grammar is only an inſtrument, not the end, of true knowledge, there can be little occaſion to travel over ſo rough and gloomy a path; which contains, however, probably ſome acute ſpeculations in *Metaphyſicks*. The *Sanſcrit* Proſody is eaſy and beautiful: the learned will find in it almoſt all the meaſures of the *Greeks*; and it is remarkable, that the language of the *Bráhmans* runs very naturally into *Sapphicks*, *Alcaicks*, and *Iambicks*. Aſtronomical works in this language are exceedingly numerous: ſeventy-nine of them are ſpecified in one liſt; and, if they contain the names of the principal ſtars viſible in *India*, with obſervations on their poſitions in different ages, what diſcoveries may be made in Science, and what certainty attained in ancient Chronology?

Subordinate to theſe *Anga's* (though the reaſon of the arrangement is not obvious) are the ſeries of *Sacred Poems*, the Body of *Law*, and the *ſix* Philoſophical *ſáſtra's*; which the author of our text reduces to *two*, each conſiſting of *two* parts, and rejects a *third*, in *two* parts alſo, as not perfectly *orthodox*, that is, not ſtrictly conformable to his own principles.

The firſt *Indian* Poet was VA'LMI'CI, author of the *Rámáyana*, a complete Epick Poem on one continued, intereſting, and heroick, action; and the next in celebrity, if it be not ſuperior in reputation for holineſs, was the *Mahábhárata* of VYA'SA: to him are aſcribed the ſacred *Purána's*, which are called, for their excellence, *the Eighteen*, and

and which have the following titles: BRAHME, or the *Great One*, PEDMA, or the *Lotos*, BRA'HMA'ND'A, or the *Mundane Egg*, and AGNI, or *Fire* (theſe *four* relate to the *Creation)*, VISHNU, or the *Pervader*, GARUD'A, or his *Eagle*, the Transformations of BRAHMA', SIVA, LINGA, NA'REDA, ſon of BRAHMA', SCANDA ſon of SIVA, MARCANDE'YA, or the Immortal Man, and BHAWISHYA, or the *Prediction* of *Futurity* (theſe *nine* belong to the *attributes* and *powers* of the Deity), and *four* others, MA'TSYA, VARA'HA, CU'RMA, VA'MENA, or as many incarnations of the Great One in his character of *Preſerver*; all containing ancient traditions embelliſhed by poetry or diſguiſed by fable: the *eighteenth* is the BHA'GAWATA, or Life of CRISHNA, with which the ſame Poet is by ſome imagined to have crowned the whole ſeries; though others, with more reaſon, aſſign them different compoſers.

The ſyſtem of *Hindu* Law, beſides the fine work, called MENUSMRITI, or "what is *remembered* from MENU," that of YA'JNYAWALCYA, and thoſe of *ſixteen* other *Muni's*, with *Commentaries* on them all, conſiſts of many tracts in high eſtimation, among which thoſe current in *Bengal* are, an excellent treatiſe on *Inheritances* by JI'MU'TA VA'HANA, and a complete *Digeſt*, in *twenty-ſeven* volumes, compiled a few centuries ago by RAGHUNANDAN, the TRIBONIAN of *India*, whoſe work is the grand repoſitory of all that can be known on a ſubject ſo curious in itſelf, and ſo intereſting to the *Britiſh* Government.

Of the Philoſophical Schools it will be ſufficient here to remark, that the firſt *Nyáya* ſeems analogous to the *Peripatetick*, the *ſecond*, ſometimes called *Vaiſ'éſhica*, to the *Ionick*, the two *Mimánsà's*, of which the *ſecond* is often diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Védánta*, to the *Platonick*, the firſt *Sánc'hya* to the *Italick*, and the ſecond, or *Pátanjala*, to the *Stoick*, Philoſophy; ſo that GAUTAMA correſponds with ARISTOTLE; CANA'DA, with THALES; JAIMINI with SOCRATES; VYA'SA with PLATO;

PLATO; CAPILA with PYTHAGORAS; and PATANJALI with ZENO: but an accurate compariſon between the *Grecian* and *Indian* Schools would require a conſiderable volume. The original works of thoſe Philoſophers are very ſuccinct; but, like all the other *Sáſtras*, they are explained, or obſcured, by the *Upaderſana* or *Commentaries* without end: one of the fineſt compoſitions on the Philoſophy of the *Védánta* is entitled *Yóga Vásiſht'ha*, and contains the inſtructions of the great VASISHTHA to his pupil, RA'MA, king of *Ayódhyà*.

It reſults from this analyſis of *Hindu* Literature, that the *Véda*, *Upavéda*, *Védánga*, *Purána*, *Dherma*, and *Derśana* are the *Six* great *Sáſtras*, in which all knowledge, divine and human, is ſuppoſed to be comprehended; and here we muſt not forget, that the word *Sáſtra*, derived from a root ſignifying *to ordain*, means generally an *Ordinance*, and particularly a *Sacred Ordinance* delivered by inſpiration: properly, therefore, this word is applied only to *ſacred literature*, of which the text exhibits an accurate ſketch.

The *Súdra's*, or *fourth* claſs of *Hindus*, are not permitted to ſtudy the *ſix* proper *Sáſtra's* before-enumerated; but an ample field remains for them in the ſtudy of *profane literature*, comprized in a multitude of *popular* books, which correſpond with the ſeveral *Sáſtra's*, and abound with beauties of every kind. All the tracts on *Medicine* muſt, indeed be ſtudied by the *Vaidya's*, or thoſe, who are born Phyſicians; and they have often more learning, with far leſs pride, than any of the *Bráhmans:* they are uſually Poets, Grammarians, Rhetoricians, Moraliſts; and may be eſteemed in general the moſt virtuous and amiable of the *Hindus*. Inſtead of the *Véda's* they ſtudy the *Rájaníti*, or *Inſtruction of Princes*, and inſtead of *Law*, the *Nítiſáſtra*, or general ſyſtem of *Ethicks:* their *Sahitia*, or *Cávya Sáſtra*, conſiſts of innumerable poems, written chiefly by the *Medical* tribe, and ſupplying the place of the *Purána's*,

ſince they contain all the ſtories of the *Rámáyana*, *Bhárata*, and *Bhágawata:* they have acceſs to many treatiſes of *Alancára*, or Rhetorick, with a variety of works in modulated proſe; to *Upác'hyána*, or Civil Hiſtory, called alſo *Rájatarangini*; to the *Nátaca*, which anſwers to the *Gándharvavéda*, conſiſting of regular *Dramatick* pieces in *Sanſcrit* and *Prácrit:* beſides which they commonly get by heart ſome entire Dictionary and Grammar. The beſt Lexicon or Vocabulary was compoſed in verſe, for the aſſiſtance of the memory, by the illuſtrious AMARASINHA; but there are *ſeventeen* others in great repute: the beſt Grammar is the *Mugdhabódha*, or the *Beauty of Knowledge*, written by *Góſwámi*, named VO'PADE'VA, and comprehending, in two hundred ſhort pages, all that a learner of the language can have occaſion to know. To the *Cóſha's*, or dictionaries, are uſually annexed very ample *Tícá's*, or *Etymological* Commentaries.

We need ſay no more of the heterodox writings, than that thoſe on the religion and philoſophy of BUDDHA ſeem to be connected with ſome of the moſt curious parts of *Aſiatick* Hiſtory, and contain, perhaps, all that could be found in the *Páli*, or *ſacred language* of the Eaſtern *Indian* peninſula. It is aſſerted in *Bengal*, that AMARASINHA himſelf was a *Bauddha*; but he ſeems to have been a theiſt of tolerant principles, and, like ABU'LFAZL, deſirous of reconciling the different religions of *India*.

Wherever we direct our attention to *Hindu* Literature, the notion of *infinity* preſents itſelf; and the longeſt life would not be ſufficient for the peruſal of near five hundred thouſand ſtanzas in the *Purána's*, with a million more perhaps in the other works before mentioned: we may, however, ſelect the beſt from each *Sáſtra*, and gather the fruits of ſcience, without loading ourſelves with the leaves and branches; while we have the pleaſure to find, that the learned *Hindus*, encouraged by the

the mildneſs of our government and manners, are at leaſt as eager to communicate their knowledge of all kinds, as we can be to receive it. Since *Europeans* are indebted to the *Dutch* for almoſt all they know of *Arabick*, and to the *French* for all they know of *Chineſe*, let them now receive from our nation the firſt accurate knowledge of *Sanſcrit*, and of the valuable works compoſed in it; but, if they wiſh to form a correct idea of *Indian* religion and literature, let them begin with forgetting all that has been written on the ſubject, by ancients or moderns, before the publication of the *Gítà*.

ON

THE SECOND CLASSICAL BOOK

OF THE CHINESE.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

THE vicinity of *China* to our *Indian* territories, from the capital of which there are not more than *ſix hundred miles* to the province of YU'NA'N, muſt neceſſarily draw our attention to that moſt ancient and wonderful Empire, even if we had no commercial intercourſe with its more diſtant and maritime provinces; and the benefits, that might be derived from a more intimate connexion with a nation long famed for their uſeful arts and for the valuable productions of their country, are too apparent to require any proof or illuſtration. My own inclinations and the courſe of my ſtudies lead me rather to conſider at preſent their *laws*, *politicks*, and *morals*, with which their general literature is cloſely blended, than their manufactures and trade; nor will I ſpare either pains or expenſe to procure tranſlations of their moſt approved *law-tracts*; that I may return to *Europe* with diſtinct ideas, drawn from the fountain-head, of the wiſeſt *Aſiatick* legiſlation. It will probably be a long time before accurate returns can be made to my inquiries concerning the *Chineſe Laws*; and, in the interval, the Society will not, perhaps, be diſpleaſed to know, that a tranſlation of a moſt venerable and excellent work may be expected from *Canton* through the kind aſſiſtance of an ineſtimable correſpondent.

According

According to a *Chineſe* Writer, named Li Yang Ping, 'the ancient 'characters uſed in his country were the outlines of viſible objects 'earthly and celeſtial; but, as things merely intellectual could not be 'expreſſed by thoſe figures, the grammarians of *China* contrived to re-'preſent the various operations of the mind by metaphors drawn from 'the productions of nature: thus the idea of roughneſs and of rotun-'dity, of motion and reſt, were conveyed to the eye by ſigns repreſent-'ing a mountain, the ſky, a river and the earth; the figures of the ſun, 'the moon, and the ſtars, differently combined, ſtood for ſmoothneſs 'and ſplendour, for any thing artfully wrought, or woven with delicate 'workmanſhip; extenſion, growth, increaſe, and many other qualities 'were painted in characters taken from clouds, from the firmament, 'and from the vegetable part of the creation; the different ways of 'moving, agility and ſlowneſs, idleneſs and diligence, were expreſſed by 'various inſects, birds, fiſh, and quadrupeds: in this manner paſſions 'and ſentiments were traced by the pencil, and ideas not ſubject to any 'ſenſe were exhibited to the ſight; until by degrees new combinations 'were invented, new expreſſions added; the characters deviated imper-'ceptibly from their primitive ſhape, and the *Chineſe* language became 'not only clear and forcible, but rich and elegant in the higheſt degree.'

In this language, ſo ancient and ſo wonderfully compoſed, are a multitude of books abounding in uſeful, as well as agreeable, knowledge; but the higheſt claſs conſiſts of *Five* works; one of which at leaſt every *Chineſe*, who aſpires to literary honours, muſt read again and again, until he poſſeſs it perfectly.

The *firſt* is purely *Hiſtorical*, containing annals of the empire from the *two-thouſand-three-hundred-thirty-ſeventh* year before Christ: it is entitled Shu'king, and a verſion of it has been publiſhed in *France*; to which country we are indebted for the moſt authentick and moſt valuable

able ſpecimens of *Chineſe* Hiſtory and Literature, from the compoſitions, which preceded thoſe of HOMER, to the poetical works of the preſent Emperor, who ſeems to be a man of the brighteſt genius and the moſt amiable affections. We may ſmile, if we pleaſe, at the levity of the *French*, as they laugh without ſcruple at our ſeriouſneſs; but let us not ſo far undervalue our rivals in arts and in arms, as to deny them their juſt commendation, or to relax our efforts in that noble ſtruggle, by which alone we can preſerve our own eminence.

The Second Claſſical work of the *Chineſe* contains *three hundred* Odes, or ſhort Poems, in praiſe of ancient ſovereigns and legiſlators, or deſcriptive of ancient manners, and recommending an imitation of them in the diſcharge of all publick and domeſtick duties: they abound in wiſe maxims, and excellent precepts, 'their whole doctrine, according to 'Cun-fu-tſu, in the LU'NYU' or *Moral Diſcourſes*, being reducible to 'this grand rule, that we ſhould not even entertain a thought of any 'thing baſe or culpable;' but the copies of the SHI' KING, for that is the title of the book, are ſuppoſed to have been much disfigured, ſince the time of that great Philoſopher, by ſpurious paſſages and exceptionable interpolations; and the ſtyle of the Poems is in ſome parts too metaphorical, while the brevity of other parts renders them obſcure; though many think even this obſcurity ſublime and venerable, like that of ancient cloyſters and temples, '*Shedding*, as MILTON expreſſes it, *a dim religious* '*light*.' There is another paſſage in the LU'NYU', which deſerves to be ſet down at length: 'Why, my ſons, do you not ſtudy the book of 'Odes? If we creep on the ground, if we lie uſeleſs and inglorious, 'thoſe poems will raiſe us to true glory: in them we ſee, as in a mirror, 'what may beſt become us, and what will be unbecoming; by their 'influence we ſhall be made ſocial, affable, benevolent; for, as muſick 'combines ſounds in juſt melody, ſo the ancient poetry tempers and 'compoſes our paſſions: the Odes teach us our duty to our parents at 'home,

'home, and abroad to our prince; they inſtruct us alſo delightfully in 'the various productions of nature.' 'Haſt thou ſtudied, ſaid the Phi-'loſopher to his ſon PEYU, the firſt of the three hundred Odes on the 'nuptials of Prince VE'NVA'M, and the virtuous TAI JIN? He, who 'ſtudies them not, reſembles a man with his face againſt a wall, unable 'to advance a ſtep in virtue and wiſdom.' Moſt of thoſe Odes are near *three thouſand* years old, and ſome, if we give credit to the *Chineſe* annals, conſiderably older; but others are ſomewhat more recent, having been compoſed under the later Emperors of the *third* family, called SHEU. The work is printed in *four* volumes; and, towards the end of the *firſt*, we find the Ode, which COUPLET has accurately tranſlated at the beginning of the TA' HIO, or *Great Science*, where it is finely amplified by the Philoſopher: I produce the original from the SHI' KING itſelf, and from the book, in which it is cited, together with a double verſion, one verbal and another metrical; the only method of doing juſtice to the poetical compoſitions of the *Aſiaticks*. It is a panegyrick on VUCU'N, Prince of *Guey* in the province of *Honang*, who died, near a century old, in the *thirteenth* year of the Emperor PINGVANG, *ſeven hundred and fifty-ſix years* before the birth of CHRIST, or *one hundred* and *forty-eight*, according to Sir ISAAC NEWTON, after the taking of *Troy*, ſo that the *Chineſe* Poet might have been contemporary with HESIOD and HOMER, or at leaſt muſt have written the Ode before the *Iliad* and *Odyſſey* were carried into *Greece* by LYCURGUS.

The verbal tranſlation of the thirty-two original characters is this:

'Behold yon reach of *the river* KI;
'Its green reeds how luxuriant! how luxuriant!
'Thus is our Prince adorned with virtues;
'As a carver, as a filer, of ivory,
'As a cutter, as a poliſher, of gems.

'O how

A Chinese Ode.

瞻彼淇澳芸竹猗猗
有斐君子如切如磋
如琢如磨瑟兮僩兮
赫兮喧兮有斐君子
終不可諠

‘ O how [21]elate and ſagacious! O how [22]dauntleſs and compoſed!
‘ How [23]worthy of fame! How [24]worthy of reverence!
‘ [25]We have [27][28]a Prince [26]adorned with virtues,
‘ Whom to the [29]end [30]*of* [31]*time* we can [32]not forget.

The PARAPHRASE.

Behold, where yon blue riv'let glides
Along the laughing dale;
Light reeds bedeck its verdant ſides,
And frolick in the gale:

So ſhines our Prince! In bright array
The Virtues round him wait;
And ſweetly ſmil'd th' auſpicious day,
That rais'd Him o'er our State.

As pliant hands in ſhapes refin'd
Rich iv'ry carve and ſmoothe,
His *Laws* thus mould each ductile mind,
And every paſſion ſoothe.

As gems are taught by patient art
In ſparkling ranks to beam,
With *Manners* thus he forms the heart,
And ſpreads a gen'ral gleam.

What ſoft, yet awful, dignity!
What meek, yet manly, grace!
What ſweetneſs dances in his eye,
And bloſſoms in his face!

So ſhines our Prince! A ſky-born crowd
Of Virtues round him blaze:
Ne'er ſhall Oblivion's murky cloud
Obſcure his deathleſs praiſe.

The prediction of the Poet has hitherto been accompliſhed; but he little imagined, that his compoſition would be admired, and his Prince celebrated in a language not then formed, and by the natives of regions ſo remote from his own.

In the *tenth* leaf of the TA' HIO a beautiful compariſon is quoted from another Ode in the SHI' KING, which deſerves to be exhibited in the ſame form with the preceding:

'The peach-tree, how fair! how graceful!
'Its leaves, how blooming! how pleaſant!
'Such is a bride, when ſhe enters her bridegroom's houſe,
'And pays due attention to her whole family.'

The ſimile may thus be rendered:

Gay child of Spring, the garden's queen,
Yon peach-tree charms the roving ſight:
Its fragrant leaves how richly green!
Its bloſſoms how divinely bright!

So ſoftly ſmiles the blooming bride
By love and conſcious Virtue led
O'er her new manſion to preſide,
And placid joys around her ſpread.

The

The next leaf exhibits a compariſon of a different nature, rather ſublime than agreeable, and conveying rather cenſure than praiſe:

O how horridly impends yon ſouthern mountain!
Its rocks in how vaſt, how rude a heap!
Thus loftily thou ſitteſt, O miniſter of YN;
All the people look up to thee with dread.

Which may be thus paraphraſed:

See, where yon crag's imperious height
The ſunny highland crowns,
And, hideous as the brow of night,
Above the torrent frowns!

So ſcowls the Chief, whoſe will is law,
Regardleſs of our ſtate;
While millions gaze with painful awe,
With fear allied to hate.

It was a very ancient practice in *China* to paint or engrave moral ſentences and approved verſes on veſſels in conſtant uſe; as the words RENEW THYSELF DAILY were inſcribed on the baſon of the Emperor TANG, and the poem of KIEN LONG, who is now on the throne, in praiſe of Tea, has been publiſhed on a ſet of porcelain cups; and, if the deſcription juſt cited of a ſelfiſh and inſolent ſtateſman were, in the ſame manner, conſtantly preſented to the eyes and attention of rulers, it might produce ſome benefit to their ſubjects and to themſelves; eſpecially if the comment of TSEM TSU, who may be called the XENOPHON, as CUN FU' TSU' was the SOCRATES, and MEM TSU the PLATO, of *China*, were added to illuſtrate and enforce it.

If

If the reſt of the *three hundred* Odes be ſimilar to the ſpecimens adduced by thoſe great moraliſts in their works, which the *French* have made publick, I ſhould be very ſolicitous to procure our nation the honour of bringing to light the *ſecond* Claſſical book of the *Chineſe*. The *third*, called YEKING, or the book of Changes, believed to have been written by FO, the HERMES of the Eaſt, and conſiſting of right lines variouſly diſpoſed, is hardly intelligible to the moſt learned *Mandarins*; and CUN FU TSU' himſelf, who was prevented by death from accompliſhing his deſign of elucidating it, was diſſatisfied with all the interpretations of the earlieſt commentators. As to the *fifth*, or LIKI, which that excellent man compiled from old monuments, it conſiſts chiefly of the *Chineſe* ritual, and of tracts on Moral Duties; but the *fourth* entitled CHUNG CIEU, or *Spring* and *Autumn*, by which the ſame incomparable writer meaned the *flouriſhing* ſtate of an Empire, under a virtuous monarch, and the *fall* of kingdoms, under bad governors, muſt be an intereſting work in every nation. The powers, however, of an individual are ſo limited, and the field of knowledge is ſo vaſt, that I dare not promiſe more, than to procure, if any exertions of mine will avail, a complete tranſlation of the SHI' KING, together with an authentick abridgement of the *Chineſe* Laws, civil and criminal. A native of *Canton*, whom I knew ſome years ago in *England*, and who paſſed his firſt examinations with credit in his way to literary diſtinctions, but was afterwards allured from the purſuit of learning by a proſpect of ſucceſs in trade, has favoured me with the *Three Hundred Odes* in the original, together with the LU'N YU', a faithful verſion of which was publiſhed at *Paris* near a century ago; but he ſeems to think, that it would require three or four years to complete a tranſlation of them; and Mr. Cox informs me, that none of the *Chineſe*, to whom he has acceſs, *poſſeſs leiſure and perſeverance enough for ſuch a taſk*; yet he hopes, with the aſſiſtance of WHANG ATONG, to ſend me next ſeaſon ſome of the poems tranſlated into *Engliſh*. A little encouragement would induce this

this young *Chineſe* to viſit *India*, and ſome of his countrymen would, perhaps, accompany him; but, though conſiderable advantage to the publick, as well as to letters, might be reaped from the knowledge and ingenuity of ſuch emigrants, yet we muſt wait for a time of greater national wealth and proſperity, before ſuch a meaſure can be formally recommended by us to our patrons at the helm of government.

THE LUNAR YEAR OF THE HINDUS.

BY

THE PRESIDENT.

HAVING lately met by accident with a wonderfully curious tract of the learned and celebrated RAGHUNANDANA, containing a full account of all the rites and ceremonies in the lunar year, I twice peruſed it with eagerneſs, and preſent the Society with a correct outline of it, in the form of a calendar, illuſtrated with ſhort notes: the many paſſages quoted in it from the *Védas*, the *Puránas*, the *Sáſtras* of law and aſtronomy, the *Calpa*, or ſacred ritual, and other works of immemorial antiquity and reputed holineſs, would be thought highly intereſting by ſuch as take pleaſure in reſearches concerning the *Hindus*; but a tranſlation of them all would fill a conſiderable volume, and ſuch only are exhibited as appeared moſt diſtinguiſhed for elegance or novelty.

The lunar year of three hundred and ſixty days, is apparently more ancient in India than the ſolar, and began, as we may infer from a verſe in the *Mátſya*, with the month *A'ſwin*, ſo called, becauſe the moon was at the full, when that name was impoſed, in the firſt lunar ſtation of the *Hindu* ecliptick, the origin of which, being diametrically oppoſite to the bright ſtar *Chitrà*, may be aſcertained in our ſphere with exactneſs; but, although moſt of the *Indian* faſts and feſtivals be regulated by the days of the moon, yet the moſt ſolemn and remarkable of them have

have a manifeſt reference to the ſuppoſed motions of the ſun; the *Durgótſava* and *Hólica* relating as clearly to the autumnal and vernal equinoxes, as the ſleep and riſe of VISHNU relate to the ſolſtices: the *Sancrántis*, or days on which the ſun enters a new ſign, eſpecially thoſe of *Tulá* and *Méſha*, are great feſtivals of the ſolar year, which anciently began with *Pauſha* near the winter ſolſtice, whence the month *Márgaſírſha* has the name of *A'grahávana*, or *the year is next before*. The twelve months, now denominated from as many ſtations of the moon, ſeem to have been formerly peculiar to the lunar year; for the old ſolar months, beginning with *Chaitra*, have the following very different names in a curious text of the *Véda* on the order of the ſix *Indian* ſeaſons; *Madhu*, *Mádhava*, *Sucra*, *Suchi*, *Nabhas*, *Nabhaſya*, *I'ſa*, *Urja*, *Sahas*, *Sahaſya*, *Tapas*, *Tapaſya*. It is neceſſary to premiſe, that the *muc'hya chándra*, or *primary* lunar month, ends with the conjunction, and the *gauna chándra*, or *ſecondary*, with the oppoſition: both modes of reckoning are authorized by the ſeveral *Puránas*; but, although the aſtronomers of *Cáſi* have adopted the *gauna* month, and place in *Bhádra* the birth-day of their paſtoral god, the *muc'hya* is here preferred, becauſe it is generally uſed in this province, and eſpecially at the ancient ſeminary of *Bráhmens* at *Máyápur*, now called *Navadwípa*, becauſe a *new iſland* has been formed by the *Ganges* on the ſite of the old academy. The *Hindus* define a *tit'hi*, or lunar day, to be the time, in which the moon paſſes through twelve degrees of her path, and to each *pacſha*, or half month, they allot fifteen *tit'his*, though they divide the moon's orb into *ſixteen* phaſes, named *Calás*, one of which they ſuppoſe conſtant, and compare to the ſtring of a necklace or chaplet, round which are placed moveable gems and flowers: the *Mahácalá* is the day of the conjunction, called *Amá*, or *Amáváſyá*, and defined by GOBHILA, the *day of the neareſt approach to the ſun*; on which obſequies are performed to the manes of the *Pitŕis*, or certain progenitors of the human race, to whom the *darker* fortnight is peculiarly ſacred.

Many

Many ſubtile points are diſcuſſed by my author concerning the *junction* of two or even three lunar days in forming one faſt or feſtival; but ſuch a detail can be uſeful only to the *Bráhmens*, who could not guide their flocks, as the *Raja* of *Criſhnanagar* aſſures me, without the aſſiſtance of RAGHUNANDAN. So fond are the *Hindus* of mythological perſonifications, that they repreſent each of the thirty *tit'his* as a beautiful nymph; and the *Gáyatrítantra*, of which *Sannyásì* made me a preſent, though he conſidered it as the holieſt book after the *Véda*, contains flowery deſcriptions of each nymph, much reſembling the delineations of the thirty *Ráginis*, in the treatiſes on *Indian* muſick.

In what manner the *Hindus* contrive ſo far to reconcile the lunar and ſolar years, as to make them proceed concurrently in their ephemerides, might eaſily have been ſhown by exhibiting a verſion of the *Nadíya* or *Varánes* almanack; but their modes of intercalation form no part of my preſent ſubject, and would injure the ſimplicity of my work, without throwing any light on the religion of the *Hindus*. The following tables have been very diligently compared by myſelf with two *Sanſcrit* almanacks, with a ſuperficial chapter in the work of ABU'LFAZL, and with a liſt of *Indian* holidays publiſhed at *Calcutta*; in which there are nine or ten faſts called *Jayantis*, diſtinguiſhed chiefly by the titles of the *Avatáras*, and twelve or thirteen days marked as the beginnings of as many *Calpas*, or very long periods, an hundred of which conſtitute BRAHMA"S age; but having found no authority for thoſe holidays, I have omitted them: ſome feſtivals, however, or faſts, which are paſſed over in ſilence by RAGHUNANDAN, are here printed in *Italick* letters; becauſe they may be mentioned in other books, and kept holy in other provinces or by particular ſects. I cannot refrain from adding, that *human ſacrifices* were anciently made on the *Mahanavamí*; and it is declared in the *Bhawiſhya Puráṇa*, that *the head of a ſlaughtered man gives* DURGA' *a thouſand times more ſatisfaction than that of a buffalo:*

Náréna śirasà víra pújità vidhiwannrĭpa,
trĭptá bhawéd bhrĭśam Durgà verſhani lacſhamévacha.

But in the *Bráhma* every *neramédha*, or *ſacrifice of a man*, is expreſsly forbidden; and in the fifth book of the *Bhágawat* are the following emphatical words: "*Yé twiha vai puruſháh puruſhamédhéna yajanté,* "*yáſcha ſtriyó nrĭpasún c'hádanti, tánſcha táſcha tè paſava iha nihatà,* "*yama sádanè yátayantó, racſhógana ſaunicá iva ſudhittiná 'vadáyaſrĭc* "*pivanti*;" that is, "Whatever men in this world ſacrifice human "victims, and, whatever women eat the fleſh of male cattle, thoſe men "and thoſe women ſhall the animals here ſlain torment in the manſion "of YAMA, and, like ſlaughtering giants, having cleaved their limbs "with axes, ſhall quaff their blood." It may ſeem ſtrange, that a *human ſacrifice* by a man ſhould be no greater crime than eating the fleſh of a male beaſt by a woman; but it is held a mortal offence to kill any creature, except for ſacrifice, and none but males muſt ever be ſacrificed, nor muſt women, except after the performance of a *ſráddha* by their huſbands, taſte the fleſh even of victims. Many ſtrange ceremonies at the *Durgótſava* ſtill ſubſiſt among the *Hindus* both male and female, an account of which might elucidate ſome very obſcure parts of the *Moſaick* law; but this is not a place for ſuch diſquiſitions. The ceremony of *ſwinging* with iron hooks through the muſcles, on the day of the *Cherec*, was introduced, as I am credibly informed, in modern times, by a ſuperſtitious prince, named *Vána*, who was a *Saiva* of the moſt auſtere ſect: but the cuſtom is bitterly cenſured by learned *Hindus*, and the day is, therefore, omitted in the following abridgement of the *Tit'hi tatwa*.

A'SWINA.

I. Navarátrĭcam. *a.*

II.

III. Acſhayá. *b.*

IV.

V. Sáyam-adhiváſa. *c.*

VI. Shaſtyádicalpa bódhanam. *d.*

VII. Patricá-pravéſa. *e.*

VIII. Maháſhtámi ſandhipújà.

IX. Mahánavamì. *f.* Manwantará. *g.*

X. Vijaya. *h.*

XI.

XII.

XIII.

XIV.

XV. A'ſwiní Cójágara. *i.*

a. By ſome the firſt *nine nights* are allotted to the decoration of DURGA' with ceremonies peculiar to each. *Bhawiſhyóttara.*

b. When certain days of the moon fall on certain days of the week, they are called *acſhayás*, or *unperiſhable.*

c. The evening preparation for her dreſs.

d. On

d. On this day ſhe is commonly awakened, and her feſtival begins.

Dévi-purána.

e. She is invited to a bower of *leaves* from *nine* plants, of which the *Bilva* is the chief.

f. The laſt of the three great days. "The ſacrificed beaſts muſt be "killed at one blow with a broad ſword or a ſharp axe."

Cálicápurána.

g. The *fourteen* days, named *Manwantarás,* are ſuppoſed to be the firſt of as many very long periods, each of which was the reign of a MENU: they are all placed according to the *Bhawiſhya* and *Mátſya.*

h. The goddeſs diſmiſſed with reverence, and her image caſt into the river, but without *Mantras.* *Baudháyana.*

i. On this full moon the fiend NICUMBHA led his army againſt DURGA'; and LACSHMI deſcended, promiſing wealth to thoſe *who were awake:* hence the night is paſſed in playing at ancient cheſs. CUVE'RA alſo and INDRA are worſhipped. *Lainga* and *Bráhma.*

ASWINA:

ASWINA:
or *Cártica.*

I.
II.
III.
IV.
V.
VI.
VII.
VIII. Dagdhá. *a.*
IX.
X.
XI.
XII.
XIII.
XIV. Bhútachaturdasì Yamaterpanam. *b.*
XV. Lacſhmípujá dípánwitá. *c.* Syámápujá. Ulcádánam. *d.*

a. The days called *dagdha*, or *burnt*, are variable, and depend on ſome inauſpicious conjunctions. *Vidyá-ſirómani.*

b. Bathing and libations to YAMA, regent of the ſouth or the lower world, and judge of departed ſpirits. *Lainga.*

c. A faſt

c. A faſt all day, and a great feſtival at night, in honour of LACSHMI, with illuminations on trees and houſes: invocations are made at the ſame time to CUVE'RA. *Rudra-dhera.*

" On this night, when the Gods, having been delivered by CE'SAVA, " were ſlumbering on the rocks, that bounded the ſea of milk, LACSHMI', " no longer fearing the *Daityas*, ſlept apart on a lotos." *Bráhma.*

d. Flowers are alſo offered on this day to SYA'M'A, or the black, an epithet of BHAVA'NI, who appears in the *Calijug*, as *a damſel twelve years old.* *Váránaſi Panjicá.*

Torches and flaming brands are kindled and conſecrated, to burn the bodies of kinſmen, who may be dead in battle or in a foreign country, and to light them through the ſhades of death to the manſion of YAMA. *Bráhma.*

Theſe rites bear a ſtriking reſemblance to thoſe of CERES and PROSERPINE.

Ca'rtica.

I. Dyúta pratipat. *a.* Belipújá. *b.*

II. Bhrátrĭ dwitíyá. *c.*

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII. Acſhayá.

VIII. Góſht'háſhtamí. *d.*

IX. Durgá navamì. *e.* Yugádyá. *f.*

X.

XI. Utt'hánaicádasí. *g.* *Baca panchacam.*

XII. Manwantará.

XIII.

XIV. *Sríherérutt'hánam.*

XV. Cárticí. Manwantará. Dánámávaſyacam. *h.*

a. Maha'de'va was beaten on this day at a game of chance by Pa'rvati': hence games of chance are allowed in the morning; and the winner expects a fortunate year. *Bráhma.*

b. A nightly feſtival, with illuminations and offerings of flowers, in honour of the ancient king Beli. *Vámena.*

c. Yama.

c. YAMA, child of the Sun, was entertained on this lunar day by the river-goddeſs YAMUNA', his younger ſiſter: hence the day is ſacred to them both; and ſiſters give entertainments to their brothers, who make preſents in return. *Lainga Mahábhárata.*

d. Cows are on this day to be fed, careſſed, and attended in their paſtures; and the *Hindus* are to walk round them with ceremony, keeping them always to the right hand. *Bhíma parácrama.*

e. "To eat nothing but dry rice on this day of the moon for "nine ſucceſſive years, will ſecure the favour of DURGA'." *Cálicá purána.*

f. The firſt day of the *Trétá Yuga.* *Vaiſhnava. Bráhma.*

g. VISHNU riſes on this day, and in ſome years on the *fourteenth*, from his ſlumber of four months. He is waked by this incantation: "The "clouds are diſperſed; the full moon will appear in perfect brightneſs; "and I come, in hope of acquiring purity, to offer the freſh flowers of "the ſeaſon: awake from thy long ſlumber, awake, O Lord of all "worlds!" *Váráha. Mátſya.*

The Lord of all worlds neither ſlumbers nor ſleeps.

A ſtrict faſt is obſerved on the *eleventh*; and even the *Baca*, a water-bird, abſtains, it is ſaid, from his uſual food. *Vidyá ſirómani.*

h. Gifts to *Bráhmens* are indiſpenſably neceſſary on this day. *Rámáyana.*

CA'RTICA:

CA'RTICA:

or *Márgasírſha.*

I.
II.
III.
IV.
V.
VI.
VII.
VIII.
IX.
X.
XI.
XII.
XIII.
XIV. Acſhayá.
XV. Góſahaſrí. *a.*

a. Bathing in the *Gangá,* and other appointed ceremonies, on this day will be equally rewarded with a gift of a *thouſand cows* to the *Bráhmens.* *Vyáſa.*

MA'RGASI'RSHA.

I.

II.

III.

IV.

V.

VI. Guha ſhaſhtí. *a.*

VII. *Mitra ſeptamí. b.* Navánnam.

VIII. Navánnam.

IX.

X.

XI.

XII. *Ac'handá dwádaſi.* Navánnam.

XIII.

XIV. Páſhána chaturdasì. *c.*

XV. Márgasírſhí. Navánnam.

a. Sacred to SCANDA, or CA'RTICE'YA, God of Arms.

Bhawiſhya.

b. In honour of the Sun. *Navánnam* ſignifies *new grain*, oblations of which are made on any of the days to which the word is annexed.

c. GAURI' to be worſhipped at night, and cakes of rice to be eaten in the form of *large pebbles*. *Bhawiſhya.*

MA'RGASI'RSHA:

MA'RGASI'RSHA:
or *Pauſha.*

I.
II.
III.
IV.
V.
VI.
VII.
VIII. Púpáſhtacá. *a.*
IX. *Dagdhá.*
X.
XI.
XII.
XIII.
XIV.
XV.

a. Cakés of rice are offered on this day, which is alſo called *Aindrì*, from INDRA, to the Manes of anceſtors. *Góbhila.*

Pausha.

I. The *morning* of the Gods, or beginning of the old *Hindu* year.

II. *Dagdhá.*

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII.

IX.

X.

XI. Manwantará.

XII.

XIII.

XIV.

XV. Pauſhí.

PAUSHA:
or *Mágha.*

I.
II.
III.
IV.
V.
VI.
VII.
VIII. Mánsáſhtacá. *a.*
IX.
X.
XI.
XII.
XIII.
XIV. Rátantì, or the waters *ſpeak. b.*
XV.

a. On this day, called alſo *Prájápatyá*, from *Prajápati*, or the Lord of Creatures, the fleſh of male kids or wild deer is offered to the Manes. *Góbhila.*

" On the eighth lunar day, ICSHWA'CU ſpoke thus to his ſon VI-
" CUCSHI: Go, robuſt youth, and having ſlain a male deer, bring his
" fleſh for the funeral oblation." *Herivans'a.*

b. Bathing at the firſt appearance of ARUNA, or the dawn. *Yama.* MA'GHA.

MA'GHA.

I.

II.

III.

IV. Varadá chaturt'hí. Gaurípújá. *a.*

V. Srí panchamí. *b.*

VI.

VII. Bháſcara ſeptamí. *c.* Mácarí. Manwantará.

VIII. Bhíſhmáſhtamì. *d.*

IX. *Mahánandá.*

X.

XI. Bhaimí. *e.*

XII. Sháttiladánam. *f.*

XIII.

XIV.

XV. Mághí. Yugádyà. *g.* Dánamávaſyacam.

a. The worſhip of GAURI', ſurnamed *Varadá*, or *granting boons.*

Bhawiſhyóttara.

b. On this lunar day SARASWATI`, here called SRI`, the goddeſs of arts and eloquence, is worſhipped with offerings of perfumes, flowers, and dreſſed rice: even the implements of writing and books are treated with reſpect and not uſed on this holiday. *Samvatſara pradípa.*

A Meditation on SARASWATI.

'May the goddeſs of ſpeech enable us to attain all poſſible felicity;

'ſhe,

'ſhe, who wears on her locks a young moon, who ſhines with exquiſite
'luſtre, whoſe body bends with the weight of her full breaſts, who ſits
'reclined on a white lotos, and from the crimſon lotos of her hands
'pours radiance on the inſtruments of writing, and on the books pro-
'duced by her favour!' *Sáradá tilaca.*

c. A faſt in honour of the Sun, as a *form* of VISHNU. *Váráha purána.*

It is called alſo *Mácarì* from the conſtellation of *Macara*, into which the Sun enters on the firſt of the ſolar *Mágha.* *Critya calpa taru.*

This day has alſo the names of *Rat'hyá* and *Rat'ha ſeptamì*, becauſe it was the beginning of a *Manwantará*, when a new Sun aſcended his car. *Náraſinha. Mátſya.*

d. A libation of holy water is offered by all the four claſſes to the Manes of the valiant and pious BHI'SHMA, ſon of GANGA'. *Bhawiſhyóttara.*

e. Ceremonies with *tila*, or *ſeſamum*, in honour of BHI'MA. *Viſhnu dherma.*

f. *Tila* offered in *ſix* different modes. *Mátſya.*

g. The firſt day of the *Caliyuga.* *Bráhma.*

MA'GHA:
or *P'hálguna.*

I.
II.
III.
IV.
V.
VI.
VII.
VIII. Sácáſhtacá. *a.*
IX.
X.
XI.
XII.
XIII.
XIV. Siva ratri. *b.*
XV.

a. Green vegetables are offered on this day to the Manes of anceſtors: it is called alſo *Vaiſwédéviſcì* from the *Vaiſwédéváh*, or certain paternal progenitors. *Góbhila.*

b. A rigorous faſt, with extraordinary ceremonies in honour of the *Sivalinga* or Phallus. *Iſána ſamhitá.*

P'HA'LGUNA.

I.
II.
III.
IV. *Dagdhá.*
V.
VI.
VII.
VIII.
IX.
X.
XI.
XII. Góvinda dwádasî. *a.*
XIII.
XIV.
XV. P'hálguní. Manwantará. Dólayátrá. *b.*

a. Bathing in the *Gangá* for the remiſſion of mortal ſins. *Pádma.*

b. Hólicà, or *P'halgútſava*, vulgarly *Húlì*, the great feſtival on the approach of the vernal equinox.

Kings and people *ſport* on this day in honour of *Góvinda*, who is carried in a *dólà*, or palanquin. *Bráhma. Scánda.*

P'HA'LGUNA:
or *Chaitra.*

I.
II.
III.
IV.
V.
VI.
VII.
VIII. *Sítalá pújá.*
IX.
X.
XI.
XII.
XIII. *Mahávárunì?*
XIV.
XV. Maunì. *a.* Acſhayá. Manwantará.

a. Bathing in *ſilence.* *Vyáſa. Scánda.*

CHAITRA.

I. The *luniſolar* year of VICRAMA'DITYA begins.

II.

III. Manwantará.

IV.

V.

VI. Scanda-ſhaſhtí. *a.*

VII.

VIII. Asócáſhtamí. *b.*

IX. Sríráma-navamí. *c.*

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII. Madana-trayódasí. *d.*

XIV. Madana-chaturdasí. *e.*

XV. Chaitrí. Manwantará.

a. Sacred to CA'RTICE'YA, the God of War. *Dévi-purána.*

b. Men and women of all claſſes ought to bathe in ſome holy ſtream, and, if poſſible, in the *Brahmaputra:* they ſhould alſo drink water with buds of the *Asóca* floating on it. *Scánda.*

c. The birthday of RA'MA CHANDRA. Ceremonies are to be performed with the myſtical ſtone *Sálagráma* and leaves of *Tulasí.* *Agaſtya.*

d. A

d. A feſtival in honour of CA'MA DE'VA, God of Love. *Bhawiſhya.*

e. The ſame continued with muſick and bathing.

Saurágama. Dévala.

The Hymn to CA'MA.

1. Hail, God of the flowery bow; hail, warriour with a fiſh on thy banner; hail, powerful divinity, who cauſeſt the firmneſs of the ſage to forſake him, and ſubdueſt the guardian deities of eight regions!

2. O CANDARPA, thou ſon of MA'DHAVA! O MA'RA, thou foe of SAMBHARA! Glory be given to thee, who loveſt the goddeſs RETI; to thee, by whom all worlds are ſubdued; to thee, who ſpringeſt from the heart!

3. Glory be to MADANA, to CA'MA; to Him, who is formed as the God of Gods; to Him, by whom BRAHMA', VISHNU, SIVA, INDRA, are filled with emotions of rapture!

4. May all my mental cares be removed, all my corporal ſufferings terminate! May the object of my ſoul be attained, and my felicity continue for ever! *Bhawiſhya-purána.*

CHAITRA:
or *Vaisác'ha.*

I.
II. *Dagdhá.*
III.
IV.
V.
VI.
VII.
VIII.
IX.
X.
XI.
XII.
XIII. Várunì. *a.*
XIV. Angáraca dinam. *b.*
XV.

a. So called from *Váruna*, or the lunar conſtellation *Satabhiſhà:* when it falls on *Saturday*, it is named *Mahávárunì.* Bathing by day and at night in the *Gangà.* *Scánda.*

b. Sacred, I believe, to the planet *Mangala.* " A branch of *Snuhì* " *(Euphorbia)* in a whitened veſſel, placed with a red flag on the " houſetop, on the fourteenth of the dark half of *Chaitra*, drives away " ſin and diſeaſe." *Rája mártanda.*

VAISA'C'HA:

VAISA'C'HA.

I.

II.

III. Acſhaya tritíyá. *a.* Yugádyá. *b. Paras'uráma.*

IV.

V.

VI. Dagdhá.

VII. *Jahnu ſeptamí.*

VIII.

IX.

X.

XI.

XII. Pipítaca dwádasí. *c.*

XIII.

XIV. *Nrĭſiṅha chaturdasí.*

XV. Vais'ac'hí. Dánamávaſyacam.

a. Gifts on this day of water and grain, eſpecially of *barley*, with oblations to CRISHNA of perfumes, and other religious rites, produce fruit *without end* in the next world. *Scánda. Bráhma. Bhávishya.*

b. The firſt day of the *Satya yuga.* *Bráhma. Vaiſhnava.*

" Water and oil of *tila*, offered on the *Yugádyás* to the *Pitrĭs*, or " progenitors of mankind, are equal to obſequies continued for a thou- " ſand years." *Viſhnu-purána.*

This

This was alſo the day, on which the river *Gangá* flowed from the foot of *Viſhnu* down upon *Himálaya*, where ſhe was received on the head of *Siva*, and led afterwards to the ocean by king *Bhágírat'ha:* hence adoration is now paid to *Gangá*, *Himálaya*, *Sancara*, and his mountain *Cailaſa*; nor muſt *Bhágírat'ha* be neglected. *Bráhma.*

c. Libations to the Manes. *Raghunandan.*

Note on p. 393.

Dólayátra. b.

Compare this holiday and the ſuperſtition on the *fourth* of *Bhádra* with the two *Egyptian* feſtivals mentioned by PLUTARCH; one called the *entrance of* OSIRIS *into the Moon*, and the other, *his confinement or incloſure in an Ark.*

The people uſually claim *four* other days for their ſports, and ſprinkle one another with a *red powder* in imitation of vernal flowers: it is commonly made with the mucilaginous root of a fragrant plant, coloured with *Bakkam*, or *Sappan*-wood, a little alum being added to extract and fix the redneſs.

VAISA'C'HA:
or *ſyaiſhit'ha.*

I.
II.
III.
IV. Dagdhá.
V.
VI.
VII.
VIII.
IX.
X.
XI.
XII.
XIII.
XIV. Sávitrí vratam. *a.*
XV.

a. A faſt, with ceremonies by women, at the roots of the *Indian* fig-tree, to preſerve them from widowhood.

Paráſara. Rájamártanda. Critya chintámeni.

JYAISHT'HA.

I.

II.

III. Rembhá tritíyá. *a.*

IV.

V.

VI. Aranya ſhaſhti. *b.*

VII. *Acſhaya.*

VIII.

IX.

X. Daſahara. *c.*

XI. *Nirjalaicádaśí. d.*

XII.

XIII.

XIV. *Champaca chaturdaśí. e.*

XV. Jyaiſh'thí. Manwantará.

a. On this day of the moon the *Hindu* women imitate REMBHA', the ſeaborn goddeſs of beauty, who bathed on the ſame day, with particular ceremonies. *Bhawiſhyóttara.*

b. Women walk in the *foreſts* with a fan in one hand, and eat certain vegetables in hope of beautiful children. *Rája mártanda.*

See the account given by PLINY of the *Druidical* miſletoe, or *viſcum*, which was to be gathered, when the moon was *ſix* days old, as a preſervative from *ſterility*.

c. The word means *ten-removing*, or *removing ten ſins*, an epithet of *Gangá*, who effaces *ten* ſins, how heinous ſoever, committed in *ten* previous births by ſuch as bathe in her waters. *Brahma-vaiverta*.

A Couplet by SANC'HA.

" On the tenth of *Jyaiſht'ha*, in the bright half of the month, on " the day of MANGALA, ſon of the Earth, when the moon was in " *Haſta*, this daughter of JAHNU burſt from the rocks, and flowed over " the land inhabited by mortals: on this lunar day, therefore, ſhe " waſhes off ten ſins (thus have the venerable ſages declared) and " gives an hundred times more felicity, than could be attained by a " myriad of *Aſwamédhas*, or *ſacrifices of a horſe*."

d. A faſt ſo ſtrict, that even *water* muſt *not* be taſted.

e. A feſtival, I ſuppoſe, with the flowers of the *Champaca*.

JYAISHT'HA:
or *A'ſhárha.*

I.
II.
III.
IV. *Dagdhá.*
V.
VI.
VII.
VIII.
IX.
X. Ambuváchí pradam. *a.*
XI.
XII.
XIII. Ambuváchí tyágah.
XIV.
XV. Góſahaſrí.

a. The Earth in her courſes till the thirteenth. *Jyótiſh.*

A'SHA'D''HA.

I.

II. Rat'ha Yátrá. *a.*

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII.

VIII.

IX.

X. Manwantará.

XI. Sayanaicádasí. Rátrau s'ayanam. *b.*

XII.

XIII.

XIV.

XV. A'ſhárhi. Manwantará. Dánamávaſyacam.

a. The image of CRISHNA, in the character of *Jagannát'ha*, or Lord of the Univerſe, is borne by day in a *car*, together with thoſe of BALARA'MA and SUBHADRA: when the moon riſes, the feaſt begins, but muſt end, as ſoon as it ſets. *Scánda.*

b. The *night* of the Gods beginning with the ſummer ſolſtice, VISHNU repoſes *four* months on the ſerpent SE'SHA.

Bhágavata. Mátſya. Váráha.

A'SHA'D'HA:

A'SHA'D'HA:
or *Srávana.*

I.
II.
III.
IV.
V. Manasápanchamì. *a.*
VI. *Dagdhá.*
VII.
VIII. Manwantará.
IX.
X.
XI.
XII.
XIII.
XIV.
XV.

a. In honour of *Dévì*, the goddeſs of nature, ſurnamed *Manaſá*, who, while VISHNU and all the Gods were ſleeping, ſat in the ſhape of a ſerpent on a branch of *Snuhì*, to preſerve mankind from the venom of ſnakes. *Garuda. Dévípurána.*

SRA'VANA.

I.
II.
III.
IV.
V. Nágapanchamí. *a.*
VI.
VII.
VIII.
IX.
X.
XI.
XII.
XIII.
XIV.
XV. S'rávaní.

a. Sacred to the demigods in the form of *Serpents*, who are enumerated in the *Pedma*, and *Garuda*, *puránas*. Doors of houſes are ſmeared with cow-dung and *Nimba*-leaves, as a preſervative from poiſonous reptiles. *Bhawiſhya. Retnácara.*

Both in the *Pádma* and *Gáruda* we find the ſerpent CA'LIYA, whom CRISHNA ſlew in his childhood, among the deities worſhipped on this day; as the *Pythian* ſnake, according to CLEMENS, was adored with APOLLO at *Delphi*.

SRA'VANA:

SRA'VANA: or *Bhadra.*

I.

II.

III.

IV.

V.

VI.

VII. *Dagdhá.*

VIII. Criſhnajanmáſhtami. *a.* Jayantí. *b.*

IX.

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII. Yugádyá. *c.*

XIV.

XV. Amáváſyá.

a. The birthday of CRISHNA, ſon of MAHA'MA'Y'A in the form of DE'VAC'I. *Vaſ'iſht'ha. Bhawiſhyóttara.*

b. A ſtrict faſt from midnight. In the book, entitled *Dwaita nirnaya,* it is ſaid that the *Jayanti yóga* happens, whenever the moon is in *Róhinì* on the *eighth* of any dark fortnight; but VARA'HA MIHIRA confines it to the time, when the Sun is in *Sinha.* This faſt, during which CHANDRA and RO'HIN'I are worſhipped, is alſo called *Róhiní vrata.* *Bráhmánda.*

c. The firſt day of the *Dwápara Yuga.* *Bráhma.*

Bhadra.

I.

II.

III. Manwantará.

IV. *Heritálicà. Ganéſa chaturt'hí.* Naſhtachandra. *a.*

V. *Rĭſhi panchamì.*

VI.

VII. Acſhayá lalità. *b.*

VIII. Dúrváſhtamì. *c.*

IX.

X.

XI. Párſwaperivertanam. *d.*

XII. S'acrótt'hánam. *e.*

XIII.

XIV. Ananta vratam. *f.*

XV. Bhádrì.

a. Crishna, falſely accuſed in his childhood of having ſtolen a gem from Prase'na, who had been killed by a lion, *hid himſelf in the moon*; to ſee which on the two *fourth* days of *Bhádra* is inauſpicious.

Bráhma. Bhójadéva.

b. A ceremony, called *Cuccutí vratam*, performed by women in honour of Siva and Durga'. *Bhawiſhya.*

c. " The

c. "The family of him, who performs holy rites on this lunar day, "ſhall flouriſh and increaſe like the graſs *dúrvà*." It is the *rayed* AGROSTIS. *Bhawiſhyóttara.*

d. VISHNU ſleeping turns on his ſide. *Mátſya. Bhawiſhya.*

e. Princes erect poles adorned with flowers, by way of ſtandards, in honour of INDRA: the ceremonies are minutely deſcribed in the *Cálicá purána.*

f. Sacred to VISHNU with the title of ANANTA, or Infinite.

Bhawiſhyóttara.

BHA'DRA:
or *A'ſwina.*

I. Aparapacſha. *Brahma ſávitrì.*
II.
III.
IV. Naſhta-chandra.
V.
VI.
VII. Agaſtyódayah. *a.*
VIII.
IX. Bódhanam. *b.*
X.
XI.
XII.
XIII. *Maghátrayódasí ſráddham.*
XIV.
XV. Mahálayá. Amáváſyá.

a. Three days before the ſun enters the conſtellation of *Canyá,* let the people, who dwell in *Gaura,* offer a diſh of flowers to AGASTYA.

Brahma-vaiverta.

Having poured water into a ſea-ſhell, let the votary fill it with white flowers and unground rice: then, turning to the ſouth, let him offer it with

with this incantation: 'Hail, CUMBHAYO'NI, born in the ſight of 'MITRA and VARUNA, bright as the bloſſom of the graſs *cáſa*; thou, 'who ſprangeſt from AGNI and MA'RUTA.' *Cáſa* is the *Spontaneous* SACCHARUM. *Náraſinha.*

This is properly a feſtival of the ſolar year, in honour of the ſage AGASTYA, ſuppoſed, after his death, to preſide over the ſtar *Canopus*.

b. Some begin on this day, and continue till the *ninth* of the new moon, the great feſtival, called *Durgótſava*, in honour of DURGA', the goddeſs of nature; who is now *awakened* with ſports and muſick, as ſhe was waked in the beginning by BRAHMA' during the night of the Gods. *Cálicá purána.*

Note on p. 383.

Utt'hánaicádaſi. *g.*

In one almanack I ſee on this day *Tulaſi-viváha*, or the Marriage of TULAS'I, but have no other authority for mentioning ſuch a feſtival. TULAS'I was a Nymph beloved by CRĬSHNA, but transformed by him into the *Parnáſa*, or black *Ocymum*, which commonly bears her name.

GENERAL NOTE.

If the feſtivals of the old *Greeks*, *Romans*, *Perſians*, *Egyptians*, and *Goths*, could be arranged with exactneſs in the ſame form with theſe *Indian* tables, there would be found, I am perſuaded, a ſtriking reſemblance among them; and an attentive compariſon of them all might throw great light on the religion, and, perhaps, on the hiſtory, of the primitive world.

ON

THE MUSICAL MODES

OF

THE HINDUS:

WRITTEN IN 1784, AND SINCE MUCH ENLARGED.

BY THE PRESIDENT.

MUSICK belongs, as a *Science*, to an intereſting part of natural philoſophy, which, by mathematical deductions from conſtant phenomena, explains the cauſes and properties of ſound, limits the number of mixed, or *harmonick*, ſounds to a certain ſeries, which perpetually recurs, and fixes the ratio, which they bear to each other or to one leading term; but, conſidered as an *Art*, it combines the ſounds, which philoſophy diſtinguiſhes, in ſuch a manner as to gratify our ears, or affect our imaginations, or, by uniting both objects, to captivate the fancy while it pleaſes the ſenſe, and, ſpeaking, as it were, the language of beautiful nature, to raiſe correſpondent ideas and emotions in the mind of the hearer: it then, and then only, becomes what we call a *fine art*, allied very nearly to verſe, painting, and rhetorick, but ſubordinate in its functions to pathetick poetry, and inferior in its power to genuine eloquence.

Thus it is the province of the *philoſopher*, to diſcover the true direction and divergence of ſound propagated by the ſucceſſive compreſſions and

and expanſions of air, as the vibrating body advances and recedes; to ſhow why ſounds themſelves may excite a tremulous motion in particular bodies, as in the known experiment of inſtruments tuned in uniſon; to demonſtrate the law, by which all the particles of air, when it undulates with great quickneſs, are continually accelerated and retarded; to compare the number of pulſes in agitated air with that of the vibrations, which cauſe them; to compute the velocities and intervals of thoſe pulſes in atmoſpheres of different denſity and elaſticity; to account, as well as he can, for the affections, which muſick produces; and, generally, to inveſtigate the cauſes of the many wonderful appearances, which it exhibits: but the *artiſt*, without conſidering, and even without knowing, any of the ſublime theorems in the philoſophy of ſound, may attain his end by a happy ſelection of *melodies* and *accents* adapted to paſſionate verſe, and of *times* conformable to regular metre; and, above all, by *modulation*, or the choice and variation of thoſe *modes*, as they are called, of which, as they are contrived and arranged by the *Hindus*, it is my deſign, and ſhall be my endeavour, to give you a general notion with all the perſpicuity, that the ſubject will admit.

Although we muſt aſſign the firſt rank, tranſcendently and beyond all compariſon, to that powerful muſick, which may be denominated the ſiſter of poetry and eloquence, yet the lower art of pleaſing the ſenſe by a ſucceſſion of agreeable ſounds, not only has merit and even charms, but may, I perſuade myſelf, be applied on a variety of occaſions to ſalutary purpoſes: whether, indeed, the ſenſation of hearing be cauſed, as many ſuſpect, by the vibrations of an elaſtick ether flowing over the auditory nerves and propelled along their ſolid capillaments, or whether the fibres of our nerves, which ſeem indefinitely diviſible, have, like the ſtrings of a lute, peculiar vibrations proportioned to their length and degree of tenſion, we have not ſufficient evidence to decide; but we are very ſure, that the whole nervous ſyſtem is affected in a ſingular manner by

by combinations of ſound, and that melody alone will often relieve the mind, when it is oppreſſed by intenſe application to buſineſs or ſtudy. The old muſician, who rather figuratively, we may ſuppoſe, than with philoſophical ſerioufneſs, *declared the ſoul itſelf to be nothing but harmony*, provoked the ſprightly remark of CICERO, that *he drew his philoſophy from the art, which he profeſſed*; but if, without departing from his own art, he had merely deſcribed the human frame as the nobleſt and ſweeteſt of muſical inſtruments, endued with a natural diſpoſition to reſonance and ſympathy, alternately affecting and affected by the ſoul, which pervades it, his deſcription might, perhaps, have been phyſically juſt, and certainly ought not to have been haſtily ridiculed: that any medical purpoſe may be fully anſwered by muſick, I dare not aſſert; but after food, when the operations of digeſtion and abſorption give ſo much employment to the veſſels, that a temporary ſtate of mental repoſe muſt be found, eſpecially in hot climates, eſſential to health, it ſeems reaſonable to believe, that a few agreeable airs, either heard or played without effort, muſt have all the good effects of ſleep and none of its diſadvantages; *putting the ſoul in tune*, as MILTON ſays, for any ſubſequent exertion; an experiment, which has often been ſucceſsfully made by myſelf, and which any one, who pleaſes, may eaſily repeat. Of what I am going to add, I cannot give equal evidence; but hardly know how to diſbelieve the teſtimony of men, who had no ſyſtem of their own to ſupport, and could have no intereſt in deceiving me: firſt, I have been aſſured by a credible eye witneſs, that two wild antelopes uſed often to come from their woods to the place, where a more ſavage beaſt, SIRAJUDDAULAH, entertained himſelf with concerts, and that they liſtened to the ſtrains with an appearance of pleaſure, till the monſter, in whoſe ſoul there was no muſick, ſhot one of them to diſplay his archery: ſecondly, a learned native of this country told me, that he had frequently ſeen the moſt venomous and malignant ſnakes leave their holes, upon hearing tunes on a flute, which, as he ſuppoſed, gave them peculiar

peculiar delight; and, thirdly, an intelligent *Perſian*, who repeated his ſtory again and again, and permitted me to write it down from his lips, declared, he had more than once been preſent, when a celebrated lutaniſt, *Mírzá* MOHAMMED, ſurnamed BULBUL, was playing to a large company in a grove near *Shíráz*, where he diſtinctly ſaw the nightingales trying to vie with the muſician, ſometimes warbling on the trees, ſometimes fluttering from branch to branch, as if they wiſhed to approach the inſtrument, whence the melody proceeded, and at length dropping on the ground in a kind of extaſy, from which they were ſoon raiſed, he aſſured me, by a change of the mode.

The aſtoniſhing effects aſcribed to muſick by the old *Greeks*, and, in our days, by the *Chineſe*, *Perſians*, and *Indians*, have probably been exaggerated and embelliſhed; nor, if ſuch effects had been really produced, could they be imputed, I think, to the mere influence of ſounds however combined or modified: it may, therefore, be ſuſpected (not that the accounts are wholly fictitious, but) that ſuch wonders were performed by muſick in its largeſt ſenſe, as it is now deſcribed by the *Hindus*, that is, by the union of *voices*, *inſtruments*, and *action*; for ſuch is the complex idea conveyed by the word *Sangíta*, the ſimple meaning of which is no more than *ſymphony*; but moſt of the *Indian* books on this art conſiſt accordingly of three parts, *gána*, *vádya*, *nrítya*, or *ſong*, *percuſſion*, and *dancing*; the firſt of which compriſes the meaſures of poetry, the ſecond extends to inſtrumental muſick of all ſorts, and the third includes the whole compaſs of theatrical repreſentation. Now it may eaſily be conceived, that ſuch an alliance, with the potent auxiliaries of diſtinct articulation, graceful geſture, and well adapted ſcenery, muſt have a ſtrong general effect, and may, from particular aſſociations, operate ſo forcibly on very ſenſible minds, as to excite copious tears, change the colour and countenance, heat or chill the blood, make the heart palpitate with violence, or even compel the hearer to ſtart from his

ſeat

ſeat with the look, ſpeech, and actions of a man in a phrenſy: the effect muſt be yet ſtronger, if the ſubject be *religious,* as that of the old *Indian* dramas, but great and ſmall (I mean both regular plays in many acts and ſhorter dramatick pieces on *divine love)* ſeems in general to have been. In this way only can we attempt to account for the indubitable effects of the *great airs* and impaſſioned *recitative* in the modern *Italian* dramas, where three beautiful arts, like the Graces united in a dance, are together exhibited in a ſtate of excellence, which the ancient world could not have ſurpaſſed and probably could not have equalled: an heroick opera of METASTASIO, ſet by PERGOLESI, or by ſome artiſt of his incomparable ſchool, and repreſented at *Naples,* diſplays at once the perfection of human genius, awakens all the affections, and captivates the imagination at the ſame inſtant through all the ſenſes.

When ſuch aids, as a perfect theatre would afford, are not acceſſible, the power of muſick muſt in proportion be leſs; but it will ever be very conſiderable, if the words of the ſong be fine in themſelves, and not only well tranſlated into the language of melody, with a complete union of muſical and rhetorical accents, but clearly pronounced by an accompliſhed ſinger, who feels what he ſings, and fully underſtood by a hearer, who has paſſions to be moved; eſpecially if the compoſer has availed himſelf in his *tranſlation* (for ſuch may his compoſition very juſtly be called) of all thoſe advantages, with which nature, ever ſedulous to promote our innocent gratifications, abundantly ſupplies him. The firſt of thoſe natural advantages is the variety of *modes,* or *manners,* in which the *ſeven* harmonick ſounds are perceived to move in ſucceſſion, as each of them takes the lead, and conſequently bears a new relation to the ſix others. Next to the phenomenon of ſeven ſounds perpetually circulating in a geometrical progreſſion, according to the length of the ſtrings or the number of their vibrations, every ear muſt be ſenſible, that two of the ſeven intervals in the complete ſeries, or octave, whether we conſider it as

placed in a circular form, or in a right line with the firſt ſound repeated, are much ſhorter than the five other intervals; and on theſe two phenomena the modes of the *Hindus* (who ſeem ignorant of our complicated harmony) are principally conſtructed. The longer intervals we ſhall call *tones*, and the ſhorter (in compliance with cuſtom) *ſemitones*, without mentioning their exact ratios; and it is evident, that, as the *places* of the ſemitones admit *ſeven* variations relative to one fundamental ſound, there are as many modes, which may be called *primary*; but we muſt not confound them with our modern modes, which reſult from the ſyſtem of accords now eſtabliſhed in *Europe:* they may rather be compared with thoſe of the *Roman* Church, where ſome valuable remnants of old *Grecian* muſick are preſerved in the ſweet, majeſtick, ſimple, and affecting ſtrains of the Plain Song. Now, ſince each of the tones may be divided, we find *twelve* ſemitones in the whole ſeries; and, ſince each ſemitone may in its turn become the leader of a ſeries formed after the model of every primary mode, we have *ſeven* times *twelve*, or *eighty-four*, modes in all, of which *ſeventy-ſeven* may be named *ſecondary;* and we ſhall ſee accordingly that the *Perſian* and the *Hindus* (at leaſt in their moſt popular ſyſtem) have exactly *eighty-four* modes, though diſtinguiſhed by different appellations and arranged in different claſſes: but, ſince many of them are unpleaſing to the ear, others difficult in execution, and few ſufficiently marked by a character of ſentiment and expreſſion, which the higher muſick always requires, the genius of the *Indians* has enabled them to retain the *number* of modes, which nature ſeems to have indicated, and to give each of them a character of its own by a happy and beautiful contrivance. Why any one ſeries of ſounds, the ratios of which are aſcertained by obſervation and expreſſible by figures, ſhould have a peculiar effect on the organ of hearing, and, by the auditory nerves, on the mind, will then only be known by mortals, when they ſhall know why each of the ſeven colours in the rainbow, where a proportion, analogous to that of muſical ſounds, moſt wonderfully prevails,

has

has a certain ſpecifick effect on our eyes; why the ſhades of green and blue, for inſtance, are ſoft and ſoothing, while thoſe of red and yellow diſtreſs and dazzle the ſight; but, without ſtriving to account for the phenomena, let us be ſatisfied with knowing, that ſome of the *modes* have diſtinct perceptible properties, and may be applied to the expreſſion of various mental emotions; a fact, which ought well to be conſidered by thoſe performers, who would reduce them all to a dull uniformity, and ſacrifice the true beauties of their art to an injudicious temperament.

The ancient *Greeks*, among whom this delightful art was long in the hands of poets, and of mathematicians, who had much leſs to do with it, aſcribe almoſt all its magick to the diverſity of their *Modes*, but have left us little more than the names of them, without ſuch diſcriminations, as might have enabled us to compare them with our own, and apply them to practice: their writers addreſſed themſelves to *Greeks*, who could not but know their national muſick; and moſt of thoſe writers were profeſſed men of ſcience, who thought more of calculating ratios than of inventing melody; ſo that, whenever we ſpeak of the ſoft *Eolian* mode, of the tender *Lydian*, the voluptuous *Ionick*, the manly *Dorian*, or the animating *Phrygian*, we uſe mere phraſes, I believe, without clear ideas. For all that is known concerning the muſick of *Greece*, let me refer thoſe, who have no inclination to read the dry works of the *Greeks* themſelves, to a little tract of the learned WALLIS, which he printed as an appendix to the Harmonicks of PTOLEMY; to the Dictionary of Muſick by ROUSSEAU, whoſe pen, formed to elucidate all the arts, had the property of ſpreading light before it on the darkeſt ſubjects, as if he had written with phoſphorus on the ſides of a cavern; and, laſtly, to the diſſertation of Dr. BURNEY, who, paſſing ſlightly over all that is obſcure, explains with perſpicuity whatever is explicable, and gives dignity to the character of a modern muſician by uniting it with that of a ſcholar and philoſopher.

The

The unexampled felicity of our nation, who diffuſe the bleſſings of a mild government over the fineſt part of *India*, would enable us to attain a perfect knowledge of the oriental muſick, which is known and practiſed in theſe *Britiſh* dominions not by mercenary performers only, but even by *Muſelmans* and *Hindus* of eminent rank and learning: a native of *Cáſhán*, lately reſident at *Murſhedábád*, had a complete acquaintance with the *Perſian* theory and practice; and the beſt artiſts in *Hinduſtán* would cheerfully attend our concerts: we have an eaſy acceſs to approved *Aſiatick* treatiſes on muſical compoſition, and need not lament with CHARDIN, that he neglected to procure at *Iſfahán* the explanation of a ſmall tract on that ſubject, which he carried to *Europe:* we may here examine the beſt inſtruments of *Aſia*, may be maſters of them, if we pleaſe, or at leaſt may compare them with ours: the concurrent labours, or rather amuſements, of ſeveral in our own body, may facilitate the attainment of correct ideas on a ſubject ſo delightfully intereſting; and a free communication from time to time of their reſpective diſcoveries would conduct them more ſurely and ſpeedily, as well as more agreeably, to their deſired end. Such would be the advantages of union, or, to borrow a term from the art before us, of *harmonious accord*, in all our purſuits, and above all in that of knowledge.

On *Perſian* muſick, which is not the ſubject of this paper, it would be improper to enlarge: the whole ſyſtem of it is explained in a celebrated collection of tracts on pure and mixed mathematicks, entitled *Durratu'ltáj*, and compoſed by a very learned man, ſo generally called *Allámi Shírazi*, or the *great philoſopher* of *Shíràz*, that his proper name is almoſt forgotten; but, as the modern *Perſians* had acceſs, I believe, to PTOLEMY'S harmonicks, their mathematical writers on muſick treat it rather as a ſcience than as an art, and ſeem, like the *Greeks*, to be more intent on ſplitting tones into quarters and eighth parts, of which they compute the ratios to ſhow their arithmetick, than on diſplaying the principles

principles of modulation, as it may affect the paſſions. I apply the ſame obſervation to a ſhort, but maſterly, tract of the famed ABU'SI'NA', and ſuſpect that it is applicable to an elegant eſſay in *Perſian*, called *Shamſu'-láſwát*, of which I have not had courage to read more than the preface. It will be ſufficient to ſubjoin on this head, that the *Perſians* diſtribute their *eighty-four* modes, according to an idea of locality, into twelve *rooms*, twenty-four *receſſes*, and forty-eight *angles* or *corners:* in the beautiful tale, known by the title of the *Four Derviſes*, originally written in *Perſia* with great purity and elegance, we find the deſcription of a concert, where four ſingers, with as many different inſtruments, are repreſented "*modulating* in twelve *makáms* or *perdahs*, twenty-four *ſhóbahs*, "and forty-eight *gúſhas*, and beginning a mirthful ſong of HA'FIZ, on "vernal delight in the *perdah* named *ráſt*, or direct." All the twelve *perdahs*, with their appropriated *ſhóbahs*, are enumerated by AMI'N, a writer and muſician of *Hinduſtán*, who mentions an opinion of the learned, that only *ſeven* primary modes were in uſe before the reign of PARVI'Z, whoſe muſical entertainments are magnificently deſcribed by the incomparable NIZA'MI: the modes are chiefly denominated, like thoſe of the *Greeks* and *Hindus*, from different regions or towns; as, among the *perdahs*, we ſee *Hijáz*, *Irák*, *Isfahán:* and, among the *ſhóbahs*, or ſecondary modes, *Zábul*, *Níſhápùr*, and the like. In a *Sanſcrit* book, which ſhall ſoon be particularly mentioned, I find the ſcale of a mode, named *Hijéja*, ſpecified in the following verſe:

Máns'agraha ſa nyáſò'c'hilò hijéjaſtu ſáyáhnè.

The name of this mode is not *Indian*; and, if I am right in believing it a corruption of *Hijàz*, which could hardly be written otherwiſe in the *Nágari* letters, we muſt conclude, that it was imported from *Perſia:* we have diſcovered then a *Perſian* or *Arabian* mode with this diapaſon,

D, E, F♯, G♯, A, B, C♯, D;

where

where the firſt ſemitone appears between the *fourth* and *fifth* notes, and the ſecond between the *ſeventh* and *eighth*; as in the natural ſcale *Fa, ſol, la, ſi, ut, re, mi, fa:* but the C♯, and G♯, or *ga* and *ni* of the *Indian* author, are variouſly *changed*, and probably the ſeries may be formed in a manner not very different (though certainly there is a diverſity) from our major mode of D. This melody muſt neceſſarily end with the *fifth* note from the tonick, and begin with the tonick itſelf; and it would be a groſs violation of muſical decorum in *India*, to ſing it at any time except at the cloſe of day: theſe rules are comprized in the verſe above cited; but the ſpecies of octave is arranged according to Mr. FOWKE's remarks on the *Vínâ*, compared with the fixed *Swaragráma*, or gamut, of all the *Hindu* muſicians.

Let us proceed to the *Indian* ſyſtem, which is minutely explained, in a great number of *Sanſcrit* books, by authors, who leave arithmetick and geometry to their aſtronomers, and properly diſcourſe on muſick as an art confined to the pleaſures of imagination. The *Pandits* of this province unanimouſly prefer the *Dámódara* to any of the popular *Sangítas*; but I have not been able to procure a good copy of it, and am perfectly ſatiſfied with the *Nárayan*, which I received from *Benáres*, and in which the *Dámódar* is frequently quoted. The *Perſian* book, entitled *a Preſent from* INDIA, was compoſed, under the patronage of AAZEM SHA'H, by the very diligent and ingenious MIRZA KHAN, and contains a minute account of *Hindu* literature in all, or moſt of, its branches: he profeſſes to have extracted his elaborate chapter on muſick, with the aſſiſtance of *Pandits* from the *Rágárnava*, or Sea of Paſſions, the *Rágaderpana*, or Mirror of Modes, the *Sabhávinóda*, or Delight of Aſſemblies, and ſome other approved treatiſes in *Sanſcrit*. The *Sangítaderpan*, which he alſo names among his authorities, has been tranſlated into *Perſian*; but my experience juſtifies me in pronouncing, that the *Moghols* have no idea of accurate *tranſlation*, and give that name to a mixture of gloſs and text with

with a flimſy paraphraſe of them both ; that they are wholly unable, yet always pretend, to write *Sanſcrit* words in *Arabick* letters ; that a man, who knows the *Hindus* only from *Perſian* books, does not know the *Hindus* ; and that an *European*, who follows the muddy rivulets of *Muſelman* writers on *India*, inſtead of drinking from the pure fountain of *Hindu* learning, will be in perpetual danger of miſleading himſelf and others. From the juſt ſeverity of this cenſure I except neither ABU'L-FAZL, nor his brother FAIZ`I, nor MOHSANI FA'N`I, nor MIRZA'KH`AN himſelf; and I ſpeak of all four after an attentive peruſal of their works. A tract on muſick in the idiom of *Mat'hurà*, with ſeveral eſſays in pure *Hinduſtánì*, lately paſſed through my hands; and I poſſeſs a diſſertation on the ſame art in the ſoft dialect of *Panjáb*, or *Panchanada*, where the national melody has, I am told, a peculiar and ſtriking character; but I am very little acquainted with thoſe dialects, and perſuade myſelf, that nothing has been written in them, which may not be found more copiouſly and beautifully expreſſed in the *language*, as the *Hindus* perpetually call it, *of the Gods*, that is, of their ancient bards, philoſophers, and legiſlators.

The moſt valuable work, that I have ſeen, and perhaps the moſt valuable that exiſts, on the ſubject of *Indian* muſick, is named *Rágavibódha*, or *The Doctrine of Muſical Modes* ; and it ought here to be mentioned very particularly, becauſe none of the *Pandits*, in our provinces, nor any of thoſe from *Cáſi* or *Caſhmír*, to whom I have ſhown it, appear to have known that it was extant ; and it may be conſidered as a treaſure in the hiſtory of the art, which the zeal of Colonel POLIER has brought into light, and perhaps has preſerved from deſtruction. He had purchaſed, among other curioſities, a volume containing a number of ſeparate eſſays on muſick in proſe and verſe, and in a great variety of idioms: beſides tracts in *Arabick*, *Hindi*, and *Perſian*, it included a ſhort eſſay in *Latin* by ALSTEDIUS, with an interlineary *Perſian* tranſlation, in which the paſſages

paſſages quoted from LUCRETIUS and VIRGIL made a ſingular appearance; but the brighteſt gem in the ſtring was the *Rágavibódha*, which the Colonel permitted my *Nágari* writer to tranſcribe, and the tranſcript was diligently collated with the original by my *Pandit* and myſelf. It ſeems a very ancient compoſition, but is leſs old unqueſtionably than the *Ratnacára* by SA'RNGA DE'VA, which is more than once mentioned in it, and a copy of which Mr. BURROW procured in his journey to *Heridwar:* the name of the author was SO'MA, and he appears to have been a practical muſician as well as a great ſcholar and an elegant poet; for the whole book, without excepting the ſtrains noted in letters, which fill the fifth and laſt chapter of it, conſiſts of maſterly couplets in the melodious metre called *A'ryà*; the *firſt*, *third*, and *fourth* chapters explain the doctrine of muſical ſounds, their diviſion and ſucceſſion, the variations of ſcales by temperament, and the enumeration of modes on a ſyſtem totally different from thoſe, which will preſently be mentioned; and the *ſecond* chapter contains a minute deſcription of different *Vínás* with rules for playing on them. This book alone would enable me, were I maſter of my time, to compoſe a treatiſe on the muſick of *India*, with aſſiſtance, in the practical part, from an *European* profeſſor and a native player on the *Vína*; but I have leiſure only to preſent you with an eſſay, and even that, I am conſcious, muſt be very ſuperficial: it may be ſometimes, but, I truſt, not often, erroneous; and I have ſpared no pains to ſecure myſelf from errour.

In the literature of the *Hindus* all nature is animated and perſonified; every fine art is declared to have been revealed from heaven; and all knowledge, divine and human, is traced to its ſource in the *Védas*; among which the *Sámavéda* was intended to be *ſung*, whence the reader, or ſinger of it is called *Udgátri* or *Sámaga:* in Colonel POLIER'S copy of it the ſtrains are noted in figures, which it may not be impoſſible to decypher. On account of this diſtinction, ſay the *Bráhmens*, the *ſupreme preſerving*

preſerving power, in the form of CRISHNA, having enumerated in the *Gítà* various orders of beings, to the chief of which he compares himſelf, pronounces, that "*among the* Védas *he was the* Sáman." From that *Véda* was accordingly derived the *Upavéda* of the *Gandharbas*, or muſicians in INDRA's heaven; ſo that the divine art was communicated to our ſpecies by BRAHMA' himſelf or by his *active power* SERESWATI', the Goddeſs of Speech; and their mythological ſon NA'RED, who was in truth an ancient lawgiver and aſtronomer, invented the *Vínà*, called alſo *Cach'hapì*, or *Teſtudo*; a very remarkable fact, which may be added to the other proofs of a reſemblance between that *Indian* God, and the MERCURY of the *Latians*. Among inſpired mortals the firſt muſician is believed to have been the ſage BHERAT, who was the inventor, they ſay, of *Nátacs*, or dramas, repreſented with ſongs and dances, and author of a muſical ſyſtem, which bears his name. If we can rely on MI'RZA-KHA'N, there are four principal *Matas*, or ſyſtems, the firſt of which is aſcribed to ISWARA, or OSIRIS; the ſecond to BHERAT; the third to HANUMAT, or PA'VAN, the PAN of *India*, ſuppoſed to be the ſon of PAVANA, the regent of air; and the fourth to CALLINA'T'H, a *Rĭſhi*, or *Indian* philoſopher, eminently ſkilled in muſick, theoretical and practical: all four are mentioned by SO'MA; and it is the *third* of them, which muſt be very ancient, and ſeems to have been extremely popular, that I propoſe to explain after a few introductory remarks; but I may here obſerve with SO'MA, who exhibits a ſyſtem of his own, and with the author of the *Nárâyan*, who mentions a great many others, that almoſt every kingdom and province had a peculiar ſtyle of melody, and very different names for the modes, as well as a different arrangement and enumeration of them.

The two phenomena, which have already been ſtated as the foundation of muſical modes, could not long have eſcaped the attention of the *Hindus*, and their flexible language readily ſupplied them with names

for the ſeven *Swaras*, or ſounds, which they diſpoſe in the following order, *ſhádja*, pronounced *ſharja*, *rĭſhabha*, *gándhára*, *madhyama*, *panchama*, *dhaivata*, *niſháda*; but the firſt of them is emphatically named *ſwara*, or the *ſound*, from the important office, which it bears in the ſcale; and hence, by taking the ſeven *initial letters* or ſyllables of thoſe words, they contrived a notation for their airs, and at the ſame time exhibited a gamut, at leaſt as convenient as that of GUIDO: they call it *ſwaragráma* or *ſeptaca*, and expreſs it in this form:

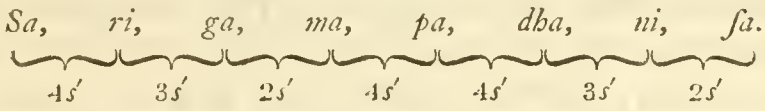
Sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni,

three of which ſyllables are, by a ſingular concurrence exactly the ſame, though not all in the ſame places, with three of thoſe invented by DAVID MOSTARE, as a ſubſtitute for the troubleſome gamut uſed in his time, and which he arranges thus:

Bo, ce, di, ga, lo, ma, ni.

As to the notation of melody, ſince every *Indian* conſonant includes by its nature the ſhort vowel *a*, five of the ſounds are denoted by ſingle conſonants, and the two others have different ſhort vowels taken from their full names; by ſubſtituting long vowels, the *time* of each note is doubled, and other marks are uſed for a farther elongation of them; the octaves above and below the mean ſcale, the connection and acceleration of notes, the graces of execution or manners of fingering the inſtrument, are expreſſed very clearly by ſmall circles and ellipſes, by little chains, by curves, by ſtraight lines horizontal or perpendicular, and by creſcents, all in various poſitions: the cloſe of a ſtrain is diſtinguiſhed by a lotos-flower; but the time and meaſure are determined by the proſody of the verſe and by the comparative length of each ſyllable, with which every note or aſſemblage of notes reſpectively correſponds. If I underſtand the native muſicians, they have not only the *chromatick*, but even the ſecond, or new, *enharmonick*, genus; for they unanimouſly reckon twenty-two *s'rutis*, or quarters and thirds of a tone, in their octave: they do not pretend that thoſe minute intervals are mathematically equal, but conſider them

them as equal in practice, and allot them to the ſeveral notes in the following order; to *ſa*, *ma*, and *pa*, four; to *ri* and *dha*, three; to *ga* and *ni*, two; giving very ſmooth and ſignificant names to each *ſ'ruti*. Their original ſcale, therefore, ſtands thus,



The ſemitones accordingly are placed as in our diatonick ſcale: the intervals between the fourth and fifth, and between the firſt and ſecond, are major tones; but that between the fifth and ſixth, which is minor in our ſcale, appears to be major in theirs; and the two ſcales are made to coincide by taking a *ſ'ruti* from *pa* and adding it to *dha*, or, in the language of *Indian* artiſts, by raiſing *Servaretnà* to the claſs of *Sántà* and her ſiſters; for every *ſ'ruti* they conſider as a little nymph, and the nymphs of *Panchama*, or the *fifth* note, are *Málinì*, *Chapalá*, *Lólá*, and *Servaretnà*, while *Sántá* and her two ſiſters regularly belong to *Dhaivata*: ſuch at leaſt is the ſyſtem of Co'HALA, one of the ancient bards, who has left a treatiſe on muſick.

So'MA ſeems to admit, that a quarter or third of a tone cannot be ſeparately and diſtinctly heard from the *Vínà*; but he takes for granted, that its effect is very perceptible in their arrangement of modes; and their ſixth, I imagine, is almoſt univerſally diminiſhed by one *ſ'ruti*; for he only mentions two modes, in which all the ſeven notes are *unaltered*. I tried in vain to diſcover any difference in practice between the *Indian* ſcale, and that of our own; but, knowing my ear to be very inſufficiently exerciſed, I requeſted a *German* profeſſor of muſick to accompany with his violin a *Hindu* lutaniſt, who ſung *by note* ſome popular airs on the loves of CRISHNA and RA'DHA; he aſſured me, that the ſcales were the ſame; and Mr. SHORE afterwards informed me, that,

that, when the voice of a native ſinger was in tune with his harpſichord, he found the *Hindu* ſeries of ſeven notes to aſcend, like ours, by a ſharp third.

For the conſtruction and character of the *Vínà*, I muſt refer you to the very accurate and valuable paper of Mr. FOWKE in the firſt volume of your Tranſactions; and I now exhibit a ſcale of its finger board, which I received from him with the drawing of the inſtrument, and on the correctneſs of which you may confidently depend: the regular *Indian* gamut anſwers, I believe pretty nearly to our major mode:

Ut, re, mi, fa, ſol, la, ſi, ut,

and, when the ſame ſyllables are applied to the notes, which compoſe our minor mode, they are diſtinguiſhed by epithets expreſſing the change, which they ſuffer. It may be neceſſary to add, before we come to the *Rágas*, or modes of the *Hindus*, that the twenty-one *múrch'hanas*, which Mr. SHORE's native muſician confounded with the two and twenty *śrutis*, appear to be no more than *ſeven* ſpecies of diapaſon multiplied by *three*, according to the difference of pitch in the compaſs of three octaves.

Rága which I tranſlate a *mode*, properly ſignifies a *paſſion* or *affection* of the mind, each mode being intended, according to BHERAT's definition of it, to move one or another of our ſimple or mixed affections; and we learn accordingly from the *Nárâyan*, that, in the days of CRISHNA, there were *ſixteen thouſand* modes, each of the *Gópìs* at *Mat'hurà* chuſing to ſing in one of them, in order to captivate the heart of their paſtoral God. The very learned SO'MA, who mixes no mythology with his accurate ſyſtem of *Rágas*, enumerates *nine hundred and ſixty* poſſible variations by the means of temperament, but ſelects from them, as applicable to practice, only *twenty-three* primary modes, from which he deduces many others; though he allows, that, by a diverſity of ornament and by various contrivances, the *Rágas* might, like

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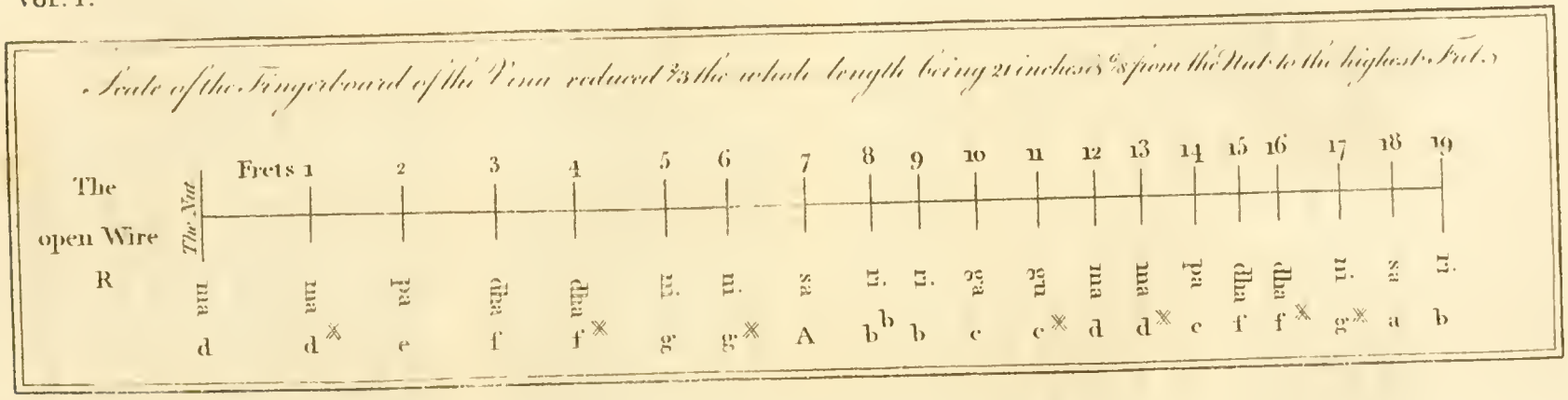
Scale of the Fingerboard of the Vina reduced to the whole length being 21 inches 8/8 from the Nut to the highest Fret.



like the waves of the ſea, be multiplied to an infinite number. We have already obſerved, that *eighty-four modes* or *manners*, might naturally be formed by giving the lead to each of our *twelve* ſounds, and varying in *ſeven* different ways the poſition of the ſemitones; but, ſince many of thoſe modes would be inſufferable in practice, and ſome would have no character ſufficiently marked, the *Indians* appear to have retained with predilection the number indicated by nature, and to have enforced their ſyſtem by two powerful aids, the *aſſociation of ideas*, and the *mutilation of the regular ſcales*.

Whether it had occurred to the *Hindu* muſicians, that the velocity or ſlowneſs of ſounds muſt depend, in a certain ratio, upon the rarefaction and condenſation of the air, ſo that their motion muſt be quicker in ſummer than in ſpring or autumn, and much quicker than in winter, I cannot aſſure myſelf; but am perſuaded, that their primary modes, in the ſyſtem aſcribed to PA'VANA, were firſt arranged according to the number of *Indian* ſeaſons.

The year is diſtributed by the *Hindus* into ſix *ritus*, or ſeaſons, each conſiſting of two months; and the firſt ſeaſon, according to the *Amarcóſha*, began with *Márgaśírſha*, near the time of the winter ſolſtice, to which month accordingly we ſee CRISHNA compared in the *Gítá*; but the old lunar year began, I believe, with *A'ſwina*, or near the autumnal equinox, when the moon was at the full in the firſt manſion: hence the muſical ſeaſon, which takes the lead, includes the months of *Aſwin* and *Cártic*, and bears the name of *Sarad*, correſponding with part of our autumn; the next in order are *Hémanta* and *Sis'ira*, derived from words, which ſignify *froſt* and *dew*; then come *Vaſanta*, or ſpring, called alſo *Surabhi* or fragrant, and *Puſhpaſamaya*, or the flower time; *Gríſhma*, or heat; and *Verſhà*, or the ſeaſon of rain. By appropriating a different mode to each of the different ſeaſons, the artiſts of *India* connected certain

certain ſtrains with certain ideas, and were able to recal the memory of autumnal merriment at the cloſe of the harveſt, or of ſeparation and melancholy (very different from our ideas at *Calcutta*) during the cold months; of reviving hilarity on the appearance of bloſſoms, and complete vernal delight in the month of *Madhu* or *honey*; of languor during the dry heats, and of refreſhment by the firſt rains, which cauſe in this climate a ſecond ſpring. Yet farther: ſince the lunar year, by which feſtivals and ſuperſtitious duties are conſtantly regulated, proceeds concurrently with the ſolar year, to which the ſeaſons are neceſſarily referred, *devotion* comes alſo to the aid of muſick, and all the *powers of nature*, which are allegorically worſhipped as gods and goddeſſes on their ſeveral holidays, contribute to the influence of ſong on minds naturally ſuſceptible of religious emotions. Hence it was, I imagine, that PA'VAN, or the inventor of his muſical ſyſtem, reduced the number of original modes from *ſeven* to *ſix*; but even this was not enough for his purpoſe; and he had recourſe to the *five* principal diviſions of the day, which are the *morning*, *noon*, and *evening*, called *triſandhya*, with the two intervals between them, or the *forenoon* and *afternoon:* by adding *two* diviſions, or intervals, of the night, and by leaving one ſpecies of melody without any ſuch reſtriction, SO'MA reckons *eight* variations in reſpect of time; and the ſyſtem of PA'VAN retains that number alſo in the ſecond order of derivative modes. Every branch of knowledge in this country has been embelliſhed by poetical fables; and the inventive talents of the *Greeks* never ſuggeſted a more charming allegory than the lovely families of the ſix *Rágas*, named, in the order of ſeaſons above exhibited, BHAIRAVA, MA'LAVA, SRI'RA'GA, HINDOLA or VASANTA, DI'PACA, and ME'GHA; each of whom is a Genius, or Demigod, wedded to five *Rágiṇis*, or Nymphs, and father of *eight* little Genii, called his *Putras*, or Sons: the fancy of SHAKSPEARE and the pencil of ALBANO might have been finely employed in giving ſpeech and form to this aſſemblage of new aërial beings, who people the fairy-land

land of *Indian* imagination; nor have the *Hindu* poets and painters loſt the advantages, with which ſo beautiful a ſubject preſented them. A whole chapter of the *Nárâyan* contains deſcriptions of the *Rágas* and their conſorts, extracted chiefly from the *Dámódar*, the *Caláncura*, the *Retnamálá*, the *Chandricà*, and a metrical tract on muſick aſcribed to the God NA'RED himſelf, from which, as among ſo many beauties a particular ſelection would be very perplexing, I preſent you with the firſt that occurs, and have no doubt, that you will think the *Sanſcrit* language equal to *Italian* in ſoftneſs and elegance:

Lílá viháréna vanántarálé,
Chinvan prasúnáni vadhú ſaháyah,
Viláſi vésódita divya múrtih
Srîrága éſha prat'hitah prit'hivyám.

" The demigod SRI'RA'GA, famed over all this earth, ſweetly ſports
" with his nymphs, gathering freſh bloſſoms in the boſom of yon
" grove; and his divine lineaments are diſtinguiſhed through his grace-
" ful veſture."

Theſe and ſimilar images, but wonderfully diverſified, are expreſſed in a variety of meaſures, and repreſented by delicate pencils in the *Rágamálàs*, which all of us have examined, and among which the moſt beautiful are in the poſſeſſion of Mr. R. JOHNSON and Mr. HAY. A noble work might be compoſed by any muſician and ſcholar, who enjoyed leiſure and diſregarded expence, if he would exhibit a perfect ſyſtem of *Indian* muſick from *Sanſcrit* authorities, with the old melodies of SO'MA applied to the ſongs of JAYADE'VA, embelliſhed with deſcriptions of all the modes accurately tranſlated, and with Mr. HAY's *Rágamálà* delineated and engraved by the ſcholars of CIPRIANI and BARTOLOZZI.

Let

Let us proceed to the ſecond artifice of the *Hindu* muſicians, in giving their modes a diſtinct character and a very agreeable diverſity of expreſſion. A curious paſſage from PLUTARCH's treatiſe on Muſick is tranſlated and explained by Dr. BURNEY, and ſtands as the text of the moſt intereſting chapter in his diſſertation: ſince I cannot procure the original, I exhibit a paraphraſe of his tranſlation, on the correctneſs of which I can rely; but I have avoided, as much as poſſible, the technical words of the *Greeks*, which it might be neceſſary to explain at ſome length. "We "are informed, ſays PLUTARCH, by ARISTOXENUS, that muſicians "aſcribe to OLYMPUS of *Myſia* the invention of *enharmonick* melody, "and conjecture, that, when he was playing diatonically on his flute, "and frequently paſſed from the higheſt of four ſounds to the loweſt "but one, or converſely, ſkipping over the ſecond in deſcent, or the "third in aſcent, of that ſeries, he perceived a ſingular beauty of expreſ"ſion, which induced him to diſpoſe the whole ſeries of ſeven or eight "ſounds by ſimilar ſkips, and to frame by the ſame analogy his *Dorian* "mode, omitting every ſound *peculiar* to the diatonick and chromatick "melodies then in uſe, but without adding any that have ſince been "made eſſential to the *new* enharmonick: in this genus, they ſay, he "compoſed the Nome, or ſtrain, called *Spondean*, becauſe it was uſed in "temples at the time of religious *libations*. Thoſe, it ſeems, were the "*firſt* enharmonick melodies; and are ſtill retained by ſome, who play "on the flute in the antique ſtyle without any diviſion of a ſemitone; "for it was after the age of OLYMPUS, that the quarter of a tone was "admitted into the *Lydian* and *Phrygian* modes; and it was he, there"fore, who, by introducing an exquiſite melody before unknown in "*Greece*, became the author and parent of the moſt beautiful and affect"ing muſick."

This method then of adding to the character and effect of a mode by diminiſhing the number of its primitive ſounds, was introduced by a *Greek*

Greek of the lower *Aſia*, who flouriſhed, according to the learned and accurate writer of the Travels of ANACHARSIS, about the middle of the *thirteenth* century before CHRIST; but it muſt have been older ſtill among the HINDUS, if the ſyſtem, to which I now return, was actually invented in the age of RA'MA.

Since it appears from the *Nárâyan*, that *thirty-ſix* modes are in general uſe, and the reſt very rarely applied to practice, I ſhall exhibit only the ſcales of the ſix *Rágas* and thirty *Rágínis*, according to SO'MA, the authors quoted in the *Nárâyan*, and the books explained by *Pandits* to MIRZA'KHA'N; on whoſe credit I muſt rely for that of *Cacubhá*, which I cannot find in my *Sanſcrit* treatiſes on muſick: had I depended on him for information of greater conſequence, he would have led me into a very ſerious miſtake; for he aſſerts, what I now find erroneous, that the *graha* is the firſt note of every mode, with which every ſong, that is compoſed in it, muſt invariably begin *and end*. Three diſtinguiſhed ſounds in each mode are called *graha*, *nyáſa*, *anſ'a*, and the writer of the *Nárâyan* defines them in the two following couplets:

Graha ſwarah ſa ityuchtó yó gítádau ſamarpitah,
Nyáſa ſwaraſtu ſa próchtó yó gítádi ſamápticah:
Yó vyachtivyanjacò gánè, yaſya ſervé' nugáminah,
Yaſya ſervatra báhulyam vády *anſ'ó* pi nrĭpótamah.

"The note, called *graha*, is placed at the beginning, and that named *nyáſa*, "at the end, of a ſong: that note, which diſplays the peculiar melody, "and to which all the others are ſubordinate, that, which is always of "the greateſt uſe, is like a ſovereign, though a mere *anſ'a*, or portion."

"By the word *vádi*, ſays the commentator, he means the note, which

" announces and aſcertains the *Rága*, and which may be conſidered as " the parent and origin of the *graha* and *nyáſa:*" this clearly ſhows, I think, that the *ans'a* muſt be the tonick; and we ſhall find, that the two other notes are generally its third and fifth, or the mediant and the dominant. In the poem entitled *Mágha* there is a muſical ſimile, which may illuſtrate and confirm our idea:

Analpatwát pradhánatwád ans'aſyévétaraſwaráh,
Vijigíſhórnripatayah prayánti perichárátám.

" From the greatneſs, from the tranſcendent qualities, of that Hero " eager for conqueſt, other kings march in ſubordination to him, as " other notes are ſubordinate to the *ans'a.*"

If the *ans'a* be the tonick, or modal note, of the *Hindus*, we may confidently exhibit the ſcales of the *Indian* modes, according to So'MA, denoting by an aſteriſk the omiſſion of a note.

BHAIRAVA:	dha,	*ni,*	ſa,	ri,	*ga,*	ma,	pa.
Varáti:	ſa,	ri,	*ga,*	*ma,*	pa,	dha,	*ni.*
Medhyamádi:	ma,	pa,	*,	*ni,*	ſa,	*,	*ga.*
Bhairavì:	ſa,	*ri,*	*ga,*	ma,	*pa,*	*dha,*	*ni.*
Saindhavì:	ſa,	*ri,*	*,	ma,	pa,	*dha,*	*.
Bengálì:	*ſa,*	ri,	*ga,*	ma,	pa,	dha,	*ni.*
MA'LAVA:	*ni,*	ſa,	ri,	*ga,*	ma,	pa,	dha.
Tó'dì:	*ga,*	ma,	pa,	dha,	*ni,*	ſa,	ri.
Gaudi:	*ni,*	ſa,	ri,	*,	ma,	pa,	*.
Góndácrì:	ſa,	ri,	*ga,*	ma,	pa,	*,	*ni.*
Suſt'hávatì:	not in So'MA.						
Cacubhà:	not in So'MA.						

SRIRA'GA:

SRIRA'GA:	*ni,*	ſa,	*ri,*	*ga,*	ma,	pa,	*dha.*
Málavaś'rì:	ſa,	*,	*ga,*	ma,	pa,	*,	*ni.*
Máravì:	*ga,*	ma,	pa,	*,	*ni,*	ſa,	*.
Dhanyáśì:	ſa,	*,	*ga,*	ma,	pa,	*,	*ni.*
Vaſantì:	ſa,	ri,	*ga,*	ma,	*,	dha,	*ni.*
Asáverì:	ma,	pa,	dha,	*ni,*	ſa,	ri,	*ga.*
HINDO'LA:	ma,	*,	dha,	*ni,*	ſa,	*,	*ga.*
Rámacrì:	ſa,	ri,	*ga,*	ma,	pa,	dha,	*ni.*
Dés'ácſhì:	*ga,*	ma,	pa,	*dha,*	*,	ſa,	*ri.*
Lelità:	ſa,	ri,	*ga,*	ma,	*,	dha,	*ni.*
Vélávalì:	*dha,*	*ni,*	ſa,	*,	*ga,*	ma,	*.
Patamanjarì:	not in SO'MA.						
D'IPACA:	not in SO'MA.						
Dés'i:	ri,	*,	*ma,*	pa,	dha,	*ni,*	ſa.
Cámbódì:	ſa,	*ri,*	*ga,*	ma,	pa,	*dha,*	*.
Nettà:	ſa,	*ri,*	*ga,*	ma,	pa,	*dha,*	*ni.*
Cédárì:	*ni,*	ſa,	*ri,*	*ga,*	ma,	pa,	dha.
Carnátì:	*ni,*	ſa,	*,	*ga,*	ma,	pa,	*.
ME'GHA:	not in SO'MA.						
Taccà:	ſa,	ri,	*ga,*	ma,	pa,	dha,	*ni.*
Mellárì:	*dha,*	*,	ſa,	*ri,*	*,	ma,	pa.
Gurjarì:	ri,	*ga,*	ma,	*,	dha,	*ni,*	ſa.
Bhúpálì:	*ga,*	*,	pa,	*dha,*	*,	ſa,	*ri.*
Déſacrì:	*ſa,*	ri,	ga,	*ma,*	*pa,*	dha,	*ni.*

It is impoſſible, that I ſhould have erred much, if at all, in the preceding table, becauſe the regularity of the *Sanſcrit* metre has in general enabled me to correct the manuſcript; but I have ſome doubt as to *Vélávali*, of which *pa* is declared to be the *ans'a* or tonick, though it is ſaid in the ſame line, that both *pa* and *ri* may be omitted: I, therefore, have ſuppoſed *dha* to be the true reading, both MIRZAKHAN and the *Náráyan* exhibiting that note as the leader of the mode. The notes printed in *Italick*

Italick letters are variouſly *changed* by temperament or by ſhakes and other graces; but, even if I were able to give you in words a diſtinct notion of thoſe changes, the account of each mode would be inſufferably tedious, and ſcarce intelligible without the aſſiſtance of a maſterly performer on the *Indian* lyre. According to the beſt authorities adduced in the *Nárayan*, the thirty-ſix modes are, in ſome provinces, arranged in theſe forms:

BHAIRAVA:	dha,	ni,	ſa,	ri,	*ga*,	ma,	pa.
Varáti:	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	*pa*,	dha,	ni.
Medhyamádi:	ni,	ſa,	*,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha.
Bhairavì:	*ſa*,	*,	ga,	ma,	*,	dha,	ni.
Saindhavì:	pa,	dha,	ni,	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma.
Bengálì:	ſa,	ri,	*ga*,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
MA'LAVA:	ma,	*,	dha,	ni,	ſa,	ri,	ga.
Tó dì:	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni,	ſa,	ri,	ga.
Gaúdì:	ni,	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	*,	dha.
Góndacrì;	ſa,	*,	ga,	ma,	pa,	*,	ni.
Suſt'hávatì:	dha,	*ni*,	*ſa*,	ri,	ga,	ma,	*.
Cacubhà:	not in the *Nárayan.*						
SRI'RA'GA:	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	*pa*,	dha,	ni.
Málavaſrì:	ſa,	*ri*,	ga,	ma,	pa,	*dha*,	ni.
Máravì:	ſa,	*,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
Dhanyásì:	ſa,	ri,	ga,	*ma*,	pa,	dha,	ni.
Vaſantì:	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
A'ſáverì:	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni,	ſa.
HINDO'LA:	ſa,	*,	ga,	ma,	*,	dha,	ni.
Rámacrì:	*ſa*,	*ri*,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
Désácſhì:	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni,	ſa,	*.
Lelità:	*ſa*,	*,	ga,	ma,	pa,	*,	ni.
Vélávalì:	dha,	ni,	*ſa*,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa.
Patamanjarì:	pa,	*dha*,	ni,	ſa,	*ri*,	*ga*,	ma.

DI'PACA:

DI'PACA:	omitted.						
Dési:	ni,	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha.
Cámbódì:	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	*ni.*
Nettà:	ſa,	*ri,*	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
Cédárì:	omitted.						
Carnátì:	ni,	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha.
ME'GHA:	dha,	ni,	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa.
Taccà:	(a mixed mode.)						
Mellári:	dha,	ni,	*,	ri,	ga,	ma,	*.
Gurjarì:	omitted in the *Náráyan.*						
Bhúpálì:	ſa,	ri,	ga,	*,	pa,	dha,	*.
Déſacrì:	ni,	ſa,	*,	ga,	ma,	pa,	*.

Among the ſcales juſt enumerated we may ſafely fix on that of SRI'-RA'GA for our own major mode, ſince its form and character are thus deſcribed in a *Sanſcrit* couplet:

Játinyáſagrahagrámáns'éſhu ſhádjò' *lpapanchamah,*
Sringáravírayórjnéyah *Srîrâgò* gítacóvidaih.

" Muſicians know *Srírága* to have *ſa* for its principal note and the firſt " of its ſcale, with *pa* diminiſhed, and to be uſed for expreſſing heroick " love and valour." Now the diminution of *pa* by one *s'ruti* gives us the modern *European* ſcale,

ut, re, mi, fa, ſol, la, ſi, ut.

with a minor tone, or, as the *Indians* would expreſs it, with three *s'rutis,* between the fifth and ſixth notes.

On the formulas exhibited by MI'RZAKHA'N I have leſs reliance; but, ſince he profeſſes to give them from *Sanſcrit* authorities, it ſeemed proper to tranſcribe them:

BHAIRAVA:

BHAIRAVA :	dha,	ni,	ſa,	*,	ga,	ma,	*.
Varáti :	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
Medhyamádi :	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni,	ſa,	ri,	ga.
Bhairavì :	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni,	ſa,	ri,	ga.
Saindhavì :	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
Bengálì :	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
MA'LAVA :	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
Tó'dì :	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
Gaúdì :	ſa,	*,	ga,	ma,	*,	dha,	ni.
Góndacrì :	ni,	ſa,	*,	ga,	ma,	pa,	*.
Suſt'hávati :	dha,	ni,	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	*.
Cacubhà :	dha,	ni,	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa.
SRI'RA'GA :	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
Málavaſrì :	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
Máravì :	ſa,	*,	pa,	ga,	ma,	dha,	ni.
Dhanyásì :	ſa,	pa,	dha,	ni,	ri,	ga,	*.
Vaſantì :	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
A'ſáverì :	dha,	ni,	ſa,	*,	*,	ma,	pa.
HINDOLA :	ſa,	*,	ga,	ma,	pa,	*,	ni.
Rámacrì :	ſa,	*,	ga,	ma,	pa,	*,	ni.
Dés'ácſhí :	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni,	ſa,	*.
Lelità :	dha,	ni,	ſa,	*,	ga,	ma,	*.
Vélavalì :	dha,	ni,	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa.
Patamanjarì :	pa,	dha,	ni,	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma.
DIPACA :	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
Désì :	ri,	ga,	ma,	*,	dha,	ni,	ſa.
Cambódi :	dha,	ni,	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa.
Netta :	ſa,	ni,	dha,	pa,	ma,	ga,	ri.
Cédari :	ni,	ſa,	*,	ga,	ma,	pa,	*.
Carnati :	ni,	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha.

MEGHA :

MEGHA:	dha,	ni,	ſa,	ri,	ga,	*,	*.
Tacca:	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.
Mellari:	dha,	ni,	*,	ri,	ga,	ma,	*.
Gurjari:	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni,	ſa.
Bhúpali:	ſa,	ga,	ma,	dha,	ni,	pa,	ri.
Déſacrì:	ſa,	ri,	ga,	ma,	pa,	dha,	ni.

It may reaſonably be ſuſpected, that the *Moghol* writer could not have ſhown the diſtinction, which muſt neceſſarily have been made, between the different modes, to which he aſſigns the ſame formula; and, as to his inverſions of the notes in ſome of the *Ráginis*, I can only ſay, that no ſuch changes appear in the *Sanſcrit* books, which I have inſpected. I leave our ſcholars and muſicians to find, among the ſcales here exhibited, the *Dorian* mode of OLYMPUS; but it cannot eſcape notice, that the *Chineſe* ſcale C, D, E, *, G, A, *, correſponds very nearly with *ga, ma, pa, *, ni, ſa, **, or the *Máravì* of SO'MA: we have long known in *Bengal*, from the information of a *Scotch* gentleman ſkilled in muſick, that the wild, but charming melodies of the ancient highlanders were formed by a ſimilar mutilation of the natural ſcale. By ſuch mutilations, and by various alterations of the notes in tuning the *Vínà*, the number of modes might be augmented indefinitely; and CALLINA'T'HA, admits *ninety* into his ſyſtem, allowing *ſix* nymphs, inſtead of *five*, to each of his muſical deities: for *Dípaca*, which is generally conſidered as a loſt mode (though MI'RZA'KHAN exhibits the notes of it), he ſubſtitutes *Panchama*; for *Hindóla*, he gives us *Vaſanta*, or the Spring; and for *Málava*, *Natanáráyan* or CRISHNA the Dancer; all with ſcales rather different from thoſe of PA'VAN. The ſyſtem of ISWARA, which may have had ſome affinity with the old *Egyptian* muſick invented or improved by OSIRIS, nearly reſembles that of HANUMAT, but the names and ſcales are a little varied: in all the ſyſtems, the names of the modes are ſignificant, and ſome of them as fanciful as thoſe of the fairies

fairies in the Midſummer Night's Dream. Forty-eight new modes were added by BHERAT, who *marries* a nymph, thence called *Bhárya*, to each *Putra*, or Son, of a *Rága*; thus admitting, in his muſical ſchool, an *hundred and thirty-two manners* of arranging the ſeries of notes.

Had the *Indian* empire continued in full energy for the laſt two thouſand years, religion would, no doubt, have given permanence to ſyſtems of muſick invented, as the *Hindus* believe, by their Gods, and adapted to myſtical poetry: but ſuch have been the revolutions of their government ſince the time of ALEXANDER, that, although the *Sanſcrit* books have preſerved the theory of their muſical compoſition, the practice of it ſeems almoſt wholly loſt (as all the *Pandits* and *Rájas* confeſs) in *Gaur* and *Magarha*, or the provinces of *Bengal* and *Behar*. When I firſt read the ſongs of JAYADE'VA, who has prefixed to each of them the name of the mode, in which it was anciently ſung, I had hopes of procuring the original muſick; but the *Pandits* of the ſouth referred me to thoſe of the weſt, and the *Bráhmens* of the weſt would have ſent me to thoſe of the north; while they, I mean thoſe of *Népàl* and *Caſhmír*, declared that they had no ancient muſick, but imagined, that the notes to the *Gítagóvínda* muſt exiſt, if any where, in one of the ſouthern provinces, where the Poet was born: from all this I collect, that the art, which flouriſhed in *India* many centuries ago, has faded for want of due culture, though ſome ſcanty remnants of it may, perhaps, be preſerved in the paſtoral roundelays of *Mat'hurà* on the loves and ſports of the *Indian* APOLLO. We muſt not, therefore, be ſurpriſed, if modern performers on the *Vínà* have little or no *modulation*, or *change of mode*, to which paſſionate muſick owes nearly all its enchantment; but that the old muſicians of *India*, having fixed on a leading mode to expreſs the *general* character of the ſong, which they were *tranſlating into the muſical language*, varied that mode, by certain rules, according to the variation of ſentiment or paſſion in the poetical phraſes, and always returned to it at the cloſe of the

the air, many reaſons induce me to believe; though I cannot but admit, that their modulation muſt have been greatly confined by the reſtriction of certain modes to certain ſeaſons and hours, unleſs thoſe reſtrictions belonged merely to the principal mode. The ſcale of the *Vínà*, we find, comprized both our *European* modes, and, if ſome of the notes can be raiſed a ſemitone by a ſtronger preſſure on the frets, a delicate and experienced finger might produce the effect of minute enharmonick intervals: the conſtruction of the inſtrument, therefore, ſeems to favour my conjecture; and an excellent judge of the ſubject informs us, that, "the open "wires are from time to time ſtruck in a manner, that prepares the ear "for a change of modulation, to which the uncommonly full and fine "tones of thoſe notes greatly contribute." We may add, that the *Hindu* poets never fail to change the *metre*, which is their *mode*, according to the change of ſubject or ſentiment in the ſame piece; and I could produce inſtances of *poetical modulation* (if ſuch a phraſe may be uſed) at leaſt equal to the moſt affecting modulations of our greateſt compoſers: now the muſician muſt naturally have emulated the poet, as every tranſlator endeavours to reſemble his original; and, ſince each of the *Indian* modes is appropriated to a certain affection of the mind, it is hardly poſſible, that, where the paſſion is varied, a ſkilful muſician could avoid a variation of the mode. The rules for modulation ſeem to be contained in the chapters on *mixed modes*, for an intermixture of *Mellárì* with *Tó'dì* and *Saindhavì* means, I ſuppoſe, a tranſition, however ſhort, from one to another: but the queſtion muſt remain undecided, unleſs we can find in the *Sangítas* a clearer account of modulation, than I am able to produce, or unleſs we can procure a copy of the *Gítagóvinda* with the muſick, to which it was ſet, before the time of CALIDAS, in ſome notation, that may be eaſily decyphered. It is obvious, that I have not been ſpeaking of a modulation regulated by harmony, with which the *Hindus*, I believe, were unacquainted; though, like the *Greeks*, they diſtinguiſh the *conſonant* and *diſſonant* ſounds: I mean only ſuch a tranſition from one ſeries

of notes to another, as we ſee deſcribed by the *Greek* muſicians, who were ignorant of *harmony* in the modern ſenſe of the word, and, perhaps, if they had known it ever ſo perfectly, would have applied it ſolely to the ſupport of melody, which alone ſpeaks the language of paſſion and ſentiment.

It would give me pleaſure to cloſe this eſſay with ſeveral ſpecimens of old *Indian* airs from the fifth chapter of SO'MA; but I have leiſure only to preſent you with one of them in our own characters accompanied with the original notes: I ſelected the mode of *Vaſanti*, becauſe it was adapted by JAYADE'VA himſelf to the moſt beautiful of his odes, and becauſe the number of notes in SO'MA compared with that of the ſyllables in the *Sanſcrit* ſtanza, may lead us to gueſs, that the ſtrain itſelf was applied by the muſician to the very words of the poet. The words are:

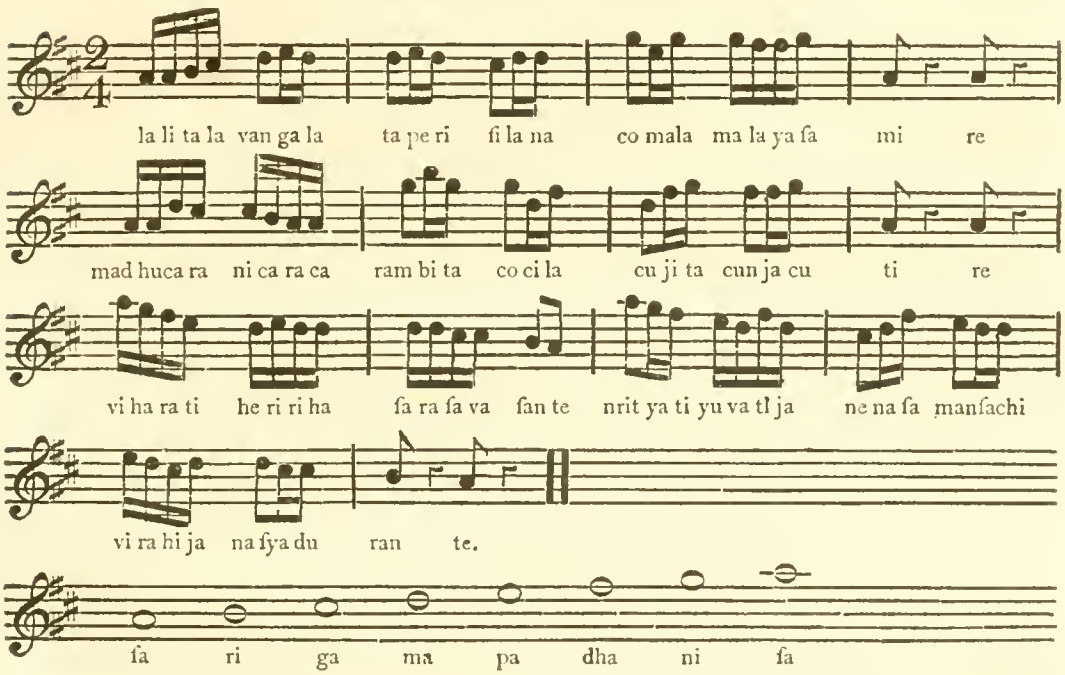
Lalita lavanga latá perisílana cómala malaya ſamíré,
Madhucara nicara carambita cócila cújita cunja cutíré
Viharati heririha ſaraſa vaſanté
Nrĭtyati yuvati janéna ſaman ſac'hi virahi janaſya duranté.

" While the ſoft gale of *Malaya* wafts perfume from the beautiful " clove-plant, and the receſs of each flowery arbour ſweetly reſounds " with the ſtrains of the *Cócila* mingled with the murmurs of the honey- " making ſwarms, HERI dances, O lovely friend, with a company of " damſels in this vernal ſeaſon; a ſeaſon full of delights, but painful to " ſeparated lovers."

I have noted SO'MA's air in the major mode of A, or *ſa*, which, from its gaiety and brilliancy, well expreſſes the general hilarity of the ſong; but the ſentiment of tender pain, even in a ſeaſon of delights, from the remembrance of pleaſures no longer attainable, would require in our muſick

muſick a change to the minor mode ; and the air might be diſpoſed in the form of a rondeau ending with the ſecond line, or even with the third, where the ſenſe is equally full, if it ſhould be thought proper to expreſs by another modulation that *imitative melody*, which the poet has manifeſtly attempted : the meaſure is very rapid, and the air ſhould be gay, or even quick, in exact proportion to it.

AN OLD INDIAN AIR.



The preceding is a ſtrain in the mode of HINDO'LA, beginning and ending with the fifth note *ſa*, but wanting *pa*, and *ri*, or the ſecond and ſixth : I could eaſily have found words for it in the *Gítagóvinda*, but the united charms of poetry and muſick would lead me too far ; and I muſt now with reluctance bid farewel to a ſubject, which I deſpair of having leiſure to reſume.

ON

THE MYSTICAL POETRY

OF

THE PERSIANS AND HINDUS.

By The PRESIDENT.

A FIGURATIVE mode of expreſſing the fervour of devotion, or the ardent love of created ſpirits towards their beneficent Creator, has prevailed from time immemorial in *Aſia*; particularly among the *Perſian* theiſts, both ancient *Húſhangis* and modern *Súfis*, who ſeem to have borrowed it from the *Indian* philoſophers of the *Védánta* ſchool; and their doctrines are alſo believed to be the ſource of that ſublime, but poetical, theology, which glows and ſparkles in the writings of the old *Academicks*. "PLATO travelled into *Italy* and *Egypt*, ſays CLAUDE FLEURY, "to learn the Theology of the Pagans at its fountain head:" its true fountain, however, was neither in *Italy* nor in *Egypt* (though conſiderable ſtreams of it had been conducted thither by PYTHAGORAS and by the family of MISRA), but in *Perſia* or *India*, which the founder of the *Italick* ſect had viſited with a ſimilar deſign. What the *Grecian* travellers learned among the ſages of the eaſt, may perhaps be fully explained, at a ſeaſon of leiſure, in another diſſertation; but we confine this eſſay to a ſingular ſpecies of poetry, which conſiſts almoſt wholly of a myſtical religious allegory, though it ſeems on a tranſient view to contain only the ſentiments of a wild and voluptuous libertiniſm: now, admitting the danger

danger of a poetical ſtyle, in which the limits between vice and enthuſiaſm are ſo minute as to be hardly diſtinguiſhable, we muſt beware of cenſuring it ſeverely, and muſt allow it to be natural, though a warm imagination may carry it to a culpable exceſs; for an ardently grateful piety is congenial to the undepraved nature of man, whoſe mind, ſinking under the magnitude of the ſubject, and ſtruggling to expreſs its emotions, has recourſe to metaphors and allegories, which it ſometimes extends beyond the bounds of cool reaſon, and often to the brink of abſurdity. BARROW, who would have been the ſublimeſt mathematician, if his religious turn of mind had not made him the deepeſt theologian of his age, deſcribes Love as "an "affection or inclination of the ſoul toward an object, proceeding from "an apprehenſion and eſteem of ſome excellence or convenience in it, "as its *beauty*, worth, or utility, and producing, if it be abſent, a pro- "portionable deſire, and conſequently an endeavour, to obtain ſuch a "property in it, ſuch poſſeſſion of it, ſuch an *approximation to it, or union* "*with it*, as the thing is capable of; with a regret and diſpleaſure in "failing to obtain it, or in the want and loſs of it; begetting likewiſe a "complacence, ſatisfaction, and delight in its preſence, poſſeſſion, or en- "joyment, which is moreover attended with a good will toward it, ſuit- "able to its nature; that is, with a deſire, that it ſhould arrive at, or "continue in, its beſt ſtate; with a delight to perceive it thrive and "flouriſh; with a diſpleaſure to ſee it ſuffer or decay: with a conſe- "quent endeavour to advance it in all good and preſerve it from all "evil." Agreeably to this deſcription, which conſiſts of two parts, and was deſigned to comprize the tender love of the Creator towards created ſpirits, the great philoſopher burſts forth in another place, with his uſual animation and command of language, into the following panegyrick on the pious love of human ſouls toward the Author of their happineſs: "Love is the ſweeteſt and moſt delectable of all paſſions; and, when by "the conduct of wiſdom it is directed in a rational way toward a "worthy, congruous, and attainable object, it cannot otherwiſe than fill

"the

" the heart with raviſhing delight: ſuch, in all reſpects ſuperlatively
" ſuch, is GOD; who, infinitely beyond all other things, deſerveth our
" affection, as moſt perfectly amiable and deſirable; as having obliged
" us by innumerable and ineſtimable benefits; all the good, that we have
" ever enjoyed, or can ever expect, being derived from his pure bounty;
" all things in the world, in competition with him being mean and ugly;
" all things, without him, vain, unprofitable, and hurtful to us. He is
" the moſt proper object of our love; for we chiefly were framed, and
" it is the prime law of our nature, to love him; *our ſoul, from its origi-*
" *nal inſtinct, vergeth toward him as its centre, and can have no reſt, till*
" *it be fixed on him:* he alone can ſatisfy the vaſt capacity of our minds,
" and fill our boundleſs deſires. He, of all lovely things, moſt certainly
" and eaſily may be attained; for, whereas commonly men are croſſed in
" their affection, and their love is embittered from their affecting things
" imaginary, which they cannot reach, or coy things, which diſdain and
" reject them, it is with GOD quite otherwiſe: He is moſt ready to im-
" part himſelf; he moſt earneſtly deſireth and wooeth our love; he is
" not only moſt willing to correſpond in affection, but even doth pre-
" vent us therein: *He doth cheriſh and encourage our love by ſweeteſt in-*
" *fluences and moſt conſoling embraces*; by kindeſt expreſſions of favour, by
" moſt beneficial returns; and, whereas all other objects do in the en-
" joyment much fail our expectation, he doth ever far exceed it. Where-
" fore in all affectionate motions of our hearts toward GOD; in *deſiring*
" him, or ſeeking his favour and friendſhip; in *embracing* him, or ſetting
" our eſteem, our good will, our confidence on him; in *enjoying* him by
" devotional meditations and addreſſes to him; in a reflective ſenſe of
" our intereſt and propriety in him; *in that myſterious union of ſpirit,*
" *whereby we do cloſely adhere to, and are, as it were, inſerted in him*; in
" a hearty complacence in his benignity, a grateful ſenſe of his kind-
" neſs, and a zealous deſire of yielding ſome requital for it, we cannot
" but feel very pleaſant tranſports: indeed, that celeſtial flame, kindled

" in

" in our hearts bythe ſpirit of love, cannot be void of warmth; we can-
" not fix our eyes upon *infinite beauty*, we cannot taſte infinite ſweet-
" neſs, we cannot cleave to infinite felicity, without alſo perpetually re-
" joicing in the firſt daughter of Love to GOD, Charity toward men;
" which, in complection and careful diſpoſition, doth much reſemble her
" mother; for ſhe doth rid us from all thoſe gloomy, keen, turbulent
" imaginations and paſſions, which cloud our mind, which fret our heart,
" which diſcompoſe the frame of our ſoul; from burning anger, from ſtorm-
" ing contention, from gnawing envy, from rankling ſpite, from racking
" ſuſpicion, from diſtracting ambition and avarice; and conſequently doth
" ſettle our mind in an even temper, in a ſedate humour, in an harmonious
" order, in *that pleaſant ſtate of tranquillity, which naturally doth reſult from*
" *the voidance of irregular paſſions.*" Now this paſſage from BARROW (which borders, I admit, on quietiſm and enthuſiaſtic devotion) differs only from the myſtical theology of the *Súfi's* and *Yógis*, as the flowers and fruits of *Europe* differ in ſcent and flavour from thoſe of *Aſia*, or as *European* differs from *Aſiatick* eloquence: the ſame ſtrain, in poetical meaſure, would riſe up to the odes of SPENSER on *Divine Love* and *Beauty*, and, in a higher key with richer embelliſhments, to the ſongs of HAFIZ and JAYADE'VA, the raptures of the *Maſnavì*, and the myſteries of the *Bhágavat*.

Before we come to the *Perſians* and *Indians*, let me produce another ſpecimen of *European* theology, collected from a late excellent work of the illuſtrious M. NECKER. " Were men animated, ſays he, with
" ſublime thoughts, did they reſpect the intellectual power, with which
" they are adorned, and take an intereſt in the dignity of their nature,
" they would embrace with tranſport that ſenſe of religion, which en-
" nobles their faculties, keeps their minds in full ſtrength, and unites
" them in idea with him, whoſe immenſity overwhelms them with
" aſtoniſhment: *conſidering themſelves as an emanation from that infinite*
" *Being*,

" *Being*, the ſource and cauſe of all things, they would then diſdain to " be miſled by a gloomy and falſe philoſophy, and would cheriſh the " idea of a GOD, who *created*, who *regenerates*, who *preſerves* this uni- " verſe by invariable laws, and by a continued chain of ſimilar cauſes " producing ſimilar effects; who pervades all nature with his divine " ſpirit, as an univerſal ſoul, which moves, directs, and reſtrains the " wonderful fabrick of this world. The bliſsful idea of a GOD ſweet- " ens every moment of our time, and embelliſhes before us the path " of life; unites us delightfully to all the beauties of nature, and " aſſociates us with every thing that lives or moves. Yes; the whiſper " of the gales, the murmur of waters, the peaceful agitation of trees " and ſhrubs, would concur to engage our minds and *affect our ſouls* " *with tenderneſs*, if our thoughts were elevated to *one univerſal cauſe*, if " we recognized on all ſides the work of *Him*, *whom we love*; if we " marked the traces of his auguſt ſteps and benignant intentions, if we " believed ourſelves actually preſent at the diſplay of his boundleſs " power and the magnificent exertions of his unlimited goodneſs. Be- " nevolence, among all the virtues, has a character more than human, " and a certain amiable ſimplicity in its nature, which ſeems analogous " to the *firſt idea*, the original intention of conferring delight, which we " neceſſarily ſuppoſe in the Creator, when we preſume to ſeek his motive " in beſtowing exiſtence: benevolence is that virtue, or, to ſpeak more " emphatically, that *primordial beauty*, which preceded all times and all " worlds; and, when we reflect on it, there appears an analogy, obſcure " indeed at preſent, and to us imperfectly known, between our moral " nature and a time yet very remote, when we ſhall ſatisfy our ardent " wiſhes and lively hopes, which conſtitute perhaps a ſixth, and (if the " phraſe may be uſed) a diſtant, ſenſe. It may even be imagined, that " love, the brighteſt ornament of our nature, love, enchanting and " ſublime, is a myſterious pledge for the aſſurance of thoſe hopes; ſince " love, by diſengaging us from ourſelves, by tranſporting us beyond the

" limits of our own being, is the firſt ſtep in our progreſs to a joyful " immortality; and, by affording both the notion and example of a " cheriſhed object diſtinct from our own ſouls, may be conſidered as " an interpreter to our hearts of ſomething, which our intellects can- " not conceive. We may ſeem even to hear the Supreme Intelligence " and Eternal Soul of all nature, give this commiſſion to the ſpirits, " which emaned from him: *Go; admire a ſmall portion of my works,* " *and ſtudy them; make your firſt trial of happineſs, and learn to love* " *him, who beſtowed it; but ſeek not to remove the veil ſpread over the* " *ſecret of your exiſtence: your nature is compoſed of thoſe divine particles,* " *which, at an infinite diſtance, conſtitute my own eſſence; but you would* " *be too near me, were you permitted to penetrate the myſtery of our ſepara-* " *tion and union: wait the moment ordained by my wiſdom; and, until* " *that moment come, hope to approach me only by adoration and gratitude.*"

If theſe two paſſages were tranſlated into *Sanſcrit* and *Perſian*, I am confident, that the *Védántis* and *Súfis* would conſider them as an epitome of their common ſyſtem; for they concur in believing, that the ſouls of men differ infinitely in *degree*, but not at all in *kind*, from the divine ſpirit, of which they are *particles*, and in which they will ultimately be abſorbed; that the ſpirit of GOD pervades the univerſe, always immediately preſent to his work, and conſequently always in ſubſtance, that he alone is perfect benevolence, perfect truth, perfect beauty; that the love of him alone is *real* and genuine love, while that of all other objects is *abſurd* and illuſory, that the beauties of nature are faint reſemblances, like images in a mirror, of the divine charms; that, from eternity without beginning to eternity without end, the ſupreme benevolence is occupied in beſtowing happineſs or the means of attaining it; that men can only attain it by performing their part of the *primal covenant* between them and the Creator; that nothing has a pure abſolute exiſtence but *mind* or *ſpirit*; that *material ſubſtances*, as the ignorant call

call them, are no more than gay *pictures* preſented continually to our *minds* by the ſempiternal Artiſt; that we muſt beware of attachment to ſuch *phantoms*, and attach ourſelves excluſively to God, who truly exiſts in us, as we exiſt ſolely in him; that we retain even in this forlorn ſtate of ſeparation from our beloved, the *idea* of *heavenly beauty*, and the *remembrance* of our *primeval vows*; that ſweet muſick, gentle breezes, fragrant flowers, perpetually renew the primary *idea*, refreſh our fading memory, and melt us with tender affections; that we muſt cheriſh thoſe affections, and by abſtracting our ſouls from *vanity*, that is, from all but GOD, approximate to his eſſence, in our final union with which will conſiſt our ſupreme beatitude. From theſe principles flow a thouſand metaphors and poetical figures, which abound in the ſacred poems of the *Perſians* and *Hindus*, who ſeem to mean the ſame thing in ſubſtance, and differ only in expreſſion, as their languages differ in idiom! The modern SU'FIS, who profeſs a belief in the *Koran*, ſuppoſe with great ſublimity both of thought and of diction, an *expreſs contract*, on *the day of eternity without beginning*, between the aſſemblage of created ſpirits and the ſupreme ſoul, from which they were detached, when a celeſtial voice pronounced theſe words, addreſſed to each ſpirit ſeparately, "Art "thou not with thy Lord?" that is, art thou not bound by a ſolemn contract with him? and all the ſpirits anſwered with one voice, "Yes:" hence it is, that *aliſt*, or *art thou not*, and *beli*, or *yes*, inceſſantly occur in the myſtical verſes of the *Perſians*, and of the *Turkiſh* poets, who imitate them, as the *Romans* imitated the *Greeks*. The *Hindus* deſcribe the ſame covenant under the figurative notion, ſo finely expreſſed by ISAIAH, of a *nuptial contract*; for conſidering GOD in the three characters of Creator, Regenerator and Preſerver, and ſuppoſing the power of *Preſervation* and *Benevolence* to have become incarnate in the perſon of CRISHNA, they repreſent him as married to RA'DHA', a word ſignifying *atonement*, *pacification*, or *ſatisfaction*, but applied allegorically to *the ſoul of man*, or rather to *the whole aſſemblage of created ſouls*, between whom

whom and the benevolent Creator they ſuppoſe that *reciprocal* love, which BARROW deſcribes with a glow of expreſſion perfectly oriental, and which our moſt orthodox theologians believe to have been myſtically *ſhadowed* in the ſong of SOLOMON, while they admit, that, in a *literal* ſenſe, it is an epithalamium on the marriage of the ſapient king with the princeſs of *Egypt*. The very learned author of the prelections on ſacred poetry declared his opinion, that the canticles were founded on hiſtorical truth, but involved an allegory of that ſort, which he named *myſtical*; and the beautiful poem on the loves of LAILI and MAJNUN by the inimitable NIZA'MI (to ſay nothing of other poems on the ſame ſubject) is indiſputably built on true hiſtory, yet avowedly allegorical and myſterious; for the introduction to it is a continued rapture on *divine love*; and the name of LAILI ſeems to be uſed in the *Maſnavi* and the odes of HAFIZ for the omnipreſent ſpirit of GOD.

It has been made a queſtion, whether the poems of HAFIZ muſt be taken in a literal or in a figurative ſenſe; but the queſtion does not admit of a general and direct anſwer; for even the moſt enthuſiaſtick of his commentators, allow, that ſome of them are to be taken literally, and his editors ought to have diſtinguiſhed them, as our SPENSER has diſtinguiſhed his four Odes on *Love* and *Beauty*, inſtead of mixing the profane with the divine, by a childiſh arrangement according to the alphabetical order of the rhymes. HAFIZ never pretended to more than human virtues, and it is known that he had human propenſities; for in his youth he was paſſionately in love with a girl ſurnamed *Shákhi Nebàt*, or *the Branch of Sugarcane*, and the prince of *Shiraz* was his rival: ſince there is an agreeable wildneſs in the ſtory, and ſince the poet himſelf alludes to it in one of his odes, I give it you at length from the commentary. There is a place called *Piriſebz*, or *the Green old man*, about four *Perſian* leagues from the city; and a popular opinion had long prevailed, that a youth, who ſhould paſs forty ſucceſ-

ſive

ſive nights in *Piriſebz* without ſleep, would infallibly become an excellent poet: young HAFIZ had accordingly made a vow, that he would ſerve that apprenticeſhip with the utmoſt exactneſs, and for thirty-nine days he rigorouſly diſcharged his duty, walking every morning before the houſe of his coy miſtreſs, taking ſome refreſhment and reſt at noon, and paſſing the night awake at his poetical ſtation; but, on the fortieth morning, he was tranſported with joy on ſeeing the girl beckon to him through the lattices, and invite him to enter: ſhe received him with rapture, declared her preference of a bright genius to the ſon of a king, and would have detained him all night, if he had not recollected his vow, and, reſolving to keep it inviolate, returned to his poſt. The people of *Shiraz* add (and the fiction is grounded on a couplet of HAFIZ), that, early next morning *an old man, in a green mantle*, who was no leſs a perſonage than KHIZR himſelf, approached him at *Pirijebz* with a cup brimful of nectar, which the *Greeks* would have called the water of *Aganippe*, and rewarded his perſeverance with an inſpiring draught of it. After his juvenile paſſions had ſubſided, we may ſuppoſe that his mind took that religious bent, which appears in moſt of his compoſitions; for there can be no doubt that the following diſtichs, collected from different odes, relate to the myſtical theology of the *Sufis*:

" In eternity without beginning, a ray of thy beauty began to gleam;
" when Love ſprang into being, and caſt flames over all nature;

" On that day thy cheek ſparkled even under thy veil, and all this
" beautiful imagery appeared on the mirror of our fancies.

" Riſe, my ſoul; that I may pour thee forth on the pencil of that
" ſupreme Artiſt, who comprized in a turn of his compaſs all this won-
" derful ſcenery!

" From

" From the moment, when I heard the divine ſentence, *I have breathed* " *into man a portion of my ſpirit*, I was aſſured, that we were His, and " He ours.

" Where are the glad tidings of union with thee, that I may abandon " all deſire of life? I am a bird of holineſs, and would fain eſcape from " the net of this world.

" Shed, O Lord, from the cloud of heavenly guidance one cheering " ſhower, before the moment, when I muſt riſe up like a particle of dry " duſt!

" The ſum of our tranſactions in this univerſe, is nothing: bring us " the wine of devotion; for the poſſeſſions of this world vaniſh.

" The true object of heart and ſoul is the glory of union with our " beloved: that object really exiſts, but without it both heart and ſoul " would have no exiſtence.

" O the bliſs of that day, when I ſhall depart from this deſolate man- " ſion; ſhall ſeek reſt for my ſoul; and ſhall follow the traces of my " beloved:

" Dancing, with love of his beauty, like a mote in a ſun-beam, till I " reach the ſpring and fountain of light, whence yon ſun derives all his " luſtre!"

The couplets, which follow, relate as indubitably to human love and ſenſual gratifications:

" May the hand never ſhake, which gathered the grapes! May the " foot never ſlip, which preſſed them!

" That

" That poignant liquor, which the zealot calls *the mother of ſins*, is
" pleaſanter and ſweeter to me than the kiſſes of a maiden.

" Wine two years old and a damſel of fourteen are ſufficient ſociety
" for me, above all companies great or ſmall.

" How delightful is dancing to lively notes and the cheerful melody
" of the flute, eſpecially when we touch the hand of a beautiful girl!

" *Call for wine, and ſcatter flowers around: what more canſt thou aſk*
" *from fate?* Thus ſpoke the nightingale this morning: what ſayeſt thou,
" ſweet roſe, to his precepts?

" Bring thy couch to the garden of roſes, that thou mayeſt kiſs the
" cheeks and lips of lovely damſels, quaff rich wine, and ſmell odori-
" ferous bloſſoms.

" O branch of an exquiſite roſe-plant, for whoſe ſake doſt thou grow?
" Ah! on whom will that ſmiling roſe-bud confer delight?

" The roſe would have diſcourſed on the beauties of my charmer, but
" the gale was jealous, and ſtole her breath, before ſhe ſpoke.

" In this age, the only friends, who are free from blemiſh, are a flaſk
" of pure wine and a volume of elegant love ſongs.

" O the joy of that moment, when the ſelf-ſufficiency of inebriation
" rendered me independent of the prince and of his miniſter!"

Many zealous admirers of HA'FIZ inſiſt, that by *wine* he invariably means *devotion*; and they have gone ſo far as to compoſe a dictionary of words

words in the *language*, as they call it, of the *Súfis:* in that vocabulary *ſleep* is explained by *meditation* on the divine perfections, and *perfume* by *hope* of the divine favour; *gales* are *illapſes* of grace; *kiſſes* and *embraces*, the *raptures* of piety; *idolaters*, *infidels*, and *libertines* are men of the pureſt *religion*, and their *idol* is the Creator himſelf; the *tavern* is a retired oratory, and its *keeper*, a ſage inſtructor; *beauty* denotes the *perfection* of the Supreme Being; *treſſes* are the *expanſion* of his glory; *lips*, the hidden myſteries of his eſſence; *down* on the cheek, the world of ſpirits, who encircle his throne; and a *black mole*, the *point* of indiviſible unity; laſtly, *wantonneſs*, *mirth*, and *ebriety*, mean religious ardour and abſtraction from all terreſtrial thoughts. The poet himſelf gives a colour in many paſſages to ſuch an interpretation; and without it, we can hardly conceive, that his poems, or thoſe of his numerous imitators, would be tolerated in a *Muſelman* country, eſpecially at *Conſtantinople*, where they are venerated as divine compoſitions: it muſt be admitted, that the ſublimity of the *myſtical allegory*, which, like metaphors and compariſons, ſhould be *general* only, not minutely exact, is diminiſhed, if not deſtroyed, by an attempt at *particular* and *diſtinct reſemblances*; and that the ſtyle itſelf is open to dangerous miſinterpretation, while it ſupplies real infidels with a pretext for laughing at religion itſelf.

On this occaſion I cannot refrain from producing a moſt extraordinary ode by a *Súfì* of *Bokhárà*, who aſſumed the poetical ſurname of ISMAT: a more modern poet, by prefixing three lines to each couplet, which rhyme with the firſt hemiſtich, has very elegantly and ingeniouſly converted the *Kaſidah* into a *Mokhammes*, but I preſent you only with a literal verſion of the original diſtichs:

" Yeſterday, half inebriated, I paſſed by the quarter, where the vint-
" ners dwell, to ſeek the daughter of an infidel who ſells wine.

" At the end of the ſtreet, there advanced before me a damſel with a " fairy's cheeks, who, in the manner of a pagan, wore her treſſes deſhe- " velled over her ſhoulder like the ſacerdotal thread. I ſaid: *O thou, to* " *the arch of whoſe eye-brow the new moon is a ſlave, what quarter is this* " *and where is thy manſion?*

" She anſwered: *Caſt thy roſary on the ground; bind on thy ſhoulder* " *the thread of paganiſm; throw ſtones at the glaſs of piety; and quaff* " *wine from a full goblet;*

" *After that come before me, that I may whiſper a word in thine ear:* " *thou wilt accompliſh thy journey, if thou liſten to my diſcourſe.*

" Abandoning my heart and rapt in ecſtaſy, I ran after her, till I came " to a place, in which religion and reaſon forſook me.

" At a diſtance I beheld a company, all inſane and inebriated, who " came boiling and roaring with ardour from the wine of love;

" Without cymbals, or lutes, or viols, yet all full of mirth and me- " lody; without wine, or goblet, or flaſk, yet all inceſſantly drinking.

" When the cord of reſtraint ſlipped from my hand, I deſired to aſk " her one queſtion, but ſhe ſaid: *Silence!*

" *This is no ſquare temple, to the gate of which thou canſt arrive pre-* " *cipitately: this is no moſque to which thou canſt come with tumult, but* " *without knowledge. This is the banquet-houſe of infidels, and within it* " *all are intoxicated; all, from the dawn of eternity to the day of reſurrec-* " *tion, loſt in aſtoniſhment.*

" *Depart then from the cloiſter, and take the way to the tavern; caſt* " *off the cloak of a derviſe, and wear the robe of a libertine.*

" I obeyed; and, if thou deſireſt the ſame ſtrain and colour with " ISMAT, imitate him, and ſell this world and the next for one drop of " pure wine."

Such is the ſtrange religion, and ſtranger language of the *Súfis*; but moſt of the *Aſiatick* poets are of that religion, and, if we think it worth while to read their poems, we muſt think it worth while to underſtand them: their great *Maulaví* aſſures us, that " they profeſs eager " deſire, but with no carnal affection, and circulate the cup, but no ma- " terial goblet; ſince all things are ſpiritual in their ſect, all is myſtery " within myſtery;" conſiſtently with which declaration he opens his aſtoniſhing work, entitled the *Maſnavì*, with the following couplets:

Hear, how yon reed in ſadly-pleaſing tales
Departed bliſs and preſent wo bewails!
' With me, from native banks untimely torn,
' Love-warbling youths and ſoft-ey'd virgins mourn.
' O! Let the heart, by fatal abſence rent,
' Feel what I ſing, and bleed when I lament:
' Who roams in exile from his parent bow'r,
' Pants to return, and chides each ling'ring hour.
' My notes, in circles of the grave and gay,
' Have hail'd the riſing, cheer'd the cloſing day:
' Each in my fond affections claim'd a part,
' But none diſcern'd the ſecret of my heart.
' What though my ſtrains and ſorrows flow combin'd!
' Yet ears are ſlow, and carnal eyes are blind.

' Free

‘ Free through each mortal form the ſpirits roll,
‘ But ſight avails not. Can we ſee the ſoul ?’
Such notes breath’d gently from yon vocal frame:
Breath’d ſaid I ? no ; ’twas all enliv’ning flame.
’Tis love, that fills the reed with warmth divine ;
’Tis love, that ſparkles in the racy wine.
Me, plaintive wand’rer from my peerleſs maid,
The reed has fir’d, and all my ſoul betray’d.
He gives the bane, and he with balſam cures ;
Afflicts, yet ſooths ; impaſſions, yet allures.
Delightful pangs his am’rous tales prolong ;
And Laili’s frantick lover lives in ſong.
Not he, who reaſons beſt, this wiſdom knows :
Ears only drink what rapt’rous tongues diſcloſe.
Nor fruitleſs deem the reed’s heart-piercing pain :
See ſweetneſs dropping from the parted cane.
Alternate hope and fear my days divide :
I courted Grief, and Anguiſh was my bride.
Flow on, ſad ſtream of life ! I ſmile ſecure :
Thou liveſt ; Thou, the pureſt of the pure !
Riſe, vig’rous youth ! be free ; be nobly bold :
Shall chains confine you, though they blaze with gold ?
Go ; to your vaſe the gather’d main convey :
What were your ſtores ? The pittance of a day !
New plans for wealth your fancies would invent ;
Yet ſhells, to nouriſh pearls, muſt lie content.
The man, whoſe robe love’s purple arrows rend
Bids av’rice reſt and toils tumultuous end.
Hail, heav’nly love ! true ſource of endleſs gains !
Thy balm reſtores me, and thy ſkill ſuſtains.

Oh,

Oh, more than GALEN learn'd, than PLATO wiſe!
My guide, my law, my joy ſupreme ariſe!
Love warms this frigid clay with myſtick fire,
And dancing mountains leap with young deſire.
Bleſt is the ſoul, that ſwims in ſeas of love,
And long the life ſuſtain'd by food above.
With forms imperfect can perfection dwell?
Here pauſe, my ſong; and thou, vain world, farewel.

A volume might be filled with ſimilar paſſages from the *Súfi* poets; from SA'IB, ORFI, MI'R KHOSRAU, JA'MI, HAZI'N, and SA'BIK, who are next in beauty of compoſition to HA'FIZ and SADI, but next at a conſiderable diſtance; from MESI'HI, the moſt elegant of their *Turkiſh* imitators; from a few *Hindi* poets of our own times, and from IBNUL FA'RED, who wrote myſtical odes in *Arabick*; but we may cloſe this account of the *Súfis* with a paſſage from the third book of the BUSTAN, the declared ſubject of which is *divine love*; referring you for a particular detail of their metaphyſicks and theology to the *Dabiſtan* of MOHSANI FANI, and to the pleaſing eſſay, called the *Junction of two Seas*, by that amiable and unfortunate prince, DA'RA' SHECU'H:

" The love of a being compoſed, like thyſelf, of water and clay, de-
" ſtroys thy patience and peace of mind; it excites thee, in thy waking
" hours with minute beauties, and engages thee, in thy ſleep, with vain
" imaginations: with ſuch real affection doſt thou lay thy head on her
" foot, that the univerſe, in compariſon of her, vaniſhes into nothing before
" thee; and, ſince thy gold allures not her eye, gold and mere earth ap-
" pear equal in thine. Not a breath doſt thou utter to any one elſe, for
" with her thou haſt no room for any other; thou declareſt that her
" abode is in thine eye, or, when thou cloſeſt it, in thy heart; thou haſt

" no

" no fear of cenſure from any man ; thou haſt no power to be at reſt
" for a moment ; if ſhe demands thy ſoul, it runs inſtantly to thy lip ;
" and if ſhe waves a cimeter over thee, thy head falls immediately under
" it. Since an abſurd love, with its baſis on air, affects thee ſo violently,
" and commands with a ſway ſo deſpotic, canſt thou wonder, that they,
" who walk in the true path, are drowned in the ſea of myſterious
" adoration ? They diſregard life through affection for its giver ; they
" abandon the world through remembrance of its maker ; they are
" inebriated with the melody of amorous complaints ; they remember
" their beloved, and reſign to him both this life and the next. Through
" remembrance of GOD, they ſhun all mankind : they are ſo enamoured
" of the cup-bearer, that they ſpill the wine from the cup. No panacea
" can heal them, for no mortal can be apprized of their malady ; ſo
" loudly has rung in their ears, from eternity without beginning, the
" divine word *aleſt*, with *belì*, the tumultuous exclamation of all ſpirits.
" They are a ſect fully employed, but ſitting in retirement ; their feet
" are of earth, but their breath is a flame : with a ſingle yell they could
" rend a mountain from its baſe ; with a ſingle cry they could throw a
" city into confuſion : like wind, they are concealed and move nimbly ;
" like ſtone, they are ſilent, yet repeat GOD's praiſes. At early dawn
" their tears flow ſo copiouſly as to waſh from their eyes the black
" powder of ſleep : though the courſer of their fancy ran ſo ſwiftly all
" night, yet the morning finds them left behind in diſorder : night and
" day are they plunged in an ocean of ardent deſire, till they are unable,
" through aſtoniſhment, to diſtinguiſh night from day. So enraptured
" are they with the beauty of Him, who decorated the human form,
" that with the beauty of the form itſelf, they have no concern ; and, if
" ever they behold a beautiful ſhape, they ſee in it the myſtery of GOD's
" work.

The

" The wife take not the huſk in exchange for the kernel ; and he, " who makes that choice, has no underſtanding. He only has drunk " the pure wine of unity, who has forgotten, by remembering GOD, all " things elſe in both worlds."

Let us return to the *Hindus*, among whom we now find the ſame emblematical theology, which *Pythagoras* admired and adopted. The loves of CRISHNA and RADHA, or the reciprocal attraction between the divine goodneſs and the human ſoul, are told at large in the tenth book of the *Bhágavat*, and are the ſubject of a little *Paſtoral Drama*, entitled *Gítagóvinda:* it was the work of JAYADE'VA, who flouriſhed, it is ſaid, before CALIDAS, and was born, as he tells us himſelf, in CENDULI, which many believe to be in *Calinga* ; but, ſince there is a town of a ſimilar name in *Berdwan*, the natives of it inſiſt that the fineſt lyrick poet of *India* was their countryman, and celebrate in honour of him an annual jubilee, paſſing a whole night in repreſenting his drama, and in ſinging his beautiful ſongs. After having tranſlated the *Gítagóvinda* word for word, I reduced my tranſlation to the form, in which it is now exhibited ; omitting only thoſe paſſages, which are too luxuriant and too bold for an *European* taſte, and the prefatory ode on the ten incarnations of VISHNU, with which you have been preſented on another occaſion : the phraſes in *Italicks*, are the *burdens* of the ſeveral ſongs ; and you may be aſſured, that not a ſingle image or idea has been added by the tranſlator.

GI'TA-

GÍTAGÓVINDA:

OR,

THE SONGS OF JAYADÉVA.

'THE firmament is obſcured by clouds; the woodlands are black 'with *Tamála*-trees; that youth, who roves in the foreſt, will be fear-'ful in the gloom of night: go, my daughter; bring the wanderer 'home to my ruſtick manſion.' Such was the command of NANDA, the fortunate herdſman; and hence aroſe the love of RA'DHA' and MA'DHAVA, who ſported on the bank of *Yamunà*, or haſtened eagerly to the ſecret bower.

If thy ſoul be delighted with the remembrance of HERI, or ſenſible to the raptures of love, liſten to the voice of JAYADE'VA, whoſe notes are both ſweet and brilliant. O THOU, who reclineſt on the boſom of CAMALA'; whoſe ears flame with gems, and whoſe locks are embelliſhed with ſylvan flowers; thou, from whom the day ſtar derived his effulgence, who fleweſt the venom-breathing CA'LIYA, who beamedſt, like a ſun, on the tribe of YADU, that flouriſhed like a lotos; thou, who ſitteſt on the plumage of GARURA, who, by ſubduing demons, gaveſt exquiſite joy to the aſſembly of immortals; thou, for whom the daughter of JANACA was decked in gay apparel, by whom DU'SHANA was overthrown;

thrown ; thou, whoſe eye ſparkles like the water-lily, who calledſt three worlds into exiſtence ; thou, by whom the rocks of *Mandar* were eaſily ſupported, who ſippeſt nectar from the radiant lips of PEDMA', as the fluttering *Chacóra* drinks the moon-beams ; *be victorious*, O HERI, *lord of conqueſt.*

RA'DHA' ſought him long in vain, and her thoughts were confounded by the fever of deſire : ſhe roved in the vernal morning among the twining *Váſantis* covered with ſoft bloſſoms, when a damſel thus addreſſed her with youthful hilarity : ' The gale, that has wantoned round ' the beautiful clove-plants, breathes now from the hills of *Maylaya* ; the ' circling arbours reſound with the notes of the *Cócil* and the murmurs ' of honey-making ſwarms. Now the hearts of damſels, whoſe lovers ' travel at a diſtance, are pierced with anguiſh ; while the bloſſoms of ' *Bacul* are conſpicuous among the flowrets covered with bees. The ' *Tamála*, with leaves dark and odorous, claims a tribute from the muſk, ' which it vanquiſhes ; and the cluſtering flowers of the *Paláſa* reſemble ' the nails of CA'MA, with which he rends the hearts of the young. ' The full-blown *Céſara* gleams like the ſceptre of the world's monarch, ' Love ; and the pointed thyrſe of the *Cétaca* reſembles the darts, by ' which lovers are wounded. See the bunches of *Pátali*-flowers filled ' with bees, like the quiver of SMARA full of ſhafts ; while the tender ' bloſſom of the *Caruna* ſmiles to ſee the whole world laying ſhame aſide. ' The far-ſcented *Mádhavì* beautifies the trees, round which it twines ; ' and the freſh *Mallicà* ſeduces with rich perfume even the hearts of ' hermits ; while the *Amra*-tree with blooming treſſes is embraced by ' the gay creeper *Atimucta*, and the blue ſtreams of *Yamunà* wind round ' the groves of *Vrindávan*. *In this charming ſeaſon, which gives pain to* ' *ſeparated lovers, young* HERI *ſports and dances with a company of damſels.* ' A breeze, like the breath of love, from the fragrant flowers of the *Cé-* ' *taca*, kindles every heart, whilſt it perfumes the woods with the duſt,

' which

'which it ſhakes from the *Mallicá* with half-opened buds; and the *Cócila* 'burſts into ſong, when he ſees the bloſſoms gliſtening on the lovely '*Rasála*.'

The jealous RA'DHA' gave no anſwer; and, ſoon after, her officious friend, perceiving the foe of MURA in the foreſt eager for the rapturous embraces of the herdſmen's daughters, with whom he was dancing, thus again addreſſed his forgotten miſtreſs: 'With a garland of wild flowers 'deſcending even to the yellow mantle, that girds his azure limbs, diſ-'tinguiſhed by ſmiling cheeks and by ear-rings, that ſparkle, as he plays, 'HERI *exults in the aſſemblage of amorous damſels*. One of them preſſes 'him with her ſwelling breaſt, while ſhe warbles with exquiſite melody. 'Another, affected by a glance from his eye, ſtands meditating on the 'lotos of his face. A third, on pretence of whiſpering a ſecret in his ear, 'approaches his temples, and kiſſes them with ardour. One ſeizes his 'mantle and draws him towards her, pointing to the bower on the banks 'of *Yamunà*, where elegant *Vanjulas* interweave their branches. He ap-'plauds another, who dances in the ſportive circle, whilſt her bracelets 'ring, as ſhe beats time with her palms. Now he careſſes one, and 'kiſſes another, ſmiling on a third with complacency; and now he 'chaſes her, whoſe beauty has moſt allured him. Thus the wanton 'HERI frolicks, in the ſeaſon of ſweets, among the maids of *Vraja*, who 'ruſh to his embraces, as if he were Pleaſure itſelf aſſuming a human 'form; and one of them, under a pretext of hymning his divine per-'fections, whiſpers in his ear: "Thy lips, my beloved, are nectar."

RA'DHA' remains in the foreſt; but reſenting the promiſcuous paſſion of HERI, and his neglect of her beauty, which he once thought ſu-periour, ſhe retires to a bower of twining plants, the ſummit of which reſounds with the humming of ſwarms engaged in their ſweet labours; and there, falling languid on the ground, ſhe thus addreſſes her female

companion. ‘ *Though he take recreation in my abſcence, and ſmile on all* ‘ *around him, yet my ſoul remembers him*, whoſe beguiling reed modulates ‘ a tune ſweetened by the nectar of his quivering lip, while his ear ‘ ſparkles with gems, and his eye darts amorous glances; Him, whoſe ‘ locks are decked with the plumes of peacocks reſplendent with many- ‘ coloured moons, and whoſe mantle gleams like a dark blue cloud illu- ‘ mined with rain-bows; Him, whoſe graceful ſmile gives new luſtre to ‘ his lips, brilliant and ſoft as a dewy leaf, ſweet and ruddy as the bloſſom ‘ of *Bandhujiva*, while they tremble with eagerneſs to kiſs the daughters ‘ of the herdſmen; Him, who diſperſes the gloom with beams from the ‘ jewels, which decorate his boſom, his wriſts, and his ankles, on whoſe ‘ forehead ſhines a circlet of ſandal-wood, which makes even the moon ‘ contemptible, when it fails through irradiated clouds; Him, whoſe ear- ‘ rings are formed of entire gems in the ſhape of the fiſh *Macar* on the ‘ banners of Love; even the yellow-robed God, whoſe attendants are the ‘ chiefs of deities, of holy men, and of demons; Him, who reclines under ‘ a gay *Cadamba*-tree; who formerly delighted me, while he gracefully ‘ waved in the dance, and all his ſoul ſparkled in his eye. My weak ‘ mind thus enumerates his qualities; and, though offended, ſtrives to ‘ baniſh offence. What elſe can it do? It cannot part with its affection ‘ for CRISHNA, whoſe love is excited by other damſels, and who ſports ‘ in the abſence of RA'DHA'. *Bring, O friend,* that vanquiſher of the ‘ demon CE'SI, *to ſport with* me, who am repairing to a ſecret bower, ‘ who look timidly on all ſides, who meditate with amorous fancy on ‘ his divine transfiguration. Bring him, whoſe diſcourſe was once com- ‘ poſed of the gentleſt words, to converſe with me, who am baſhful on ‘ his firſt approach, and expreſs my thoughts with a ſmile ſweet as ‘ honey. Bring him, who formerly ſlept on my boſom, to recline with ‘ me on a green bed of leaves juſt gathered, while his lip ſheds dew, and ‘ my arms enfold him. Bring him, who has attained the perfection of ‘ ſkill in love's art, whoſe hand uſed to preſs theſe firm and delicate

‘ ſpheres,

'ſpheres, to play with me, whoſe voice rivals that of the *Cócil*, and whoſe 'treſſes are bound with waving bloſſoms. Bring him, who formerly 'drew me by the locks to his embrace, to repoſe with me, whoſe feet 'tinkle, as they move, with rings of gold and of gems, whoſe looſened 'zone ſounds, as it falls; and whoſe limbs are ſlender and flexible as the 'creeping plant. That God, whoſe cheeks are beautified by the nectar 'of his ſmiles, whoſe pipe drops in his ecſtaſy, I ſaw in the grove en-'circled by the damſels of *Vraja*, who gazed on him aſkance from the 'corners of their eyes: I ſaw him in the grove with happier damſels, 'yet the ſight of him delighted me. Soft is the gale, which breathes 'over yon clear pool, and expands the cluſtering bloſſoms of the voluble '*Aſóca*; ſoft, yet grievous to me in the abſence of the foe of MADHU. 'Delightful are the flowers of *Amra*-trees on the mountain-top, while 'the murmuring bees purſue their voluptuous toil; delightful, yet 'afflicting to me, O friend, in the abſence of the youthful CE'SAVA.'

Meantime, the deſtroyer of CANSA, having brought to his remembrance the amiable RA'DHA', forſook the beautiful damſels of *Vraja:* he ſought her in all parts of the foreſt; his old wound from love's arrow bled again; he repented of his levity, and, ſeated in a bower near the bank of *Yamunà*, the blue daughter of the ſun, thus poured forth his lamentation.

'She is departed—ſhe ſaw me, no doubt, ſurrounded by the wanton 'ſhepherdeſſes; yet, conſcious of my fault, I durſt not intercept her 'flight. *Wo is me! ſhe feels a ſenſe of injured honour, and is departed* '*in wrath.* How will ſhe conduct herſelf? How will ſhe expreſs her 'pain in ſo long a ſeparation? What is wealth to me? What are nu-'merous attendants? What are the pleaſures of the world? What joy 'can I receive from a heavenly abode? I ſeem to behold her face with 'eye-brows contracting themſelves through her juſt reſentment: it re-

'ſembles

'ſembles a freſh lotos, over which two black bees are fluttering: I ſeem,
'ſo preſent is ſhe to my imagination, even now to careſs her with eager-
'neſs. Why then do I ſeek her in this foreſt? Why do I lament with-
'out cauſe? O ſlender damſel, anger, I know, has torn thy ſoft boſom;
'but whither thou art retired, I know not. How can I invite thee to
'return? Thou art ſeen by me, indeed, in a viſion; thou ſeemeſt to
'move before me. Ah! why doſt thou not ruſh, as before, to my em-
'brace? Do but forgive me: never again will I commit a ſimilar offence.
'Grant me but a ſight of thee, O lovely RA'DHICA'; for my paſſion
'torments me. I am not the terrible MAHE'SA: a garland of water-
'lilies with ſubtil threads decks my ſhoulders; not ſerpents with twiſted
'folds: the blue petals of the lotos glitter on my neck; not the azure
'gleam of poiſon: powdered ſandal-wood is ſprinkled on my limbs; not
'pale aſhes: O God of Love, miſtake me not for MAHA'DE'VA. Wound
'me not again; approach me not in anger; I love already but too paſ-
'ſionately; yet I have loſt my beloved. Hold not in thy hand that
'ſhaft barbed with an *Amra*-flower! Brace not thy bow, thou con-
'queror of the world! Is it valour to ſlay one who faints? My heart is
'already pierced by arrows from RA'DHA''S eyes, black and keen as
'thoſe of an antelope; yet mine eyes are not gratified with her preſence.
'Her eyes are full of ſhafts; her eye-brows are bows; and the tips of
'her ears are ſilken ſtrings: thus armed by ANANGA, the God of De-
'ſire, ſhe marches, herſelf a goddeſs, to enſure his triumph over the
'vanquiſhed univerſe. I meditate on her delightful embrace, on the
'raviſhing glances darted from her eye, on the fragrant lotos of her
'mouth, on her nectar-dropping ſpeech; on her lips ruddy as the berries
'of the *Bimba*; yet even my fixed meditation on ſuch an aſſemblage of
'charms encreaſes, inſtead of alleviating, the miſery of ſeparation.'

The damſel, commiſſioned by RA'DHA', found the diſconſolate God under an arbour of ſpreading *Vániras* by the ſide of *Yamunà*; where, preſenting

preſenting herſelf gracefully before him, ſhe thus deſcribed the affliction of his beloved:

'She deſpiſes eſſence of ſandal-wood, and even by moon-light ſits 'brooding over her gloomy ſorrow; ſhe declares the gale of *Malaya* to 'be venom, and the ſandal-trees, through which it has breathed, to have 'been the haunt of ſerpents. *Thus*, O MA'DHAVA, *is ſhe afflicted in thy* '*abſence with the pain, which love's dart has occaſioned: her ſoul is fixed* '*on thee.* Freſh arrows of deſire are continually aſſailing her, and ſhe 'forms a net of lotos-leaves as armour for her heart, which thou alone 'ſhouldſt fortify. She makes her own bed of the arrows darted by the 'flowery-ſhafted God; but, when ſhe hoped for thy embrace, ſhe had 'formed for thee a couch of ſoft bloſſoms. Her face is like a water-lily, 'veiled in the dew of tears, and her eyes appear like moons eclipſed, 'which let fall their gathered nectar through pain cauſed by the tooth 'of the furious dragon. She draws thy image with muſk in the cha-'racter of the Deity with five ſhafts, having ſubdued the *Macar*, or 'horned ſhark, and holding an arrow tipped with an *Amra*-flower; thus 'ſhe draws thy picture, and worſhips it. At the cloſe of every ſentence, "O MA'DHAVA, ſhe exclaims, at thy feet am I fallen, and in thy ab-"ſence even the moon, though it be a vaſe full of nectar, inflames my "limbs." Then, by the power of imagination, ſhe figures thee ſtand-'ing before her; thee, who art not eaſily attained: ſhe ſighs, ſhe ſmiles, 'ſhe mourns, ſhe weeps, ſhe moves from ſide to ſide, ſhe laments and re-'joices by turns. Her abode is a foreſt; the circle of her female com-'panions is a net; her ſighs are flames of fire kindled in a thicket; her-'ſelf (alas! through thy abſence) is become a timid roe; and Love is 'the tiger, who ſprings on her like YAMA, the Genius of Death. So 'emaciated is her beautiful body, that even the light garland, which 'waves over her boſom, ſhe thinks a load. *Such, O bright-haired God,* '*is* RA'DHA' *when thou art abſent.* If powder of ſandal-wood finely

'levigated

'levigated be moiſtened and applied to her breaſts, ſhe ſtarts, and miſ-
'takes it for poiſon. Her ſighs form a breeze long extended, and burn
'her like the flame, which reduced CANDARPA to aſhes. She throws
'around her eyes, like blue water-lilies with broken ſtalks, dropping
'lucid ſtreams. Even her bed of tender leaves appear in her ſight like a
'kindled fire. The palm of her hand ſupports her aching temple, motion-
'leſs as the creſcent riſing at eve. "HERI, HERI," thus in ſilence ſhe
'meditates on thy name, as if her wiſh were gratified, and ſhe were dying
'through thy abſence. She rends her locks; ſhe pants; ſhe laments
'inarticulately; ſhe trembles; ſhe pines; ſhe muſes; ſhe moves from
'place to place; ſhe cloſes her eyes; ſhe falls; ſhe riſes again; ſhe
'faints: in ſuch a fever of love, ſhe may live, O celeſtial phyſician, if
'thou adminiſter the remedy; but, ſhouldſt Thou be unkind, her malady
'will be deſperate. Thus, O divine healer, by the nectar of thy love
'muſt RA'DHA' be reſtored to health; and, if thou refuſe it, thy heart
'muſt be harder than the thunderſtone. Long has her ſoul pined, and
'long has ſhe been heated with ſandal-wood, moon-light, and water-
'lilies, with which others are cooled; yet ſhe patiently and in ſecret
'meditates on Thee, who alone canſt relieve her. Shouldſt thou be in-
'conſtant, how can ſhe, waſted as ſhe is to a ſhadow, ſupport life a
'ſingle moment? How can ſhe, who lately could not endure thy ab-
'ſence even an inſtant, forbear ſighing now, when ſhe looks with half-
'cloſed eyes on the *Raſála* with bloomy branches, which remind her of
'the vernal ſeaſon, when ſhe firſt beheld thee with rapture?

'Here have I choſen my abode: go quickly to RA'DHA'; ſoothe her
'with my meſſage, and conduct her hither.' So ſpoke the foe of
MADHU to the anxious damſel, who haſtened back, and thus addreſſed
her companion: 'Whilſt a ſweet breeze from the hills of *Malaya* comes
'wafting on his plumes the young God of Deſire; while many a flower
'points his extended petals to pierce the boſom of ſeparated lovers, *the*
'*Deity*

Deity crowned with ſylvan bloſſoms, laments, O friend, in thy abſence.
'Even the dewy rays of the moon burn him; and, as the ſhaft of love
'is deſcending, he mourns inarticulately with increaſing diſtraction.
'When the bees murmur ſoftly, he covers his ears; miſery ſits fixed in
'his heart, and every returning night adds anguiſh to anguiſh. He
'quits his radiant palace for the wild foreſt, where he ſinks on a bed of
'cold clay, and frequently mutters thy name. In yon bower, to which
'the pilgrims of love are uſed to repair, he meditates on thy form, re-
'peating in ſilence ſome enchanting word, which once dropped from
'thy lips, and thirſting for the nectar which they alone can ſupply.
'Delay not, O lovelieſt of women; follow the lord of thy heart: behold,
'he ſeeks the appointed ſhade, bright with the ornaments of love, and
'confident of the promiſed bliſs. *Having bound his locks with foreſt-*
'flowers, he haſtens to yon arbour, where a ſoft gale breathes over the banks
'of Yamunà: there, again pronouncing thy name, he modulates his
'divine reed. Oh! with what rapture doth he gaze on the golden duſt,
'which the breeze ſhakes from expanded bloſſoms; the breeze, which
'has kiſſed thy cheek! With a mind, languid as a dropping wing, feeble
'as a trembling leaf, he doubtfully expects thy approach, and timidly
'looks on the path which thou muſt tread. Leave behind thee, O friend,
'the ring which tinkles on thy delicate ankle, when thou ſporteſt in the
'dance; haſtily caſt over thee thy azure mantle, and run to the gloomy
'bower. The reward of thy ſpeed, O thou who ſparkleſt like lightning,
'will be to ſhine on the blue boſom of MURA'RI, which reſembles
'a vernal cloud, decked with a ſtring of pearls like a flock of white
'water-birds fluttering in the air. Diſappoint not, O thou lotos-eyed,
'the vanquiſher of MADHU; accompliſh his deſire; but go quickly: it
'is night; and the night alſo will quickly depart. Again and again he
'ſighs; he looks around; he re-enters the arbour; he can ſcarce articu-
'late thy ſweet name; he again ſmooths his flowery couch; he looks
'wild; he becomes frantick: thy beloved will periſh through deſire.

'The

'The bright-beamed God ſinks in the weſt, and thy pain of ſeparation 'may alſo be removed: the blackneſs of the night is increaſed, and the 'paſſionate imagination of GO'VINDA has acquired additional gloom. 'My addreſs to thee has equalled in length and in ſweetneſs the ſong of 'the *Cócila*: delay will make thee miſerable, O my beautiful friend. 'Seize the moment of delight in the place of aſſignation with the ſon of 'DE'VACI', who deſcended from heaven to remove the burdens of the 'univerſe; he is a blue gem on the forehead of the three worlds, and 'longs to ſip honey, like the bee, from the fragrant lotos of thy cheek.'

But the ſolicitous maid, perceiving that RA'DHA' was unable through debility, to move from her arbour of flowery creepers, returned to GO'VINDA, who was himſelf diſordered with love, and thus deſcribed her ſituation.

'*She mourns, O ſovereign of the world, in her verdant bower*; ſhe looks 'eagerly on all ſides in hope of thy approach; then, gaining ſtrength 'from the delightful idea of the propoſed meeting, ſhe advances a few 'ſteps, and falls languid on the ground. When ſhe riſes, ſhe weaves 'bracelets of freſh leaves; ſhe dreſſes herſelf like her beloved, and, look-'ing at herſelf in ſport, exclaims, "Behold the vanquiſher of MADHU!" 'Then ſhe repeats again and again the name of HERI, and, catching at 'a dark blue cloud, ſtrives to embrace it, ſaying: "It is my beloved "who approaches." Thus, while thou art dilatory, ſhe lies expecting 'thee; ſhe mourns; ſhe weeps; ſhe puts on her gayeſt ornaments to 'receive her lord; ſhe compreſſes her deep ſighs within her boſom; and 'then, meditating on thee, O cruel, ſhe is drowned in a ſea of rapturous 'imaginations. If a leaf but quiver, ſhe ſuppoſes thee arrived; ſhe 'ſpreads her couch; ſhe forms in her mind a hundred modes of delight: 'yet, if thou go not to her bower, ſhe muſt die this night through ex-'ceſſive anguiſh.'

By

By this time the moon ſpread a net of beams over the groves of *Vrindávan*, and looked like a drop of liquid ſandal on the face of the ſky, which ſmiled like a beautiful damſel; while its orb with many ſpots betrayed, as it were, a conſciouſneſs of guilt, in having often attended amorous maids to the loſs of their family honour. The moon, with a black fawn couched on its diſc, advanced in its nightly courſe; but MA'DHAVA had not advanced to the bower of RA'DHA', who thus bewailed his delay with notes of varied lamentation.

'The appointed moment is come; but HERI, alas! comes not to the 'grove. Muſt the ſeaſon of my unblemiſhed youth paſs thus idly 'away? *Oh! what refuge can I ſeek, deluded as I am by the guile of my 'female adviſer?* The God with five arrows has wounded my heart; 'and I am deſerted by Him, for whoſe ſake I have fought at night the 'darkeſt receſs of the foreſt. Since my beſt beloved friends have deceived 'me, it is my wiſh to die: ſince my ſenſes are diſordered, and my bo-'ſom is on fire, why ſtay I longer in this world? The coolneſs of this 'vernal night gives me pain, inſtead of refreſhment: ſome happier damſel 'enjoys my beloved; whilſt I, alas! am looking at the gems in my 'bracelets, which are blackened by the flames of my paſſion. My neck, 'more delicate than the tendereſt bloſſom, is hurt by the garland, that 'encircles it: flowers, are, indeed, the arrows of Love, and he plays 'with them cruelly. I make this wood my dwelling: I regard not the 'roughneſs of the *Vétas*-trees; but the deſtroyer of MADHU holds me 'not in his remembrance! Why comes he not to the bower of bloomy '*Vanjulas*, aſſigned for our meeting? Some ardent rival, no doubt, keeps 'him locked in her embrace: or have his companions detained him with 'mirthful recreations? Elſe why roams he not through the cool ſhades? 'Perhaps, the heart-ſick lover is unable through weakneſs to advance 'even a ſtep!'—So ſaying, ſhe raiſed her eyes; and, ſeeing her damſel return ſilent and mournful, unaccompanied by MA'DHAVA, ſhe was

alarmed even to phrenſy; and, as if ſhe actually beheld him in the arms of a rival, ſhe thus deſcribed the viſion which overpowered her intellect.

'Yes; in habiliments becoming the war of love, and with treſſes 'waving like flowery banners, *a damſel, more alluring than* RA'DHA', *en-* '*joys the conqueror of* MADHU. Her form is transfigured by the touch 'of her divine lover; her garland quivers over her ſwelling boſom; her 'face like the moon is graced with clouds of dark hair, and trembles, 'while ſhe quaffs the nectareous dew of his lip; her bright ear-rings 'dance over her cheeks, which they irradiate; and the ſmall bells on her 'girdle tinkle as ſhe moves. Baſhful at firſt, ſhe ſmiles at length on her 'embracer, and expreſſes her joy with inarticulate murmurs; while ſhe 'floats on the waves of deſire, and cloſes her eyes dazzled with the 'blaze of approaching CA'MA: and now this heroine in love's warfare 'falls exhauſted and vanquiſhed by the reſiſtleſs MURA'RI, but alas! in 'my boſom prevails the flame of jealouſy, and yon moon, which diſpels 'the ſorrow of others, increaſes mine. See again, where the *foe of* 'MURA, *ſports in yon grove on the bank of the* Yamunà! See, how he 'kiſſes the lip of my rival, and imprints on her forehead an ornament of 'pure muſk, black as the young antelope on the lunar orb! Now, like 'the huſband of RETI, he fixes white bloſſoms on her dark locks, where 'they gleam like flaſhes of lightning among the curled clouds. On her 'breaſts, like two firmaments, he places a ſtring of gems like a radiant 'conſtellation: he binds on her arms, graceful as the ſtalks of the water-'lily, and adorned with hands glowing like the petals of its flower, a 'bracelet of ſapphires, which reſemble a cluſter of bees. Ah! ſee, how 'he ties round her waiſt a rich girdle illumined with golden bells, which 'ſeem to laugh, as they tinkle, at the inferior brightneſs of the leafy 'garlands, which lovers hang on their bowers to propitiate the God of 'Deſire. He places her ſoft foot, as he reclines by her ſide, on his 'ardent boſom, and ſtains it with the ruddy hue of *Yávaca*. Say, my 'friend,

'friend, why paſs I my nights in this tangled foreſt without joy, and 'without hope, while the faithleſs brother of HALADHERA claſps my 'rival in his arms? Yet why, my companion, ſhouldſt thou mourn, 'though my perfidious youth has diſappointed me? What offence is it 'of thine, if he ſport with a crowd of damſels happier than I? Mark, 'how my ſoul, attracted by his irreſiſtible charms, burſts from its mortal 'frame, and ruſhes to mix with its beloved. *She, whom the God enjoys, 'crowned with ſylvan flowers*, ſits careleſsly on a bed of leaves with Him, 'whoſe wanton eyes reſemble blue water-lilies agitated by the breeze. 'She feels no flame from the gales of *Malaya* with Him, whoſe words 'are ſweeter than the water of life. She derides the ſhafts of ſoul-born 'CA'MA, with Him, whoſe lips are like a red lotos in full bloom. She 'is cooled by the moon's dewy beams, while ſhe reclines with Him, 'whoſe hands and feet glow like vernal flowers. No female companion 'deludes her, while ſhe ſports with Him, whoſe veſture blazes like tried 'gold. She faints not through exceſs of paſſion, while ſhe careſſes that 'youth, who ſurpaſſes in beauty the inhabitants of all worlds. O gale, 'ſcented with ſandal, who breatheſt love from the regions of the ſouth, 'be propitious but for a moment: when thou haſt brought my beloved 'before my eyes, thou mayeſt freely waft away my ſoul. Love, with 'eyes like blue water-lilies, again aſſails me and triumphs; and, while 'the perfidy of my beloved rends my heart, my female friend is my foe, 'the cool breeze ſcorches me like a flame, and the nectar-dropping moon 'is my poiſon. Bring diſeaſe and death, O gale of *Malaya!* Seize my 'ſpirit, O God with five arrows! I aſk not mercy from thee: no more 'will I dwell in the cottage of my father. Receive me in thy azure 'waves, O ſiſter of YAMA, that the ardour of my heart may be allayed!'

Pierced by the arrows of love, ſhe paſſed the night in the agonies of deſpair, and at early dawn thus rebuked her lover, whom ſhe ſaw lying proſtrate before her and imploring her forgiveneſs.

'Alas!

'Alas! *alas! Go*, MA'DHAVA, *depart*, *O* CE'SAVA; *ſpeak not the lan-*
'*guage of guile*; *follow her*, *O lotos-eyed God*, *follow her*, *who diſpels thy*
'*care*. Look at his eye half-opened, red with continued waking through
'the pleaſurable night, yet ſmiling ſtill with affection for my rival! Thy
'teeth, O cerulean youth, are azure as thy complexion from the kiſſes,
'which thou haſt imprinted on the beautiful eyes of thy darling graced
'with dark blue powder; and thy limbs marked with punctures in love's
'warfare, exhibit a letter of conqueſt written on poliſhed ſapphires with
'liquid gold. That broad boſom, ſtained by the bright lotos of her
'foot, diſplays a veſture of ruddy leaves over the tree of thy heart,
'which trembles within it. The preſſure of her lip on thine wounds
'me to the ſoul. Ah! how canſt thou aſſert, that we are one, ſince
'our ſenſations differ thus widely? Thy ſoul, O dark-limbed god, ſhows
'its blackneſs externally. How couldſt thou deceive a girl who relied
'on thee; a girl who burned in the fever of love? Thou roveſt in
'woods, and females are thy prey: what wonder? Even thy childiſh
'heart was malignant; and thou gaveſt death to the nurſe, who would
'have given thee milk. Since thy tenderneſs for me, of which theſe
'foreſts uſed to talk, has now vaniſhed, and ſince thy breaſt, reddened
'by the feet of my rival, glows as if thy ardent paſſion for her were
'burſting from it, the ſight of thee, O deceiver, makes me (ah! muſt I
'ſay it?) bluſh at my own affection.'

Having thus inveighed againſt her beloved, ſhe ſat overwhelmed in grief, and ſilently meditated on his charms; when her damſel ſoftly addreſſed her.

'He is gone: the light air has wafted him away. What pleaſure
'now, my beloved, remains in thy manſion? *Continue not*, *reſentful*
'*woman*, *thy indignation againſt the beautiful* MA'DHAVA. Why ſhouldſt
'thou render vain thoſe round ſmooth vaſes, ample and ripe as the ſweet
'fruit

'fruit of yon *Tá.a*-tree? How often and how recently have I ſaid: "forſake not the blooming HERI?" Why ſitteſt thou ſo mournful? 'Why weepeſt thou with diſtraction, when the damſels are laughing 'around thee? Thou haſt formed a couch of ſoft lotos-leaves: let thy 'darling charm thy ſight, while he repoſes on it. Afflict not thy ſoul 'with extreme anguiſh; but attend to my words, which conceal no 'guile. Suffer CE'SAVA to approach: let him ſpeak with exquiſite 'ſweetneſs, and diſſipate all thy ſorrows. If thou art harſh to him, who 'is amiable; if thou art proudly ſilent, when he deprecates thy wrath 'with lowly proſtrations; if thou ſhoweſt averſion to him, who loves 'thee paſſionately; if, when he bends before thee, thy face be turned con-'temptuouſly away; by the ſame rule of contrariety, the duſt of ſandal-'wood, which thou haſt ſprinkled, may become poiſon; the moon, with 'cool beams, a ſcorching ſun; the freſh dew, a conſuming flame; and 'the ſports of love be changed into agony.'

MA'DHAVA was not abſent long: he returned to his beloved; whoſe cheeks were heated by the ſultry gale of her ſighs. Her anger was diminiſhed, not wholly abated; but ſhe ſecretly rejoiced at his return, while the ſhades of night alſo were approaching, ſhe looked abaſhed at her damſel, while He, with faultering accents, implored her forgiveneſs.

'Speak but one mild word, and the rays of thy ſparkling teeth will 'diſpel the gloom of my fears. My trembling lips, like thirſty *Cha-'córas*, long to drink the moon-beams of thy cheek. *O my darling, who 'art naturally ſo tender-hearted, abandon thy cauſeleſs indignation. At this 'moment the flame of deſire conſumes my heart: Oh! grant me a draught 'of honey from the lotos of thy mouth.* Or, if thou beeſt inexorable, grant 'me death from the arrows of thy keen eyes; make thy arms my chains; 'and puniſh me according to thy pleaſure. Thou art my life; thou art 'my ornament; thou art a pearl in the ocean of my mortal birth: oh!

'be

'be favourable now, and my heart ſhall eternally be grateful. Thine 'eyes, which nature formed like blue water-lilies, are become, through 'thy reſentment, like petals of the crimſon lotos: oh! tinge with their 'effulgence theſe my dark limbs, that they may glow like the ſhafts of 'Love tipped with flowers. Place on my head that foot like a freſh 'leaf, and ſhade me from the ſun of my paſſion, whoſe beams I am un-'able to bear. Spread a ſtring of gems on thoſe two ſoft globes; let the 'golden bells of thy zone tinkle, and proclaim the mild edict of love. 'Say, O damſel with delicate ſpeech, ſhall I dye red with the juice of '*alactaca* thoſe beautiful feet, which will make the full-blown land-lotos 'bluſh with ſhame? Abandon thy doubts of my heart, now indeed flut-'tering through fear of thy diſpleaſure, but hereafter to be fixed wholly 'on thee; a heart, which has no room in it for another: none elſe can 'enter it, but Love, the bodileſs God. Let him wing his arrows; let 'him wound me mortally; decline not, O cruel, the pleaſure of ſeeing 'me expire. Thy face is bright as the moon, though its beams drop the 'venom of maddening deſire: let thy nectareous lip be the charmer, who 'alone has power to lull the ſerpent, or ſupply an antidote for his poiſon. 'Thy ſilence afflicts me: oh! ſpeak with the voice of muſick, and let 'thy ſweet accents allay my ardour. Abandon thy wrath, but abandon 'not a lover, who ſurpaſſes in beauty the ſons of men, and who kneels 'before thee, O thou moſt beautiful among women. Thy lips are a '*Bandhujiva*-flower; the luſtre of the *Madhuca* beams on thy cheek; 'thine eye outſhines the blue lotos; thy noſe is a bud of the *Tila*; the '*Cunda*-bloſſom yields to thy teeth: thus the flowery-ſhafted God bor-'rows from thee the points of his darts, and ſubdues the univerſe. 'Surely, thou deſcendeſt from heaven, O ſlender damſel, attended by a 'company of youthful goddeſſes; and all their beauties are collected 'in thee.'

He ſpake; and, ſeeing her appeaſed by his homage, flew to his bower, clad

clad in a gay mantle. The night now veiled all viſible objects; and the damſel thus exhorted RA'DHA', while ſhe decked her with beaming ornaments.

'Follow, *gentle* RA'DHICA', *follow the foe of* MADHU: his diſcourſe 'was elegantly compoſed of ſweet phraſes; he proſtrated himſelf at thy 'feet; and he now haſtens to his delightful couch by yon grove of 'branching *Vanjulas*. Bind round thy ankle rings beaming with gems; 'and advance with mincing ſteps, like the pearl-fed *Maràla*. Drink 'with raviſhed ears the ſoft accents of HERI; and feaſt on love, while 'the warbling *Cocilas* obey the mild ordinance of the flower-darting God. 'Abandon delay: ſee, the whole aſſembly of ſlender plants, pointing to the 'bower with fingers of young leaves agitated by the gale, make ſignals for 'thy departure. Aſk thoſe two round hillocks, which receive pure dew-'drops from the garland playing on thy neck, and the buds on whoſe top 'ſtart aloft with the thought of thy darling; aſk, and they will tell, that thy 'ſoul is intent on the warfare of love: advance, fervid warrior, advance 'with alacrity, while the ſound of thy tinkling waiſt-bells ſhall repreſent 'martial muſick. Lead with thee ſome favoured maid; graſp her hand 'with thine, whoſe fingers are long and ſmooth as love's arrows: march; 'and, with the noiſe of thy bracelets, proclaim thy approach to the 'youth, who will own himſelf thy ſlave: "She will come; ſhe will "exult on beholding me; ſhe will pour accents of delight; ſhe will "enfold me with eager arms; ſhe will melt with affection:" Such are 'his thoughts at this moment; and, thus thinking, he looks through the 'long avenue; he trembles; he rejoices; he burns; he moves from 'place to place; he faints, when he ſees thee not coming, and falls in 'his gloomy bower. The night now dreſſes in habiliments fit for ſecrecy, 'the many damſels, who haſten to their places of aſſignation: ſhe ſets 'off with blackneſs their beautiful eyes; fixes dark *Tamála*-leaves behind 'their ears; decks their locks with the deep azure of water-lilies, and

'ſprinkles

'ſprinkles muſk on their panting boſoms. 'The nocturnal ſky, black as 'the touchſtone, tries now the gold of their affection, and is marked 'with rich lines from the flaſhes of their beauty, in which they ſurpaſs 'the brighteſt *Caſhmirians.*'

RA'DHA', thus incited, tripped though the foreſt; but ſhame overpowered her, when, by the light of innumerable gems, on the arms, the feet, and the neck of her beloved, ſhe ſaw him at the door of his flowery manſion: then her damſel again addreſſed her with ardent exultation.

'Enter, ſweet RA'DHA' the bower of HERI: ſeek delight, O thou, 'whoſe boſom laughs with the foretaſte of happineſs. Enter, ſweet 'RA'DHA', the bower graced with a bed of *Aſóca*-leaves: ſeek delight, 'O thou, whoſe garland leaps with joy on thy breaſt. Enter, ſweet 'RA'DHA', the bower illumined with gay bloſſoms; ſeek delight, O 'thou, whoſe limbs far excel them in ſoftneſs. Enter, O RA'DHA', the 'bower made cool and fragrant by gales from the woods of *Malaya:* ſeek 'delight, O thou, whoſe amorous lays are ſofter than breezes. Enter, 'O RA'DHA', the bower ſpread with leaves of twining creepers: ſeek 'delight, O thou, whoſe arms have been long inflexible. Enter, 'O RA'DHA', the bower, which reſounds with the murmur of honey-'making bees: ſeek delight, O thou, whoſe embrace yields more exqui-'ſite ſweetneſs. Enter, O RA'DHA', the bower attuned by the melodious 'band of *Cócilas:* ſeek delight, O thou, whoſe lips, which outſhine the 'grains of the pomegranate, are embelliſhed, when thou ſpeakeſt, by the 'brightneſs of thy teeth. Long has he borne thee in his mind; and 'now, in an agony of deſire, he pants to taſte nectar from thy lip. Deign 'to reſtore thy ſlave, who will bend before the lotos of thy foot, and 'preſs it to his irradiated boſom; a ſlave, who acknowledges himſelf 'bought by thee for a ſingle glance from thy eye, and a toſs of thy 'diſdainful eye-brow.'

She

She ended; and RA'DHA' with timid joy, darting her eyes on GO'VINDA, while ſhe muſically ſounded the rings of her ankles and the bells of her zone, entered the myſtic bower of her only beloved. *There ſhe beheld her* MA'DHAVA, *who delighted in her alone; who ſo long had ſighed for her embrace; and whoſe countenance then gleamed with exceſſive rapture:* his heart was agitated by her ſight, as the waves of the deep are affected by the lunar orb. His azure breaſt glittered with pearls of unblemiſhed luſtre, like the full bed of the cerulean *Yamunà*, interſperſed with curls of white foam. From his graceful waiſt, flowed a pàle yellow robe, which reſembled the golden duſt of the water-lily, ſcattered over its blue petals. His paſſion was inflamed by the glances of her eyes, which played like a pair of water-birds with azure plumage, that ſport near a full-blown lotos on a pool in the ſeaſon of dew. Bright ear-rings, like two ſuns, diſplayed in full expanſion the flowers of his cheeks and lips, which gliſtened with the liquid radiance of ſmiles. His locks, interwoven with bloſſoms, were like a cloud variegated with moon-beams; and on his forehead ſhone a circle of odorous oil, extracted from the ſandal of *Malaya*, like the moon juſt appearing on the duſky horizon; while his whole body ſeemed in a flame from the blaze of unnumbered gems. Tears of tranſport guſhed in a ſtream from the full eyes of RA'DHA', and their watery glances beamed on her beſt beloved. Even ſhame, which before had taken its abode in their dark pupils, was itſelf aſhamed and departed, when the fawn-eyed RA'DHA', gazed on the brightened face of CRISHNA, while ſhe paſſed by the ſoft edge of his couch, and the bevy of his attendant nymphs, pretending to ſtrike the gnats from their cheeks in order to conceal their ſmiles, warily retired from his bower.

GO'VINDA, ſeeing his beloved cheerful and ſerene, her lips ſparkling with ſmiles, and her eye ſpeaking deſire, thus eagerly addreſſed her; while ſhe careleſsly reclined on the leafy bed ſtrewn with ſoft bloſſoms.

'Set the lotos of thy foot on this azure boſom; and let this couch be 'victorious over all, who rebel againſt love. *Give ſhort rapture, ſweet* 'RA'DHA', *to* NA'RA'YA'N, *thy adorer.* I do thee homage; I preſs 'with my blooming palms thy feet, weary with ſo long a walk. O that 'I were the golden ring, that plays round thy ankle! Speak but one 'gentle word; bid nectar drop from the bright moon of thy mouth. 'Since the pain of abſence is removed, let me thus remove the thin veſt 'that enviouſly hides thy charms. Bleſt ſhould I be, if thoſe raiſed 'globes were fixed on my boſom, and the ardour of my paſſion allayed. 'O! ſuffer me to quaff the liquid bliſs of thoſe lips; reſtore with their 'water of life thy ſlave, who has long been lifeleſs, whom the fire of 'ſeparation has conſumed. Long have theſe ears been afflicted, in thy 'abſence, by the notes of the *Cócila:* relieve them with the ſound of thy 'tinkling waiſt-bells, which yield muſick, almoſt equal to the melody of 'thy voice. Why are thoſe eyes half cloſed? Are they aſhamed of ſee-'ing a youth, to whom thy careleſs reſentment gave anguiſh? Oh! let 'affliction ceaſe: and let ecſtaſy drown the remembrance of ſorrow.'

In the morning ſhe roſe diſarrayed, and her eyes betrayed a night without ſlumber; when the yellow-robed God, who gazed on her with tranſport, thus meditated on her charms in his heavenly mind: 'Though 'her locks be diffuſed at random, though the luſtre of her lips be faded, 'though her garland and zone be fallen from their enchanting ſtations, 'and though ſhe hide their places with her hands, looking toward me 'with baſhful ſilence, yet even thus diſarranged, ſhe fills me with ex-'tatic delight.' But RA'DHA', preparing to array herſelf, before the company of nymphs could ſee her confuſion, ſpake thus with exultation to her obſequious lover.

'Place, O ſon of YADU, with fingers cooler than ſandal-wood, place a 'circlet of muſk on this breaſt, which reſembles a vaſe of conſecrated 'water,

'water, crowned with freſh leaves, and fixed near a vernal bower, to 'propitiate the God of Love. Place, my darling, the gloſſy powder, 'which would make the blackeſt bee envious, on this eye, whoſe glances 'are keener than arrows darted by the huſband of RETI. Fix, O ac-'compliſhed youth, the two gems, which form part of love's chain, in 'theſe ears, whence the antelopes of thine eyes may run downwards and 'ſport at pleaſure. Place now a freſh circle of muſk, black as the lunar 'ſpots, on the moon of my forehead; and mix gay flowers on my treſſes 'with a peacock's feathers, in graceful order, that they may wave like 'the banners of CA'MA. Now replace, O tender hearted, the looſe or-'naments of my veſture; and refix the golden bells of my girdle on 'their deſtined ſtation, which reſembles thoſe hills, where the God with 'five ſhafts, who deſtroyed SAMBAR, keeps his elephant ready for 'battle.'

While ſhe ſpake, the heart of YADAVA triumphed; and, obeying her ſportful beheſts, he placed muſky ſpots on her boſom and forehead, dyed her temples with radiant hues, embelliſhed her eyes with additional blackneſs, decked her braided hair and her neck with freſh garlands, and tied on her wriſts the looſened bracelets, on her ankles the beamy rings, and round her waiſt the zone of bells, that ſounded with raviſhing melody.

Whatever is delightful in the modes of muſick, whatever is divine in meditations on VISHNU, whatever is exquiſite in the ſweet art of love, whatever is graceful in the fine ſtrains of poetry, all that let the happy and wiſe learn from the ſongs of JAYADE'VA, whoſe ſoul is united with the foot of NA'RA'YAN. May that HERI be your ſupport, who expanded himſelf into an infinity of bright forms, when, eager to gaze with myriads of eyes on the daughter of the ocean, he diſplayed his great character of the all-pervading deity, by the multiplied reflections of his

his divine perſon in the numberleſs gems on the many heads of the king of ſerpents, whom he choſe for his couch; that HERI, who removing the lucid veil from the boſom of PEDMA', and fixing his eyes on the delicious buds, that grew on it, diverted her attention by declaring that, when ſhe had choſen him as her bridegroom near the ſea of milk, the diſappointed huſband of PERVATI drank in deſpair the venom, which dyed his neck azure!

REMARKS

REMARKS

ON

THE ISLAND OF

HINZUAN OR *JOHANNA.*

BY THE PRESIDENT.

HINZÚAN (a name, which has been gradually corrupted into *Anzuame*, *Anjuan*, *Juanny*, and *Johanna)* has been governed about two centuries by a colony of *Arabs*, and exhibits a curious inſtance of the ſlow approaches toward civilization, which are made by a ſmall community, with many natural advantages, but with few means of improving them. An account of this *African* iſland, in which we hear the language and ſee the manners of *Arabia*, may neither be unintereſting in itſelf, nor foreign to the objects of inquiry propoſed at the inſtitution of our Society.

On *Monday* the 28th of *July* 1783, after a voyage, in the *Crocodile*, of ten weeks and two days from the rugged iſlands of *Cape Verd*, our eyes were delighted with a proſpect ſo beautiful, that neither a painter nor a poet could perfectly repreſent it, and ſo cheering to us, that it can juſtly be conceived by ſuch only, as have been in our preceding ſituation. It was the ſun riſing in full ſplendour on the iſle of *Mayóta* (as the ſeamen called it) which we had joyfully diſtinguiſhed the preceding afternoon by

by the height of its peak, and which now appeared at no great diſtance from the windows of our cabin; while *Hinzúàn*, for which we had ſo long panted, was plainly diſcernible a-head, where its high lands preſented themſelves with remarkable boldneſs. The weather was fair; the water, ſmooth; and a gentle breeze drove us eaſily before dinner-time round a rock, on which the *Brilliant* ſtruck juſt a year before, into a commodious road *, where we dropped our anchor early in the evening: we had ſeen *Mohíla*, another ſiſter iſland, in the courſe of the day.

The frigate was preſently ſurrounded with canoes, and the deck ſoon crowded with natives of all ranks, from the high-born chief, who waſhed linen, to the half-naked ſlave, who only paddled. Moſt of them had letters of recommendation from *Engliſhmen*, which none of them were able to read, though they ſpoke *Engliſh* intelligibly; and ſome appeared vain of titles, which our countrymen had given them in play, according to their ſuppoſed ſtations: we had *Lords*, *Dukes*, and *Princes* on board, ſoliciting our cuſtom and importuning us for preſents. In fact they were too ſenſible to be proud of empty ſounds, but juſtly imagined, that thoſe ridiculous titles would ſerve as marks of diſtinction, and, by attracting notice, procure for them ſomething ſubſtantial. The only men of real conſequence in the iſland, whom we ſaw before we landed, were the Governor ABDULLAH, ſecond couſin to the king, and his brother ALWI', with their ſeveral ſons; all of whom will again be particularly mentioned: they underſtood *Arabick*, ſeemed zealots in the *Mohammedan* faith, and admired my copies of the *Alkoran*; ſome verſes of which they read, whilſt ALWI' peruſed the opening of another *Arabian* manuſcript, and explained it in *Engliſh* more accurately than could have been expected.

The next morning ſhowed us the iſland in all its beauty; and the

* Lat. 12°. 10'. 47". S. Long. 44°. 25'. 5". E. by the Maſter.

ſcene

ſcene was ſo diverſified, that a diſtinct view of it could hardly have been exhibited by the beſt pencil: you muſt, therefore, be ſatisfied with a mere deſcription, written on the very ſpot and compared attentively with the natural landſcape. We were at anchor in a fine bay, and before us was a vaſt amphitheatre, of which you may form a general notion by picturing in your minds a multitude of hills infinitely varied in ſize and figure, and then ſuppoſing them to be thrown together, with a kind of artleſs ſymmetry, in all imaginable poſitions. The back ground was a ſeries of mountains, one of which is pointed, near half a mile perpendicularly high from the level of the ſea, and little more than three miles from the ſhore: all of them were richly clothed with wood, chiefly fruit-trees, of an exquiſite verdure. I had ſeen many a mountain of a ſtupendous height in *Wales* and *Switzerland*, but never ſaw one before, round the boſom of which the clouds were almoſt continually rolling, while its green ſummit roſe flouriſhing above them, and received from them an additional brightneſs. Next to this diſtant range of hills was another tier, part of which appeared charmingly verdant, and part rather barren; but the contraſt of colours changed even this nakedneſs into a beauty: nearer ſtill were innumerable mountains, or rather cliffs, which brought down their verdure and fertility quite to the beach; ſo that every ſhade of green, the ſweeteſt of colours, was diſplayed at one view by land and by water. But nothing conduced more to the variety of this enchanting proſpect, than the many rows of palm-trees, eſpecially the tall and graceful *Areca's*, on the ſhores, in the valleys, and on the ridges of hills, where one might almoſt ſuppoſe them to have been planted regularly by deſign. A more beautiful appearance can ſcarce be conceived, than ſuch a number of elegant palms in ſuch a ſituation, with luxuriant tops, like verdant plumes, placed at juſt intervals, and ſhowing between them part of the remoter landſcape, while they left the reſt to be ſupplied by the beholder's imagination. The town of *Matſamúdò* lay on our left, remarkable at a diſtance for the tower of the principal moſque, which

which was built by HALI'MAH, a queen of the iſland, from whom the preſent king is deſcended: a little on our right was a ſmall town, called *Bantáni*. Neither the territory of *Nice*, with its olives, date-trees, and cypreſſes, nor the iſles of *Hieres*, with their delightful orange-groves, appeared ſo charming to me, as the view from the road of *Hinzúàn*; which, nevertheleſs, is far ſurpaſſed, as the Captain of the *Crocodile* aſſured us, by many of the iſlands in the ſouthern ocean. If life were not too ſhort for the complete diſcharge of all our reſpective duties, publick and private, and for the acquiſition even of neceſſary knowledge in any degree of perfection, with how much pleaſure and improvement might a great part of it be ſpent in admiring the beauties of this wonderful orb, and contemplating the nature of man in all its varieties!

We haſtened to tread on firm land, to which we had been ſo long diſuſed, and went on ſhore, after breakfaſt, to ſee the town, and return the Governor's viſit. As we walked, attended by a crowd of natives, I ſurprized them by reading aloud an *Arabick* inſcription over the gate of a moſque, and ſtill more, when I entered it, by explaining four ſentences, which were written very diſtinctly on the wall, ſignifying, "that the "world was given us for our own edification, not for the purpoſe of raiſing "ſumptuous buildings; life, for the diſcharge of moral and religious "duties, not for pleaſurable indulgences; wealth, to be liberally be-"ſtowed, not avariciouſly hoarded; and learning, to produce good "actions, not empty diſputes." We could not but reſpect the temple even of a falſe prophet, in which we found ſuch excellent morality: we ſaw nothing better among the *Romiſh* trumpery in the church at *Madera*. When we came to ABDULLAH'S houſe, we were conducted through a ſmall court-yard into an open room, on each ſide of which was a large and convenient ſofa, and above it a high bed-place in a dark receſs, over which a chintz counterpoint hung down from the ceiling: this is the general form of the beſt rooms in the iſland; and moſt of the tolerable houſes

houſes have a ſimilar apartment on the oppoſite ſide of the court, that there may be at all hours a place in the ſhade for dinner or for repoſe. We were entertained with ripe dates from *Yemen*, and the milk of cocoa-nuts; but the heat of the room, which ſeemed acceſſible to all, who choſe to enter it, and the ſcent of muſk or civet, with which it was perfumed, ſoon made us deſirous of breathing a purer air; nor could I be detained long by the *Arabick* manuſcripts, which the Governor produced, but which appeared of little uſe, and conſequently of no value, except to ſuch as love mere curioſities: one of them, indeed, relating to the penal law of the *Mohammedans*, I would gladly have purchaſed at a juſt price; but he knew not what to aſk, and I knew, that better books on that ſubject might be procured in *Bengal*. He then offered me a black boy for one of my *Alkorans*, and preſſed me to barter an *Indian* dreſs, which he had ſeen on board the ſhip, for a cow and calf: the golden ſlippers attracted him moſt, ſince his wife, he ſaid, would like to wear them; and, for that reaſon, I made him a preſent of them; but had deſtined the book and the robe for his ſuperior. No high opinion could be formed of *Sayyad* ABDULLAH, who ſeemed very eager for gain, and very ſervile where he expected it.

Our next viſit was to *Shaikh* SA'LIM, the king's eldeſt ſon; and, if we had ſeen him firſt, the ſtate of civilization in *Hinzúàn* would have appeared at its loweſt ebb: the worſt *Engliſh* hackney in the worſt ſtable is better lodged, and looks more princely than this heir apparent; but, though his mien and apparel were extremely ſavage, yet allowance ſhould have been made for his illneſs; which, as we afterwards learned, was an abſceſs in the ſpleen, a diſorder not uncommon in that country, and frequently cured, agreeably to the *Arabian* practice, by the actual cautery. He was inceſſantly chewing pieces of the *Areca-nut* with ſhell-lime; a cuſtom borrowed, I ſuppoſe, from the *Indians*, who greatly improve the compoſition with ſpices and betel-leaves, to which they for-

merly added camphor: all the natives of rank chewed it, but not, I think, to ſo great an exceſs. Prince SA'LIM from time to time gazed at himſelf with complacency in a piece of broken looking-glaſs, which was glued on a ſmall board; a ſpecimen of wretchedneſs, which we obſerved in no other houſe; but many circumſtances convinced us, that the apparently low condition of his royal highneſs, who was not on bad terms with his father, and ſeemed not to want authority, proceeded wholly from his avarice. His brother HAMDULLAH, who generally reſides in the town of *Domóni*, has a very different character, being eſteemed a man of worth, good ſenſe, and learning: he had come, the day before, to *Matſamúdo*, on hearing that an *Engliſh* frigate was in the road; and I, having gone out for a few minutes to read an *Arabick* inſcription, found him, on my return, devouring a manuſcript, which I had left with ſome of the company. He is a *Káḍi*, or *Mohammedan* judge; and, as he ſeemed to have more knowledge than his countrymen, I was extremely concerned, that I had ſo little converſation with him. The king, *Shaikh* AHMED, has a younger ſon, named ABDULLAH, whoſe uſual reſidence is in the town of *Wáni*, which he ſeldom leaves, as the ſtate of his health is very infirm. Since the ſucceſſion to the title and authority of *Sultàn* is not unalterably fixed in one line, but requires confirmation by the chiefs of the iſland, it is not improbable, that they may hereafter be conferred on prince HAMDULLAH.

A little beyond the hole, in which SA'LIM received us, was his *h'aram*, or the apartment of his women, which he permitted us all to ſee, not through politeneſs to ſtrangers, as we believed at firſt, but, as I learned afterwards from his own lips, in expectation of a preſent: we ſaw only two or three miſerable creatures with their heads covered, while the favourite, as we ſuppoſed, ſtood behind a coarſe curtain, and ſhowed her ankles under it loaded with ſilver rings; which, if ſhe was capable of reflection, ſhe muſt have conſidered as glittering fetters rather than ornaments;

ornaments; but a rational being would have preferred the condition of a wild beaſt, expoſed to perils and hunger in a foreſt, to the ſplendid miſery of being wife or miſtreſs to SA'LIM.

Before we returned, ALWI' was deſirous of ſhowing me his books; but the day was too far advanced, and I promiſed to viſit him ſome other morning. The governor, however, prevailed on us to ſee his place in the country, where he invited us to dine the next day: the walk was extremely pleaſant from the town to the ſide of a rivulet, which formed in one part a ſmall pool very convenient for bathing, and thence, through groves and alleys, to the foot of a hill; but the dining-room was little better than an open barn, and was recommended only by the coolneſs of its ſhade. ABDULLAH would accompany us on our return to the ſhip, together with two *Muftis*, who ſpoke *Arabick* indifferently, and ſeemed eager to ſee all my manuſcripts; but they were very moderately learned, and gazed with ſtupid wonder on a fine copy of the *Hamáſah* and on other collections of ancient poetry.

Early the next morning a black meſſenger, with a tawny lad as his interpreter, came from prince SA'LIM; who, having broken his perſpective-glaſs, wiſhed to procure another by purchaſe or barter: a polite anſwer was returned, and ſteps taken to gratify his wiſhes. As we on our part expreſſed a deſire to viſit the king at *Domóni*, the prince's meſſenger told us, that his maſter would, no doubt, lend us palanquins (for there was not a horſe in the iſland) and order a ſufficient number of his vaſſals to carry us, whom we might pay for their trouble, as we thought juſt: we commiſſioned him, therefore, to aſk that favour, and begged, that all might be ready for our excurſion before ſunriſe; that we might eſcape the heat of the noon, which, though it was the middle of winter, we had found exceſſive. The boy, whoſe name was COMBO MADI, ſtayed with us longer than his companion: there was ſomething in

in his look ſo ingenuous, and in his broken *Engliſh* ſo ſimple, that we encouraged him to continue his innocent prattle. He wrote and read *Arabick* tolerably well, and ſet down at my deſire the names of ſeveral towns in the iſland, which, He firſt told me, was properly called *Hinzúàn*. The fault of begging for whatever he liked, he had in common with the governor and other nobles; but hardly in a greater degree: his firſt petition for ſome lavender-water was readily granted; and a ſmall bottle of it was ſo acceptable to him, that, if we had ſuffered him, he would have kiſſed our feet; but it was not for himſelf that he rejoiced ſo extravagantly: he told us with tears ſtarting from his eyes, that his mother would be pleaſed with it, and the idea of her pleaſure ſeemed to fill him with rapture: never did I ſee filial affection more warmly felt or more tenderly and, in my opinion, unaffectedly expreſſed; yet this boy was not a favourite of the officers, who thought him artful. His mother's name, he ſaid, was FA'TIMA; and he importuned us to viſit her; conceiving, I ſuppoſe, that all mankind muſt love and admire her: we promiſed to gratify him; and, having made him ſeveral preſents, permitted him to return. As he reminded me of ALADDIN in the *Arabian* tale, I deſigned to give him that name in a recommendatory letter, which he preſſed me to write, inſtead of St. DOMINGO, as ſome *European* viſiter had ridiculouſly called him; but, ſince the alluſion would not have been generally known, and ſince the title of *Aláu'ld'in*, or *Eminence in Faith*, might have offended his ſuperiors, I thought it adviſable for him to keep his *African* name. A very indifferent dinner was prepared for us at the houſe of the Governor, whom we did not ſee the whole day, as it was the beginning of *Ramadàn*, the *Mohammedan* lent, and he was engaged in his devotions, or made them his excuſe; but his eldeſt ſon ſat by us, while we dined, together with MU'SA, who was employed, jointly with his brother HUSAIN, as purveyor to the Captain of the frigate.

Having

Having obſerved a very elegant ſhrub, that grew about ſix feet high in the court-yard, but was not then in flower, I learned with pleaſure, that it was *hinnà*, of which I had read ſo much in *Arabian* poems, and which *European* Botaniſts have ridiculouſly named *Lawſonia:* Mu'sa bruiſed ſome of the leaves, and, having moiſtened them with water, applied them to our nails, and the tips of our fingers, which in a ſhort time, became of a dark orange-ſcarlet. I had before conceived a different idea of this dye, and imagined, that it was uſed by the *Arabs* to imitate the natural redneſs of thoſe parts in young and healthy perſons, which in all countries muſt be conſidered as a beauty: perhaps a leſs quantity of *hinnà*, or the ſame differently prepared, might have produced that effect. The old men in *Arabia* uſed the ſame dye to conceal their grey hair, while their daughters were dying their lips and gums black, to ſet off the whiteneſs of their teeth: ſo univerſal in all nations and ages are perſonal vanity, and a love of diſguiſing truth; though in all caſes, the farther our ſpecies recede from nature, the farther they depart from true beauty: and men at leaſt ſhould diſdain to uſe artifice or deceit for any purpoſe or on any occaſion: if the women of rank at *Paris*, or thoſe in *London* who wiſh to imitate them, be inclined to call the *Arabs* barbarians; let them view their own head-dreſſes and cheeks in a glaſs, and, if they have left no room for bluſhes, be inwardly at leaſt aſhamed of their cenſure.

In the afternoon I walked a long way up the mountains in a winding path amid plants and trees no leſs new than beautiful, and regretted exceedingly, that very few of them were in bloſſom; as I ſhould then have had leiſure to examine them. Curioſity led me from hill to hill; and I came at laſt to the ſources of a rivulet, which we had paſſed near the ſhore, and from which the ſhip was to be ſupplied with excellent water. I ſaw no birds on the mountains but *Guinea-fowl*, which might have been eaſily caught: no inſects were troubleſome to me, but moſquitos; and I had

had no fear of venomous reptiles, having been aſſured, that the air was too pure for any to exiſt in it; but I was often unwillingly a cauſe of fear to the gentle and harmleſs lizard, who ran among the ſhrubs. On my return I miſſed the path, by which I had aſcended; but, having met ſome blacks laden with yams and plantains, I was by them directed to another, which led me round, through a charming grove of cocoa-trees, to the Governor's country-ſeat, where our entertainment was cloſed by a ſillabub, which the *Engliſh* had taught the *Muſelmans* to make for them.

We received no anſwer from SA'LIM; nor, indeed, expected one; ſince we took for granted, that he could not but approve our intention of viſiting his father; and we went on ſhore before ſunriſe, in full expectation of a pleaſant excurſion to *Domóni:* but we were happily diſappointed. The ſervants, at the prince's door, told us coolly, that their maſter was indiſpoſed, and, as they believed, aſleep; that he had given them no orders concerning his palanquins, and that they durſt not diſturb him. ALWI' ſoon came to pay us his compliments; and was followed by his eldeſt ſon, AHMED, with whom we walked to the gardens of the two princes SA'LIM and HAMDULLAH; the ſituation was naturally good, but wild and deſolate; and, in SA'LIM's garden, which we entered through a miſerable hovel, we ſaw a convenient bathing-place, well-built with ſtone, but then in great diſorder, and a ſhed, by way of ſummer-houſe, like that under which we dined at the governor's, but ſmaller and leſs neat. On the ground lay a kind of cradle about ſix feet long, and little more than one foot in breadth, made of cords twiſted in a ſort of clumſy network, with a long thick bambu fixed to each ſide of it: this, we heard with ſurprize, was a royal palanquin, and one of the vehicles, in which we were to have been rocked on men's ſhoulders over the mountains. I had much converſation with AHMED, whom I found intelligent and communicative: he told me, that ſeveral of his countrymen

compoſed

cómpoſed ſongs and tunes; that he was himſelf a paſſionate lover of poetry and muſick; and that, if we would dine at his houſe, he would play and ſing to us. We declined his invitation to dinner; as we had made a conditional promiſe, if ever we paſſed a day at *Matſamúdo*, to eat our curry with *Bánà* GIBU, an honeſt man, of whom we purchaſed eggs and vegetables, and to whom ſome *Engliſhman* had given the title of *lord*, which made him extremely vain: we could, therefore, make *Sayyad* AHMED only a morning viſit. He ſung a hymn or two in *Arabick*, and accompanied his drawling, though pathetick, pſalmody with a kind of mandoline, which he touched with an awkward quill: the inſtrument was very imperfect, but ſeemed to give him delight. The names of the ſtrings were written on it in *Arabian* or *Indian* figures, ſimple and compounded; but I could not think them worth copying. He gave Captain WILLIAMSON, who wiſhed to preſent ſome literary curioſities to the library at *Dublin*, a ſmall roll containing a hymn in *Arabick* letters, but in the language of *Mombaza*, which was mixed with *Arabick*; but it hardly deſerved examination, ſince the ſtudy of languages has little intrinſick value, and is only uſeful as the inſtrument of real knowledge, which we can ſcarce expect from the poets of the *Mozambique*. AHMED would, I believe, have heard our *European* airs (I always except *French* melody) with rapture, for his favourite tune was a common *Iriſh* jig, with which he ſeemed wonderfully affected.

On our return to the beach I thought of viſiting old ALWI', according to my promiſe, and prince SA'LIM, whoſe character I had not then diſcovered: I reſolved for that purpoſe to ſtay on ſhore alone, our dinner with GIBU having been fixed at an early hour. ALWI' ſhowed me his manuſcripts, which chiefly related to the ceremonies and ordinances of his own religion; and one of them, which I had formerly ſeen in *Europe*, was a collection of ſublime and elegant hymns in praiſe of MOHAMMED, with explanatory notes in the margin: I requeſted him to read one of them

them after the manner of the *Arabs*, and he chanted it in a ſtrain by no means unpleaſing; but I am perſuaded, that he underſtood it very imperfectly. The room, which was open to the ſtreet, was preſently crowded with viſiters, moſt of whom were *Mufti's*, or *Expounders of the Law*; and ALWI' deſirous, perhaps, to diſplay his zeal before them at the expenſe of good breeding, directed my attention to a paſſage in a commentary on the *Koràn*, which I found levelled at the *Chriſtians*. The commentator, having related with ſome additions (but, on the whole, not inaccurately) the circumſtances of the temptation, puts this ſpeech into the mouth of the tempter: " though I am unable to delude thee, yet I will " miſlead, by thy means, more human creatures, than thou wilt ſet " right." 'Nor was this menace vain (ſays the *Mohammedan* writer), 'for the inhabitants of a region many thouſand leagues in extent are ſtill 'ſo deluded by the devil, that they impiouſly call I'SA the ſon of GOD: 'heaven preſerve us, he adds, from blaſpheming *Chriſtians* as well as 'blaſpheming *Jews*.' Although a religious diſpute with thoſe obſtinate zealots would have been unſeaſonable and fruitleſs, yet they deſerved, I thought, a ſlight reprehenſion, as the attack ſeemed to be concerted among them. 'The commentator, ſaid I, was much to blame for paſſing 'ſo indiſcriminate and haſty a cenſure: the title, which gave your legiſ-'lator, and gives you, ſuch offence, was often applied in *Judea*, by a 'bold figure agreeable to the *Hebrew* idiom, though unuſual in *Arabick*, 'to *angels*, to *holy men*, and even to *all mankind*, who are commanded to 'call GOD *their Father*; and in this large ſenſe, the Apoſtle to the *Ro-'mans* calls the elect the *children* of GOD, and the MESSIAH the *firſt-'born among many brethren*; but the words *only begotten* are applied 'tranſcendently and incomparably to him alone*; and, as for me, who 'believe the ſcriptures, which you alſo profeſs to believe, though you aſ-'ſert without proof that we have altered them, I cannot refuſe him an

* Rom. 8. 29. See 1 John 3. 1. II. Barrow, 231, 232, 251.

'appellation,

'appellation, though far ſurpaſſing our reaſon, by which he is diſtin-
'guiſhed in the Goſpel; and the believers in MUHAMMED, who expreſsly
'names him *the Meſſiah*, and pronounces him to have been born of a
'virgin, which alone might fully juſtify the phraſe condemned by this
'author, are themſelves condemnable for cavilling at words, when they
'cannot object to the ſubſtance of our faith conſiſtently with their own.'
The *Muſelmans* had nothing to ſay in reply; and the converſation was changed.

I was aſtoniſhed at the queſtions, which ALWI' put to me concerning the late peace and the independence of *America*; the ſeveral powers and reſources of *Britain* and *France*, *Spain* and *Holland*; the character and ſuppoſed views of the Emperor; the comparative ſtrength of the *Ruſſian*, Imperial, and *Othman* armies, and their reſpective modes of bringing their forces to action: I anſwered him without reſerve, except on the ſtate of our poſſeſſions in *India*; nor were my anſwers loſt; for I obſerved, that all the company were variouſly affected by them; generally with amazement, often with concern; eſpecially when I deſcribed to them the great force and admirable diſcipline of the *Auſtrian* army, and the ſtupid prejudices of the *Turks*, whom nothing can induce to abandon their old *Tartarian* habits, and expoſed the weakneſs of their empire in *Africa*, and even in the more diſtant provinces of *Aſia*. In return he gave me clear, but general, information concerning the government and commerce of his iſland: "his country, he ſaid, was poor, and produced few articles of "trade; but, if they could get money, *which they now preferred to play-*"*things* (thoſe were his words), they might eaſily, he added, procure "foreign commodities, and exchange them advantageouſly with their "neighbours in the iſlands and on the continent: thus with a little "money, ſaid he, we purchaſe muſkets, powder, balls, cutlaſſes, knives, "cloths, raw cotton, and other articles brought from *Bombay*, and with "thoſe we trade to *Madagaſcar* for the natural produce of the country

" or for *dollars*, with which the *French* buy cattle, honey, butter, and ſo " forth, in that iſland. With *gold*, which we receive from your ſhips, " we can procure elephants' teeth from the natives of *Mozambique*, who " barter them alſo for ammunition and bars of iron, and the *Portugueze* " in that country give us cloths of various kinds in exchange for our " commodities: thoſe cloths we diſpoſe of lucratively in the three neigh- " bouring iſlands; whence we bring rice, cattle, a kind of bread-fruit, " which grows in *Comara*, and *ſlaves*, which we buy alſo at other places, " to which we trade; and we carry on this traffick in our own veſſels."

Here I could not help expreſſing my abhorrence of their *ſlave-trade*, and aſked him by what law they claimed a property in rational beings; ſince our Creator had given our ſpecies a dominion, to be moderately exerciſed, over the beaſts of the field and the fowls of the air, but none *to man over man*. " By no law, anſwered he, unleſs neceſſity be a law: " There are nations in *Madagaſcar* and in *Africa*, who know neither " GOD, nor his Prophet, nor MOSES, nor DAVID, nor the MESSIAH: " thoſe nations are in perpetual war, and take many captives; whom, if " they could not ſell, they would certainly kill. Individuals among them " are in extreme poverty, and have numbers of children; who, if they " cannot be diſpoſed of, muſt periſh through hunger, together with their " miſerable parents: by purchaſing theſe wretches, we preſerve their " lives, and, perhaps, thoſe of many others, whom our money relieves. " The ſum of the argument is this: if we buy them, they will live; if " they become valuable ſervants, they will live comfortably; but, if they " are not ſold, they muſt die miſerably." 'There may be, ſaid I, ſuch 'caſes; but you fallaciouſly draw a general concluſion from a few par- 'ticular inſtances; and this is the very fallacy, which, on a thouſand 'other occaſions, deludes mankind. It is not to be doubted, that a conſtant 'and gainful traffick in human creatures foments war, in which captives 'are always made, and keeps up that perpetual enmity, which you 'pretend

'pretend to be the *cauſe* of a practice in itſelf reprehenſible, while in 'truth it is its *effect*; the ſame traffick encourages lazineſs in ſome 'parents, who might in general ſupport their families by proper induſ-'try, and ſeduces others to ſtifle their natural feelings: at moſt your 'redemption of thoſe unhappy children can amount only to a perſonal 'contract, implied between you, for gratitude and reaſonable ſervice on 'their part, for kindneſs and humanity on yours; but can you think 'your part performed by diſpoſing of them againſt their wills with as 'much indifference, as if you were ſelling cattle; eſpecially as they might 'become readers of the *Korán*, and pillars of your faith?' "The law, ſaid "he, forbids our ſelling them, when they are believers in the Prophet; "and little children only are ſold; nor they often, or by all maſters." 'You, who believe in MUHAMMED, ſaid I, are bound by the ſpirit and 'letter of his laws to take pains, that they alſo may believe in him; 'and, if you neglect ſo important a duty for ſordid gain, I do not ſee 'how you can hope for proſperity in this world, or for happineſs in the 'next.' My old friend and the *Mufti's* aſſented, and muttered a few prayers; but probably forgot my preaching, before many minutes had paſſed.

So much time had ſlipped away in this converſation, that I could make but a ſhort viſit to prince SA'LIM; and my view in viſiting him was to fix the time of our journey to *Domóni* as early as poſſible on the next morning. His appearance was more ſavage than ever; and I found him in a diſpoſition to complain bitterly of the *Engliſh*: "No acknowledge-"ment, he ſaid, had been made for the kind attentions of himſelf and "the chief men in his country to the officers and people of the *Brilliant*, "though a whole year had elapſed ſince the wreck." I really wondered at the forgetfulneſs, to which alone ſuch a neglect could be imputed; and aſſured him, that I would expreſs my opinion both in *Bengal* and in letters to *England*. "We have little, ſaid he, to hope from letters; for,

"when

" when we have been paid with them inſtead of money, and have ſhown " them on board your ſhips, we have commonly been treated with diſ- " dain, and often with imprecations." I aſſured him, that either thoſe letters muſt have been written coldly and by very obſcure perſons, or ſhown to very ill-bred men, of whom there were too many in all nations; but that a few inſtances of rudeneſs ought not to give him a general prejudice againſt our national character. " But you, ſaid he, " are a wealthy nation; and we are indigent: yet, though all our groves " of cocoa-trees, our fruits, and our cattle, are ever at your ſervice, you " always try to make hard bargains with us for what you chuſe to diſ- " poſe of, and frequently will neither ſell nor give thoſe things, which " we principally want." " To form, ſaid I, a juſt opinion of *Engliſhmen*, " you muſt viſit us in our own iſland, or at leaſt in *India*; here we are " ſtrangers and travellers: many of us have no deſign to trade in any " country, and none of us think of trading in *Hínzuàn*, where we ſtop " only for refreſhment. The clothes, arms, or inſtruments, which you " may want, are commonly neceſſary or convenient to us; but, if *Sayyad* " ALWI′ or his ſons were to be ſtrangers in our country, you would " have no reaſon to boaſt of ſuperior hoſpitality." He then ſhowed me, a ſecond time, a part of an old ſilk veſt with the ſtar of the order of the Thiſtle, and begged me to explain the motto; expreſſing a wiſh, that the order might be conferred on him by the King of *England* in return for his good offices to the *Engliſh*. I repreſented to him the impoſſibility of his being gratified, and took occaſion to ſay, that there was more true dignity in their own native titles, than in thoſe of *prince*, *duke*, and *lord*, which had been idly given them, but had no conformity to their manners or the conſtitution of their government.

This converſation being agreeable to neither of us, I changed it by deſiring, that the palanquins and bearers might be ready next morning as early as poſſible: he anſwered, that his palanquins were at our ſervice for

for nothing, but that we muſt pay him ten dollars for each ſet of bearers; that it was the ſtated price; and that Mr. HASTINGS had paid it, when he went to viſit the king. This, as I learned afterwards, was falſe; but, in all events, I knew, that he would keep the dollars himſelf, and give nothing to the bearers, who deſerved them better, and whom he would compel to leave their cottages, and toil for his profit. "Can you "imagine, I replied, that we would employ four and twenty men to "bear us ſo far on their ſhoulders without rewarding them amply? But "ſince they are free men (ſo he had aſſured me) and not your ſlaves, "we will pay them in proportion to their diligence and good behaviour; "and it becomes neither your dignity nor ours to make a previous "bargain." I ſhowed him an elegant copy of the *Koràn*, which I deſtined for his father, and deſcribed the reſt of my preſent; but he coldly aſked, "if that was all:" had he been king, a purſe of dry dollars would have given him more pleaſure than the fineſt or holieſt manuſcript. Finding him, in converſing on a variety of ſubjects, utterly void of intelligence or principle, I took my leave, and ſaw him no more; but promiſed to let him know for certain whether we ſhould make our intended excurſion.

We dined in tolerable comfort, and had occaſion, in the courſe of the day, to obſerve the manners of the natives in the middle rank, who are called *Bánas*, and all of whom have ſlaves conſtantly at work for them: we viſited the mother of COMBOMA'DI, who ſeemed in a ſtation but little raiſed above indigence; and her huſband, who was a mariner, bartered an *Arabick* treatiſe on aſtronomy and navigation, which he had read, for a ſea compaſs, of which he well knew the uſe.

In the morning I had converſed with two very old *Arabs* of *Yemen*, who had brought ſome articles of trade to *Hinzuàn*; and in the afternoon I met another, who had come from *Maſkat* (where at that time there

there was a civil war) to purchaſe, if he could, an hundred ſtand of arms. I told them all that I loved their nation, and they returned my compliments with great warmth; eſpecially the two old men, who were near fourſcore, and reminded me of ZOHAIR and HA'RETH.

So bad an account had been given me of the road over the mountains, that I diſſuaded my companions from thinking of the journey, to which the Captain became rather diſinclined; but, as I wiſhed to be fully acquainted with a country, which I might never ſee again, I wrote the next day to SA'LIM, requeſting him to lend me one palanquin and to order a ſufficient number of men: he ſent me no written anſwer; which I aſcribe rather to his incapacity than to rudeneſs; but the Governor, with ALWI' and two of his ſons, came on board in the evening, and ſaid, that they had ſeen my letter; that all ſhould be ready; but that I could not pay leſs for the men than ten dollars. I ſaid I would pay more, but it ſhould be to the men themſelves, according to their behaviour. They returned ſomewhat diſſatisfied, after I had played at cheſs with ALWI''s younger ſon, in whoſe manner and addreſs there was ſomething remarkably pleaſing.

Before ſunriſe on the 2d of *Auguſt* I went alone on ſhore, with a ſmall baſket of ſuch proviſions, as I might want in the courſe of the day, and with ſome cuſhions to make the prince's palanquin at leaſt a tolerable vehicle; but the prince was reſolved to receive the dollars, to which his men were entitled; and he knew, that, as I was eager for the journey, he could preſcribe his own terms. Old ALWI' met me on the beach, and brought excuſes from SA'LIM; who, he ſaid, was indiſpoſed. He conducted me to his houſe; and ſeemed rather deſirous of perſuading me to abandon my deſign of viſiting the king; but I aſſured him, that, if the prince would not ſupply me with proper attendants, I would walk to *Domóni* with my own ſervants and a guide. 'SHAIKH SA'LIM, he ſaid,

'was

" was miſerably avaricious; that he was aſhamed of a kinſman with ſuch ' a diſpoſition; but that he was no leſs obſtinate than covetous; and ' that, without ten dollars paid in hand, it would be impoſſible to pro- ' cure bearers.' I then gave him three guineas, which he carried, or pretended to carry, to SA'LIM, but returned without the change, alledging that he had no ſilver, and promiſing to give me on my return the few dollars that remained. In about an hour the ridiculous vehicle was brought by nine ſturdy blacks, who could not ſpeak a word of *Arabick*; ſo that I expected no information concerning the country, through which I was to travel; but ALWI' aſſiſted me in a point of the utmoſt conſequence. ' You cannot go, ſaid he, without an interpreter; for the king ' ſpeaks only the language of this iſland; but I have a ſervant, whoſe ' name is TUMU'NI, a ſenſible and worthy man, who underſtands *Eng- ' liſh*, and is much eſteemed by the king: he is known and valued all ' over *Hinzuàn*. This man ſhall attend you; and you will ſoon be ſen- ' ſible of his worth.'

TUMU'NI deſired to carry my baſket, and we ſet out with a proſpect of fine weather, but ſome hours later than I had intended. I walked, by the gardens of the two princes, to the ſkirts of the town, and came to a little village conſiſting of ſeveral very neat huts made chiefly with the leaves of the cocoa-tree; but the road a little farther was ſo ſtony, that I ſat in the palanquin, and was borne with perfect ſafety over ſome rocks: I then deſired my guide to aſſure the men, that I would pay them liberally; but the poor peaſants, who had been brought from their farms on the hills, were not perfectly acquainted with the uſe of money, and treated my promiſe with indifference.

About five miles from *Matſamúdo* lies the town of *Wáni*, where *Shaikh* ABDULLAH, who has already been mentioned, uſually reſides: I ſaw it at a diſtance, and it ſeemed to be agreeably ſituated. When I had paſſed the

the rocky part of the road, I came to a ſtony beach, where the ſea appeared to have loſt ſome ground, ſince there was a fine ſand to the left, and beyond it a beautiful bay, which reſembled that of *Weymouth*, and ſeemed equally convenient for bathing; but it did not appear to me, that the ſtones, over which I was carried, had been recently covered with water. Here I ſaw the frigate, and, taking leave of it for two days, turned from the coaſt into a fine country very neatly cultivated, and conſiſting partly of hillocks exquiſitely green, partly of plains, which were then in a gaudy dreſs of rich yellow bloſſoms: my guide informed me, that they were plantations of a kind of vetch, which was eaten by the natives. Cottages and farms were interſperſed all over this gay champaign, and the whole ſcene was delightful; but it was ſoon changed for beauties of a different ſort. We deſcended into a cool valley, through which ran a rivulet of perfectly clear water; and there, finding my vehicle uneaſy, though from the laughter and merriment of my bearers I concluded them to be quite at their eaſe, I bade them ſet me down, and walked before them all the reſt of the way. Mountains, clothed with fine trees and flowering ſhrubs, preſented themſelves on our aſcent from the vale; and we proceeded for half an hour through pleaſant wood-walks, where I regretted the impoſſibility of loitering a while to examine the variety of new bloſſoms, which ſucceeded one another at every ſtep, and the virtues, as well as names, of which ſeemed familiar to TUMU'NI. At length we deſcended into a valley of greater extent than the former: a river or large wintry torrent ran through it, and fell down a ſteep declivity at the end of it, where it ſeemed to be loſt among rocks. Cattle were grazing on the banks of the river, and the huts of their owners appeared on the hills: a more agreeable ſpot I had not before ſeen even in *Swiſſerland* or *Merionethſhire*; but it was followed by an aſſemblage of natural beauties, which I hardly expected to find in a little iſland twelve degrees to the ſouth of the Line. I was not ſufficiently pleaſed with my ſolitary journey to diſcover charms, which had no actual exiſtence, and the

the firſt effect of the contraſt between St. *Jago* and *Hinzuàn* had ceaſed; but, without any diſpoſition to give the landſcape a high colouring, I may truly ſay, what I thought at the time, that the whole country, which next preſented itſelf, as far ſurpaſſed *Emeronville* or *Blenheim*, or any other imitations of nature, which I had ſeen in *France* or *England*, as the fineſt bay ſurpaſſes an artificial piece of water. Two very high mountains, covered to the ſummit with the richeſt verdure, were at ſome diſtance on my right hand, and ſeparated from me by meadows diverſified with cottages and herds, or by vallies reſounding with torrents and water-falls; on my left was the ſea, to which there were beautiful openings from the hills and woods; and the road was a ſmooth path naturally winding through a foreſt of ſpicy ſhrubs, fruit-trees, and palms. Some high trees were ſpangled with white bloſſoms equal in fragrance to orange-flowers: my guide called them *Monongo's*, but the day was declining ſo faſt, that it was impoſſible to examine them: the variety of fruits, flowers, and birds, of which I had a tranſient view in this magnificent garden, would have ſupplied a naturaliſt with amuſement for a month; but I ſaw no remarkable inſect, and no reptile of any kind. The woodland was diverſified by a few pleaſant glades, and new proſpects were continually opened: at length a noble view of the ſea burſt upon me unexpectedly; and, having paſſed a hill or two, we came to the beach, beyond which were ſeveral hills and cottages. We turned from the ſhore; and, on the next eminence, I ſaw the town of *Domóni* at a little diſtance below us: I was met by a number of natives, a few of whom ſpoke *Arabick*, and thinking it a convenient place for repoſe, I ſent my guide to apprize the king of my intended viſit. He returned in half an hour with a polite meſſage; and I walked into the town, which ſeemed large and populous. A great crowd accompanied me, and I was conducted to a houſe built on the ſame plan with the beſt houſes at *Matſamúdo:* in the middle of the court-yard ſtood a large *Monongo*-tree, which perfumed the air; the apartment on the left was empty;

and, in that on the right, ſat the king on a ſofa or bench covered with an ordinary carpet. He roſe, when I entered, and, graſping my hands, placed me near him on the right; but, as he could ſpeak only the language of *Hinzuàn*, I had recourſe to my friend TUMU'NI, than whom a readier or more accurate interpreter could not have been found. I preſented the king with a very handſome *Indian* dreſs of blue ſilk with golden flowers, which had been worn only once at a maſquerade, and with a beautiful copy of the *Koràn*, from which I read a few verſes to him: he took them with great complacency, and ſaid, "he wiſhed I "I had come by ſea, that he might have loaded one of my boats with "fruit and with ſome of his fineſt cattle. He had ſeen me, he ſaid, on "board the frigate, where he had been, according to his cuſtom, in diſ-"guiſe, and had heard of me from his ſon *Shaikh* HAMDULLAH." I gave him an account of my journey, and extolled the beauties of his country: he put many queſtions concerning mine, and profeſſed great regard for our nation. "But I hear, ſaid he, that you are a magiſtrate, "and conſequently profeſs peace: why are you armed with a broad "ſword?" "I was a man, I ſaid, before I was a magiſtrate; and, if it "ſhould ever happen, that law could not protect me, I muſt protect "myſelf." He ſeemed about ſixty years old, had a very cheerful countenance, and great appearance of good nature mixed with a certain dignity, which diſtinguiſhed him from the crowd of miniſters and officers, who attended him. Our converſation was interrupted by notice, that it was the time for evening prayers; and, when he roſe, he ſaid: "this "houſe is yours, and I will viſit you in it, after you have taken ſome "refreſhment." Soon after, his ſervants brought a roaſt fowl, a rice-pudding, and ſome other diſhes, with papayas and very good pomegranates: my own baſket ſupplied the reſt of my ſupper. The room was hung with old red cloth, and decorated with pieces of porcelain and feſtoons of *Engliſh* bottles; the lamps were placed on the ground in large ſea-ſhells; and the bed place was a receſs, concealed by a chintz hanging,

hanging, oppoſite to the ſofa, on which we had been ſitting: though it was not a place that invited repoſe, and the gnats were inexpreſſibly troubleſome, yet the fatigue of the day procured me very comfortable ſlumber. I was waked by the return of the king and his train; ſome of whom were *Arabs*; for I heard one of them ſay *huwa rákid*, or *he is ſleeping*: there was immediate ſilence, and I paſſed the night with little diſturbance, except from the unwelcome ſongs of the moſquitos. In the morning all was equally ſilent and ſolitary; the houſe appeared to be deſerted; and I began to wonder what had become of TUMU'NI: he came at length with concern on his countenance, and told me, that the bearers had run away in the night; but that the king, who wiſhed to ſee me in another of his houſes, would ſupply me with bearers if he could not prevail on me to ſtay, till a boat could be ſent for. I went immediately to the king, whom I found ſitting on a raiſed ſofa in a large room, the walls of which were adorned with ſentences from the *Koràn* in very legible characters: about fifty of his ſubjects were ſeated on the ground in a ſemicircle before him; and my interpreter took his place in the midſt of them. The good old king laughed heartily, when he heard the adventure of the night, and ſaid: "you will now be my gueſt for a "week, I hope; but ſeriouſly if you muſt return ſoon, I will ſend into "the country for ſome peaſants to carry you." He then apologized for the behaviour of *Shaikh* SA'LIM, which he had heard from TUMU NI, who told me afterwards, that he was much diſpleaſed with it, and would not fail to expreſs his diſpleaſure: he concluded with a long harangue on the advantage, which the *Engliſh* might derive, from ſending a ſhip every year from *Bombay* to trade with his ſubjects, and on the wonderful cheapneſs of their commodities, eſpecially of their cowries. Ridiculous as this idea might ſeem, it ſhowed an enlargement of mind, a deſire of promoting the intereſt of his people, and a ſenſe of the benefits ariſing from trade, which could hardly have been expected from a petty *African* chief, and which, if he had been ſovereign

reign of *Yemen*, might have been expanded into rational projects proportioned to the extent of his dominions. I anſwered, that I was imperfectly acquainted with the commerce of *India*; but that I would report the ſubſtance of his converſation, and would ever bear teſtimony to his noble zeal for the good of his country, and to the mildneſs with which he governed it. As I had no inclination to paſs a ſecond night in the iſland, I requeſted leave to return without waiting for bearers: he ſeemed very ſincere in preſſing me to lengthen my viſit, but had too much *Arabian* politeneſs to be importunate. We, therefore, parted; and, at the requeſt of TUMU'NI, who aſſured me that little time would be loſt in ſhowing attention to one of the worthieſt men in *Hinzuàn*, I made a viſit to the Governor of the town, whoſe name was MUTEKKA; his manners were very pleaſing, and he ſhowed me ſome letters from the officers of the *Brilliant*, which appeared to flow warm from the heart, and contained the ſtrongeſt eloge of his courteſy and liberality. He inſiſted on filling my baſket with ſome of the fineſt pomegranates I had ever ſeen; and I left the town, impreſſed with a very favourable opinion of the king and his governor. When I reaſcended the hill, attended by many of the natives, one of them told me in *Arabick*, that I was going to receive the higheſt mark of diſtinction, that it was in the king's power to ſhow me; and he had ſcarce ended, when I heard the report of a ſingle gun: *Shaikh* AHMED had ſaluted me with the whole of his ordnance. I waved my hat, and ſaid *Allar Acbar:* the people ſhouted, and I continued my journey, not without fear of inconvenience from exceſſive heat and the fatigue of climbing rocks. The walk, however, was not on the whole unpleaſant: I ſometimes reſted in the valleys, and forded all the rivulets, which refreſhed me with their coolneſs, and ſupplied me with exquiſite water to mix with the juice of my pomegranates, and occaſionally with brandy. We were overtaken by ſome peaſants, who came from the hills by a nearer way, and brought the king's preſent of a cow with her calf, and a ſhe-goat with two kids: they had apparently been

been ſelected for their beauty, and were brought ſafe to *Bengal.* The proſpects, which had ſo greatly delighted me the preceding day, had not yet loſt their charms, though they wanted the recommendation of novelty; but I muſt confeſs, that the moſt delightful object in that day's walk of near ten miles was the black frigate, which I diſcerned at ſunſet from a rock near the Prince's Gardens. Cloſe to the town I was met by a native, who, perceiving me to be weary, opened a fine cocoa-nut, which afforded me a delicious draught: he informed me, that one of his countrymen had been puniſhed that afternoon for a theft on board the *Crocodile*, and added, that, in his opinion, the puniſhment was no leſs juſt, than the offence was diſgraceful to his country. The offender, as I afterwards learned, was a youth of a good family, who had married a daughter of old ALWI', but, being left alone for a moment in the cabin, and ſeeing a pair of blue morocco ſlippers, could not reſiſt the temptation, and concealed them ſo ill under his gown, that he was detected with the mainer. This proves, that no principle of honour is inſtilled by education into the gentry of this iſland: even ALWI', when he had obſerved, that, "in the month of *Ramadán*, it was not lawful to paint "with *hinna* or to *tell lies*," and when I aſked, whether both were lawful all the reſt of the year, anſwered, that "lies were innocent, if no "man was injured by them." TUMU'NI took his leave, as well ſatiſfied as myſelf with our excurſion: I told him, before his maſter, that I transferred alſo to him the dollars, which were due to me out of the three guineas; and that, if ever they ſhould part, I ſhould be very glad to receive him into my ſervice in *India.* Mr. ROBERTS, the maſter of the ſhip, had paſſed the day with *Sayyad* AHMED, and had learned from him a few curious circumſtances concerning the government of *Hinzuàn*; which he found to be a monarchy limited by an ariſtocracy. The king, he was told, had no power of making war by his own authority; but, if the aſſembly of nobles, who were from time to time convened by him, reſolved on a war with any of the neighbouring iſlands, they defrayed the

the charges of it by voluntary contributions, in return for which they claimed as their own all the booty and captives, that might be taken. The hope of gain or the want of ſlaves is uſually the real motive for ſuch enterprizes, and oſtenſible pretexts are eaſily found: at that very time, he underſtood, they meditated a war, becauſe they wanted hands for the following harveſt. Their fleet conſiſted of ſixteen or ſeventeen ſmall veſſels, which they manned with about two thouſand five hundred iſlanders armed with muſkets and cutlaſſes, or with bows and arrows. Near two years before they had poſſeſſed themſelves of two towns in *Mayáta*, which they ſtill kept and garriſoned. The ordinary expenſes of the government were defrayed by a tax from two hundred villages; but the three principal towns were exempt from all taxes, except that they paid annually to the Chief *Mufti* a fortieth part of the value of all their moveable property, and from that payment neither the king nor the nobles claimed an exemption. The kingly authority, by the principles of their conſtitution, was conſidered as elective, though the line of ſucceſſion had not in fact been altered ſince the firſt election of a Sultan. He was informed, that a wandering *Arab*, who had ſettled in the iſland, had, by his intrepidity in ſeveral wars, acquired the rank of a chieftain, and afterwards of a king with limited powers; and that he was the *Grandfather* of *Shaikh* AHMED: I had been aſſured that Queen HALI'MAH was his *Grand-mother*; and, that he was the *ſixth* king; but it muſt be remarked, that the words *jedd* and *jeddah* in *Arabick* are uſed for a male and female *anceſtor* indefinitely; and, without a correct pedigree of AHMED's family, which I expected to procure but was diſappointed, it would ſcarce be poſſible to aſcertain the time, when his forefather obtained the higheſt rank in the government. In the year 1600 *Captain* JOHN DAVIS, who wrote an account of his voyage, found *Mayáta* governed by a king, and *Anſuame*, or *Hinzuàn*, by a queen, who ſhowed him great marks of friendſhip: he anchored before the town of *Demos* (does he mean *Domóni?*) which was as large, he ſays, as *Plymouth*; and he

he concludes from the ruins around it, that it had once been a place of ſtrength and grandeur. I can only ſay, that I obſerved no ſuch ruins. Fifteen years after, Captain PEYTON and Sir THOMAS ROE touched at the *Comara* iſlands, and from their ſeveral accounts it appears, that an old ſultaneſs then reſided in *Hinzuàn*, but had a dominion paramount over all the iſles, three of her ſons governing *Mohíla* in her name: if this be true, SOHAILI′ and the ſucceſſors of HALI′MAH muſt have loſt their influence over the other iſlands; and, by renewing their dormant claim as it ſuits their convenience, they may always be furniſhed with a pretence for hoſtilities. Five generations of eldeſt ſons would account for an hundred and ſeventy of the years, which have elapſed, ſince DAVIS and PEYTON found *Hinzuàn* ruled by a ſultaneſs; and AHMED was of ſuch an age, that his reign may be reckoned equal to a generation: it is probable, on the whole, that HALI′MAH was the widow of the firſt *Arabian* king, and that her moſque has been continued in repair by his deſcendants; ſo that we may reaſonably ſuppoſe two centuries to have paſſed, ſince a ſingle *Arab* had the courage and addreſs to eſtabliſh in that beautiful iſland a form of government, which, though bad enough in itſelf, appears to have been adminiſtered with advantage to the original inhabitants. We have lately heard of civil commotions in *Hinzuàn*, which, we may venture to pronounce, were not excited by any cruelty or violence of AHMED, but were probably occaſioned by the inſolence of an oligarchy naturally hoſtile to king and people. That the mountains in the *Comara* iſlands contain diamonds, and the precious metals, which are ſtudiouſly concealed by the policy of the ſeveral governments, may be true, though I have no reaſon to believe it, and have only heard it aſſerted without evidence; but I hope, that neither an expectation of ſuch treaſures, nor of any other advantage, will ever induce an *European* power to violate the firſt principles of juſtice by aſſuming the ſovereignty of *Hinzuàn*, which cannot anſwer a better purpoſe than that of ſupplying our fleets with ſeaſonable refreſhment; and, although the natives have

have an intereſt in receiving us with apparent cordiality, yet, if we wiſh their attachment to be unfeigned and their dealings juſt, we muſt ſet them an example of ſtrict honeſty in the performance of our engagements. In truth our nation is not cordially loved by the inhabitants of *Hinzuàn*, who, as it commonly happens, form a general opinion from a few inſtances of violence or breach of faith. Not many years ago an *European*, who had been hoſpitably received and liberally ſupported at *Matſamúdo*, behaved rudely to a young married woman, who, being of low degree, was walking veiled through a ſtreet in the evening: her huſband ran to protect her, and reſented the rudeneſs, probably with menaces, poſſibly with actual force; and the *European* is ſaid to have given him a mortal wound with a knife or bayonet, which he brought, after the ſcuffle, from his lodging. This foul murder, which the law of nature would have juſtified the magiſtrate in puniſhing with death, was reported to the king, who told the governor (I uſe the very words of ALWI′) that "it would be wiſer to huſh it up." ALWI′ mentioned a civil caſe of his own, which ought not to be concealed. When he was on the coaſt of *Africa* in the dominions of a very ſavage prince, a ſmall *European* veſſel was wrecked; and the prince not only ſeized all that could be ſaved from the wreck, but claimed the captain and the crew as his ſlaves, and treated them with ferocious inſolence. ALWI′ aſſured me, that, when he heard of the accident, he haſtened to the prince, fell proſtrate before him, and by tears and importunity prevailed on him to give the *Europeans* their liberty; that he ſupported them at his own expenſe, enabled them to build another veſſel, in which they ſailed to *Hinzuàn*, and departed thence for *Europe* or *India:* he ſhowed me the Captain's promiſſory notes for ſums, which to an *African* trader muſt be a conſiderable object, but which were no price for liberty, ſafety, and, perhaps, life, which his good, though diſintereſted, offices had procured. I lamented, that, in my ſituation, it was wholly out of my power to aſſiſt ALWI′ in obtaining juſtice; but he urged me to deliver an *Arabick* letter

letter from him, encloſing the notes, to the Governor General, who, as he ſaid, knew him well ; and I complied with his requeſt. Since it is poſſible, that a ſubſtantial defence may be made by the perſon thus accuſed of injuſtice, I will not name either him or the veſſel, which he had commanded ; but, if he be living, and if this paper ſhould fall into his hands, he may be induced to reflect how highly it imports our national honour, that a people, whom we call ſavage, but who adminiſter to our convenience, may have no juſt cauſe to reproach us with a violation of our contracts.

A CONVERSATION

WITH

ABRAM, AN ABYSSINIAN,

CONCERNING

THE CITY OF GWENDER AND THE SOURCES OF THE NILE.

BY THE PRESIDENT.

HAVING been informed, that a native of *Abyſſinia* was in *Calcutta*, who ſpoke *Arabick* with tolerable fluency, I ſent for and examined him attentively on ſeveral ſubjects, with which he ſeemed likely to be acquainted: his anſwers were ſo ſimple and preciſe, and his whole demeanour ſo remote from any ſuſpicion of falſehood, that I made a minute of his examination, which may not perhaps be unacceptable to the Society. *Gwender*, which BERNIER had long ago pronounced a *Capital City*, though LUDOLF aſſerted it to be only a *Military Station*, and conjectured, that in a few years it would wholly diſappear, is certainly, according to ABRAM, the *Metropolis* of *Abyſſinia*. He ſays, that it is nearly as large and as populous as *Miſr* or *Káhera*, which he ſaw on his pilgrimage to *Jeruſalem*; that it lies between two broad and deep rivers, named *Caha* and *Ancrib*, both which flow into the *Nile* at the diſtance of about fifteen days' journey; that all the walls of the houſes are of a red ſtone, and the roofs of thatch; that the ſtreets are like thoſe of *Calcutta*, but that the ways,

ways, by which the king paſſes, are very ſpacious; that the palace, which has a plaiſtered roof, reſembles a fortreſs, and ſtands in the heart of the City; that the markets of the town abound in pulſe, and have alſo wheat and barley, but no rice; that ſheep and goats are in plenty among them, and that the inhabitants are extremely fond of milk, cheeſe, and whey, but that *the country people* and *ſoldiery* make no ſcruple of drinking the blood and eating the raw fleſh of an ox, which they cut without caring whether he is dead or alive; that this ſavage diet is, however, by no means general. Almonds, he ſays, and dates are not found in his country, but grapes and peaches ripen there, and in ſome of the diſtant provinces, eſpecially at *Cárudár*, wine is made in abundance; but a kind of mead is the common inebriating liquor of the *Abyſſinians*. The late King was *Tilca Mahút* (the firſt of which words means *root or origin*), and the preſent, his brother *Tilca Jerjis*. He repreſents the royal forces at *Gwender* as conſiderable, and aſſerts, perhaps at random, that near forty thouſand horſe are in that ſtation: the troops are armed, he ſays, with muſkets, lances, bows and arrows, cimeters, and hangers. The council of ſtate conſiſts, by his account, of about forty Miniſters, to whom almoſt all the executive part of government is committed. He was once in the ſervice of a *Vazir*, in whoſe train he went to ſee the fountains of the *Nile* or *Abey*, uſually called *Alwey*, about eight days' journey from *Gwender*: he ſaw three ſprings, one of which riſes from the ground with a great noiſe, that may be heard at the diſtance of five or ſix miles. I ſhowed him the deſcription of the *Nile* by GREGORY of *Ambara*, which LUDOLF has printed in *Ethiopick*: he both read and explained it with great facility; whilſt I compared his explanation with the *Latin* verſion, and found it perfectly exact. He aſſerted of his own accord, that the deſcription was conformable to all that he had ſeen and heard in *Ethiopia*; and, for that reaſon, I annex it. When I interrogated him on the languages and learning of his country, he anſwered, that ſix or ſeven tongues at leaſt were ſpoken there; that the moſt elegant idiom, which the King uſed, was the *Ambarick*;

Amharick; that the *Ethiopick* contained, as it is well known, many *Arabick* words; that, beſides their ſacred books, as the propheſy of ENOCH, and others, they had hiſtories of *Abyſſinia* and various literary compoſitions; that their language was taught in ſchools and colleges, of which there were ſeveral in the Metropolis. He ſaid, that no *Abyſſinian* doubted the exiſtence of the royal priſon called *Wahinin*, ſituated on a very lofty mountain, in which the ſons and daughters of their Kings were confined; but that, from the nature of the thing, a particular deſcription of it could not be obtained. "All theſe matters, ſaid he, are explained, I ſuppoſe, "in the writings of YA KU'B, whom I ſaw thirteen years ago in *Gwen-*"*der:* he was a phyſician, and had attended the King's brother, who "was alſo a *Vazir*, in his laſt illneſs: the prince died; yet the king loved "YA'KU'B, and, indeed, all the court and people loved him: the king "received him in his palace as a gueſt, ſupplied him with every thing, "that he could want; and, when he went to ſee the fources of the *Nile* "and other curioſities (for he was extremely curious), he received every "poſſible aſſiſtance and accommodation from the royal favour: he un-"derſtood the languages, and wrote and collected many books, which "he carried with him." It was impoſſible for me to doubt, eſpecially when he deſcribed the perſon of YA KU B, that he meant JAMES BRUCE, Eſq. who travelled in the dreſs of a *Syrian* phyſician, and probably aſſumed with judgement a name well known in *Abyſſinia:* he is ſtill revered on *Mount Sinai* for his ſagacity in diſcovering a ſpring, of which the monaſtery was in great need; he was known at *Jedda* by MI'R MOHAMMED HUSSAIN, one of the moſt intelligent *Mahommedans* in *India*; and I have ſeen him mentioned with great regard in a letter from an *Arabian* merchant at *Mokhá*. It is probable, that he entered *Abyſſinia* by the way of *Muſuwwa*, a town in the poſſeſſion of the *Muſelmans*, and returned through the deſert mentioned by GREGORY in his deſcription of the *Nile*. We may hope, that Mr. BRUCE will publiſh an account of his intereſting travels, with a verſion of the book of ENOCH, which

no

no man but himſelf can give us with fidelity. By the help of *Abyſſinian* records, great light may be thrown on the hiſtory of *Yemen* before the time of MUHAMMED, ſince it is generally known, that four *Ethiop* kings ſucceſſively reigned in that country, having been invited over by the natives to oppoſe the tyrant DHU' NAWA'S, and that they were in their turn expelled by the arms of the *Himyarick* princes with the aid of ANUSHIRVAN king of *Perſia*, who did not fail, as it uſually happens, to keep in ſubjection the people, whom he had conſented to relieve. If the annals of this period can be reſtored, it muſt be through the hiſtories of *Abyſſinia*, which will alſo correct the many errors of the beſt *Aſiatick* writers on the *Nile*, and the countries which it fertiliſes.

ON

ON

THE COURSE OF THE NILE.

THE *Nile*, which the *Abyſſinians* know by the names of *Abéy* and *Alawy*, or the *Giant*, guſhes from ſeveral ſprings at a place, called *Sucút*, lying on the higheſt part of *Dengalá* near *Gojjám*, to the weſt of *Bajemdir*, and the lake of *Dara* or *Wed*; into which it runs with ſo ſtrong and rapid a current, that it mixes not with the other waters, but rides or ſwims, as it were, above them.

All the rains, that fall in *Abyſſinia* and deſcend in torrents from the hills, all ſtreams and rivers, ſmall and great, except the *Hanázó*, which waſhes the plains of *Hengót*, and the *Hawáſh* which flows by *Dewár* and *Tetgár*, are collected by this king of waters, and, like vaſſals, attend his march: thus enforced he ruſhes, like a hero exulting in his ſtrength, and haſtens to fertiliſe the land of *Egypt*, on which no rain falls. We muſt except alſo thoſe *Ethiopean* rivers, which riſe in countries bordering on the ocean, as the kingdoms of *Cambát*, *Gurájy*, *Wáſy*, *Náriyah*, *Gáſy*, *Wéj*, and *Zinjiro*, whoſe waters are diſembogued into the ſea.

When the *Alawy* has paſſed the Lake, it proceeds between *Gojjám* and *Bajemdir*, and, leaving them to the weſt and eaſt, purſues a direct courſe towards *Amhárá*, the ſkirts of which it bathes, and then turns again to the weſt, touching the borders of *Walaka*; whence it rolls along *Múgár* and *Shawai*, and, paſſing *Bazáwá* and *Gongá*, deſcends into the lowlands of *Shankila*, the country of the Blacks: thus it forms a ſort of ſpiral round the province of *Gojjám*, which it keeps for the moſt part on its right.

Here

Here it bends a little to the eaſt, from which quarter, before it reaches the diſtricts of *Sennár*, it receives two large rivers, one called *Tacazzy*, which runs from *Tegri*, and the other, *Gwangue*, which comes from *Dembeiá*.

After it has viſited *Sennár*, it waſhes the land of *Dongolá*, and proceeds thence to *Nubia*, where it again turns eaſtward, and reaches a country named *Abrim*, where no veſſels can be navigated, by reaſon of the rocks and crags, which obſtruct the channel. The inhabitants of *Sennár* and *Nubia* may conſtantly drink of its water, which lies to the eaſt of them like a ſtrong bulwark; but the merchants of *Abyſſinia*, who travel to *Egypt*, leave the *Nile* on their right, as ſoon as they have paſſed *Nubia*, and are obliged to traverſe a deſert of ſand and gravel, in which for fifteen days they find neither wood nor water; they meet it again in the country of *Reíf* or *Upper Egypt*, where they find boats on the river, or ride on its banks, refreſhing themſelves with its ſalutary ſtreams.

It is aſſerted by ſome travellers, that, when the *Alawy* has paſſed *Sennár* and *Dongolá*, but before it enters *Nubia*, it divides itſelf; that the great body of water flows entire into *Egypt*, where the ſmaller branch (the *Niger*) runs weſtward, not ſo as to reach *Barbary*, but towards the country of *Alwáh*, whence it ruſhes into the great ſea. The truth of this fact I have verified, partly by my own obſervation, and partly by my inquiries among intelligent men; whoſe anſwers ſeemed the more credible, becauſe, if ſo prodigious a maſs of water were to roll over *Egypt* with all its wintry increaſe, not the land only, but the houſes, and towns, of the *Egyptians* muſt be overflowed.

ON

THE INDIAN GAME OF CHESS.

By The PRESIDENT.

IF evidence be required to prove that chefs was invented by the *Hindus*, we may be fatisfied with the teftimony of the *Perfians*; who, though as much inclined as other nations to appropriate the ingenious inventions of a foreign people, unanimoufly agree, that the game was imported from the weft of *India*, together with the charming fables of VISHNUSARMAN, in the fixth century of our era: it feems to have been immemorially known in *Hinduftan* by the name of *Chaturanga*, that is, the four *anga's*, or *members*, of an army, which are faid in the *Amaracófha* to be *haftyas'warat'hapádátam*, or *elephants*, *horfes*, *chariots*, and *foot-foldiers*; and, in this fenfe, the word is frequently ufed by Epick poets in their defcriptions of real armies. By a natural corruption of the pure *Sanfcrit* word, it was changed by the old *Perfians* into *Chatrang*, but the *Arabs*, who foon after took poffeffion of their country, had neither the initial nor final letter of that word in their alphabet, and confequently altered it further into *Shatranj*, which found its way prefently into the modern *Perfian*, and at length into the dialects of *India*, where the true derivation of the name is known only to the learned: thus has a very fignificant word in the facred language of the *Bráhmans* been transformed by fucceffive changes into *axedrez*, *fcacchi*, *échecs*, *chefs*, and, by a whimfical concurrence of circumftances, given birth to the *Engliſh* word *check*, and even a name to the *Exchequer* of *Great Britain*. The beautiful fimplicity and extreme perfection of the game, as it is commonly played in *Europe* and

Aſia, convince me, that it was invented by one effort of ſome great genius; not completed by gradual improvements, but formed, to uſe the phraſe of *Italian* criticks, *by the firſt intention*; yet of this ſimple game, ſo exquiſitely contrived, and ſo certainly invented in *India*, I cannot find any account in the claſſical writings of the *Bráhmans*. It is, indeed, confidently aſſerted, that *Sanſcrit* books on Cheſs exiſt in this country, and, if they can be procured at *Banáres*, they will aſſuredly be ſent to us: at preſent I can only exhibit a deſcription of a very ancient *Indian* game of the ſame kind; but more complex, and, in my opinion, more modern, than the ſimple Cheſs of the *Perſians*. This game is alſo called *Chaturanga*, but, more frequently *Chatúráji*, or the *four Kings*, ſince it is played by four perſons repreſenting as many princes, two allied armies combating on each ſide: the deſcription is taken from the *Bhawiſhya Purán*, in which YUDHISHT'HIR is repreſented converſing with VYA'SA, who explains at the king's requeſt the form of the fictitious warfare and the principal rules of it: "having marked *eight* ſquares on all ſides, ſays the "Sage, place the *red* army to the eaſt, the *green* to the ſouth, the *yellow* "to the weſt, and the *black* to the north: let the *elephant* ſtand on the "left of the *king*; next to him, the *horſe*; then, the *boat*; and, before "them all, four *foot-ſoldiers*; but the *boat* muſt be placed in the *angle* of "the board." From this paſſage it clearly appears, that an army, with its four *anga's*, muſt be placed on each ſide of the board, ſince an *elephant* could not ſtand, in any other poſition, on the *left* hand of each *king*; and RA'DHACA'NT informed me, that the board conſiſted, like ours, of *ſixty-four* ſquares, half of them occupied by the forces, and half, vacant: he added, that this game is mentioned in the oldeſt law-books, and that it was invented by the wife of RA'VAN, king of *Lancà*, in order to amuſe him with an image of war, while his metropolis was cloſely beſieged by RA'MA in the ſecond age of the world. He had not heard the ſtory told by FIRDAUSI near the cloſe of the *Sháhnámah*, and it was probably carried into *Perſia* from *Cányacubja* by BORZU, the *favourite phyſician*, thence

thence called *Vaidyapriya*, of the great ANU'SHIRAVA'N; but he ſaid, that the *Bráhmans* of *Gaur*, or *Bengal*, were once celebrated for ſuperior ſkill in the game, and that his father, together with his ſpiritual preceptor JAGANNA'T'H, now living at *Tribéni*, had inſtructed two young *Bráhmans* in all the rules of it, and had ſent them to *Jayanagar* at the requeſt of the late *Rájà*, who had liberally rewarded them. A *ſhip*, or *boat*, is ſubſtituted, we ſee, in this complex game for the *rat'h*, or armed *chariot*, which the *Bengaleſe* pronounce *rot'h*, and which the *Perſians* changed into *rokh*, whence came the *rook* of ſome *European* nations; as the *vierge* and *fol* of the *French* are ſuppoſed to be corruptions of *ferz* and *fil*, the *prime miniſter* and *elephant* of the *Perſians* and *Arabs:* it were vain to ſeek an etymology of the word *rook* in the modern *Perſian* language; for, in all the paſſages extracted from FIRDAUSI and JA'MI, where *rokh* is conceived to mean a *hero*, or a *fabulous bird*, it ſignifies, I believe, no more than a *cheek* or a *face*; as in the following deſcription of a proceſſion in *Egypt:* "when a thouſand youths, like cypreſſes, box-trees, "and firs, with locks as fragrant, cheeks as fair, and boſoms as delicate, "as lilies of the valley, were marching gracefully along, thou wouldſt "have ſaid, that the new ſpring was *turning his face* (not, as HYDE "tranſlates the words, *carried on rokhs)* from ſtation to ſtation;" and, as to the battle of the *duwázdeh rokh*, which D'HERBELOT ſuppoſes to mean *douze preux chevaliers*, I am ſtrongly inclined to think, that the phraſe only ſignifies a combat of *twelve perſons face to face*, or ſix on a ſide. I cannot agree with my friend RA'DHA'CA'NT, that a *ſhip* is properly introduced in this imaginary warfare inſtead of a *chariot*, in which the old *Indian* warriours conſtantly fought; for, though the *king* might be ſuppoſed to ſit in a *car*, ſo that the four *anga's* would be complete, and though it may often be neceſſary in a real campaign to paſs rivers or lakes, yet no river is marked on the *Indian*, as it is on the *Chineſe*, cheſs-board, and the intermixture of ſhips with horſes, elephants, and infantry embattled on a plain, is an abſurdity not to be defended. The uſe of *dice* may,

may, perhaps, be juſtified in a repreſentation of war, in which *fortune* has unqueſtionably a great ſhare, but it ſeems to exclude cheſs from the rank, which has been aſſigned to it, among the ſciences, and to give the game before us the appearance of *whiſt*, except that pieces are uſed openly, inſtead of cards which are held concealed: nevertheleſs we find, that the moves in the game deſcribed by VYA'SA were to a certain degree regulated by *chance*; for he proceeds to tell his royal pupil, that, "if "*cinque* be thrown, the *king* or a *pawn* muſt be moved; if *quatre*, the "*elephant*; if *trois*, the *horſe*; and if *deux*, the *boat*."

He then proceeds to the moves: "the *king* paſſes freely on all ſides "but over *one* ſquare only; and with the ſame limitation, the *pawn* "moves, but he advances ſtraight forward, and kills his enemy through "an angle; the *elephant* marches in all directions, as far as his driver "pleaſes; the *horſe* runs obliquely, traverſing three ſquares; and the "*ſhip* goes over two ſquares diagonally." The elephant, we find, has the powers of our *queen*, as we are pleaſed to call the *miniſter*, or *general*, of the *Perſians*, and the *ſhip* has the motion of the piece, to which we give the unaccountable appellation of *biſhop*, but with a reſtriction, which muſt greatly leſſen his value.

The bard next exhibits a few general rules and ſuperficial directions for the conduct of the game: "the *pawns* and the *ſhip* both kill and may "be voluntarily killed; while the *king*, the *elephant*, and the *horſe* may "ſlay the foe, but cannot expoſe themſelves to be ſlain. Let each player "preſerve his own forces with extreme care, ſecuring his *king* above "all, and not ſacrificing a ſuperior, to keep an inferior, piece." Here the commentator on the *Purán* obſerves, that, the *horſe*, who has the choice of *eight* moves from any central poſition, muſt be preferred to the *ſhip*, who has only the choice of *four*; but this argument would not have equal weight in the common game, where the *biſhop* and *tower* command

command a whole line, and where a knight is always of leſs value than a tower in action, or the biſhop of that ſide, on which the attack is begun. "It is by the overbearing power of the *elephant*, that the king "fights boldly; let the whole army, therefore, be abandoned, in order "to ſecure the *elephant*: the king muſt never place one elephant before "another, according to the rule of GO'TAMA, unleſs he be compelled "by want of room, for he would thus commit a dangerous fault; and, "if he can ſlay one of two hoſtile elephants, he muſt deſtroy that on his "left hand." The laſt rule is extremely obſcure; but, as GO'TAMA was an illuſtrious lawyer and philoſopher, he would not have condeſcended to leave directions for the game of *Chaturanga*, if it had not been held in great eſtimation by the ancient ſages of *India*.

All that remains of the paſſage, which was copied for me by RA'DHA'CA'NT and explained by him, relates to the ſeveral modes, in which a partial ſucceſs or complete victory may be obtained by any one of the four players; for we ſhall ſee, that, as if a diſpute had ariſen between two allies, one of the kings may aſſume the command of all the forces, and aim at ſeparate conqueſt. Firſt; "When any one king has placed "himſelf on the ſquare of another king, which advantage is called *Sin-*"*hâſana*, or *the throne*, he wins a ſtake; which is doubled, if he kill the "adverſe monarch, when he ſeizes his place; and, if he can ſeat himſelf "on the throne of his ally, he takes the command of the whole army." Secondly; "If he can occupy ſucceſſively the thrones of all three princes, "he obtains the victory, which is named *Chatúrâji*, and, the ſtake is "doubled, if he kill the laſt of the three, juſt before he takes poſſeſſion "of his throne; but, if he kill him on his throne, the ſtake is quadru-"pled." Thus, as the commentator remarks, in a real warfare, a king may be conſidered as victorious, when he ſeizes the metropolis of his adverſary; but, if he can deſtroy his foe, he diſplays greater heroiſm, and relieves his people from any further ſolicitude. "Both in gaining the

"*Sinhâſana*

" *Sinhásana* and the *Chatúrájì*, says VYA'SA, the king muſt be ſupported " by the *elephants* or by all the forces united." Thirdly; " When one " player has his own king on the board, but the king of his partner has " been taken, he may replace his captive ally, if he can ſeize both the " adverſe kings; or, if he cannot effect their capture, he may exchange " his king for one of them, againſt the general rule, and thus redeem " the allied prince, who will ſupply his place." This advantage has the name of *Nrĭpácriſht'a*, or *recovered by the king*; and the *Naucácriſht'a* ſeems to be analogous to it, but confined to the caſe of *ſhips*. Fourthly; " If a pawn can march to any ſquare on the oppoſite extremity of the " board, except that of the king, or that of the ſhip, he aſſumes what- " ever power belonged to that ſquare; and this promotion is called *Shat'-* " *pada*, or the *ſix ſtrides*." Here we find the rule, with a ſingular exception, concerning the advancement of *pawns*, which often occaſions a moſt intereſting ſtruggle at our common cheſs, and which has furniſhed the poets and moraliſts of *Arabia* and *Perſia* with many lively reflections on human life. It appears, that " this privilege of *Shat'pada* was not allow- " able, in the opinion of GO'TAMA, when a player had three pawns on " the board; but, when only one pawn and one ſhip remained, the " pawn might advance even to the ſquare of a king or a ſhip, and aſſume " the power of either." Fifthly; " According to the *Rácſhaſa's*, or " *giants* (that is, the people of *Lancà*, where the game was invented), " there could be neither victory nor defeat, if a king were left on the " plain without force; a ſituation which they named *Cácacáſht'ha*." Sixthly; " If three ſhips happen to meet, and the fourth ſhip can be " brought up to them in the remaining angle, this has the name of *Vrĭ-* " *hannaucà*; and the player of the fourth ſeizes all the others." Two or three of the remaining couplets are ſo dark, either from an error in the manuſcript or from the antiquity of the language, that I could not underſtand the *Pandit's* explanation of them, and ſuſpect that they gave even him very indiſtinct ideas; but it would be eaſy, if it were worth while,

while, to play at the game by the preceding rules; and a little practice would, perhaps, make the whole intelligible. One circumſtance, in this extract from the *Puràn*, ſeems very ſurprizing: all games of hazard are poſitively forbidden by MENU, yet the game of *Chaturanga*, in which dice are uſed, is taught by the great VYA'SA himſelf, whoſe lawtract appears with that of GO'TAMA among the eighteen books, which form the *Dhermaſáſtra*; but, as RA DHA'CA'NT and his preceptor JAGANNA'T'H are both employed by government in compiling a Digeſt of *Indian* laws, and as both of them, eſpecially the venerable Sage of *Tribéni*, underſtand the game, they are able, I preſume, to aſſign reaſons, why it ſhould have been excepted from the general prohibition, and even openly taught by ancient and modern *Bráhmans*.

ऽत्र यश्चानुमन्यते च ॥ तस्य दत्तिकायेषु पुत्रत्यागमनाय कः वि पुंनिष्फलं वः पाया दस्मा या
द्फलनाय कंना सवः पाडुसेवानिश्चयान्मालासूनिद्रा रुवी सुमनुसिरसाम्रदृष्टदछुरच ह्यु क
लापमा ।याददवः स्वयामवमूद्विनिर्दिनावास्वदिनालाः कलामयान्नाङ्गलवालोकतक । स
स्यानस्व स्तिंतविरुनीशालावीरापिनद्वपिंगलत्रयशटवीमस्थितारुयाद्दुःसमयापुकी
सितवरब्रिमकनः रकनः ।स्त्रीमूतकुतनायानियतदयानुस्त्रीमूनवादनूंनिविज्ञग
च्छसिद्धुःदादनिजदृष्टमिवाकलयन्यान्छायानकृतिस्मगचुडास्वलुंस्वदृष्टानथाव्य
नरपतिः स्रमरूकपदीगीलानवस्तिलकोनिपुयप्पमद्यो । तस्मादरू द्वतनयः पुलसद्वि
नामामात्पष्टमण्डलसमानसदृद्वतामा ।।डानवानघलपुसकपद्मस्रनुनस्यसकलिनवि
दत्रिः यद्भायनस्यलिलाङलिनुस्विद्यौयातस्मानिडराज्ञसुसायः तस्मारुरूद्वतनायारुव
निकवीनः श्रीवप्पुवन्नंतिरुगनगतीनः श्रीक्षस्वंग्यरुवदस्यसुतःसुकीर्त्तिनाघगा
सिनृपतिः स्रमरूसुमत्रिः ।तस्मद्विस्मयकानरूनिचनिनपस्यानकात्रिसुतः श्रीमान्वद्ध
ङादिवरूपतिनरूद्धस्वङ्गद्वदामालिः ।यादृष्टिकवलयंयशसरूमासयामसगागणरागो
श्रीःस्वयामयवकसिनिनचवालुमापिनव ।।दयन्नूंवद्दृष्टानः पुनानिनिवस्त्रभुषः
ननः श्रीमानस्यसुत्रःसद्वनित्यनाङ्कितः ।।कल्पुस्थागिनयः सकासद्यन्नस्यसुविष्ठनः ।।
पुतापाद्यीप्रिमत्रेष्टःकालदण्डश्चयाद्विषा ।।सचलागतसामन्नाम्नपरास्रनाकस्थानसकि
तायमास्रजयानवघाठनामास्रराजागतवरुयज्ञास्रादतः स्मनवनतकनकयानिर्ग
दितमाश्चयितयदायनाःतेनविरुवनमाद्यायगङ्गस्रप्पिनामारुनाःयाकिविस्रस्व
स्वरुवत्रिवनितेस्रास्रुपितानृपाः सयद्यागयनाकुमानिसयनास्रयात्रसंनियस्थो
नरुष्ठस्रमागितक्षितिरुजागाङ्गस्थितिसस्रङान्यायनायपितामहाविरुयनासामन्न
दीक्षायुवुः ।।मपिरायेनस्वागतमागतयविदितगाम्मायनानाविवयानावयपाद
वनाम्बिरलितगाङ्गास्वनकालिनः । रुन्वमाम्ममण्मुतयिनिरुजायत्र ।।यनारुयत
सा श्रीविरुयकनामहृपानन्यैक्तिमावलानि ।।

AN

INDIAN GRANT OF LAND

IN Y.C. 1018,

LITERALLY TRANSLATED FROM THE SANSCRIT,

BY THE PRESIDENT.

As explained by RA'MALO'CHAN PANDIT, *communicated by General* CARNAC.

O'M. VICTORY *and* ELEVATION!

STANZAS.

MAY He, who in all affairs claims precedence in adoration; may that *Gan'anáyaca*, averting calamity, preſerve you from danger!

2. May that SIVA conſtantly preſerve you, on whoſe head ſhines (GANGA') the daughter of JAHNU reſembling-the-pure-creſcent-riſing-from-the-ſummit-of-SUME'RU! *(a compound word of ſixteen ſyllables)*.

3. May that God, the cauſe of ſucceſs, the cauſe of felicity, who keeps, placed even by himſelf on his forehead a ſection of the-moon-with-cool-beams, drawn-in-the-form-of-a-line-reſembling-that-in-the-infinitely-bright ſpike-of-a-freſh-blown-*Cétaca* (who is) adorned-with-a-grove-of-thick-red locks-tied-with-the-Prince-of-Serpents, be always preſent and favourable to you!

4. The ſon of JI'MU'TACE'TU ever affectionate, named JI'MU'TAVA'-HANA, who, ſurely, preſerved (the Serpent) S'ANC'HACHU'D'A from *Garud'a (the Eagle of* VISHNU), *was* famed in the three worlds, having neglected his own body, as if it had been graſs, for the ſake of others.

5. *(Two couplets in rhyme.)* In his family was a monarch *(named)* CAPARDIN (or, *with thick hair*, a title of MAHA'DE'VA), chief of the race of SI'LA'RA, repreſſing the inſolence of his foes; and from him came a ſon, named PULAS'ACTI, equal in encreaſing glory to the ſun's bright circle.

6. When that ſon of CAPARDIN was a new-born infant, through fear of him, homage was paid by all his collected enemies, with water held aloft in their hands, to the delight of his realm.

7. From him came a ſon, the only warriour on earth, named SRI'VAP-PUVANNA, a Hero in the theatre of battle.

8. His ſon, called S'RI' JHANJHA, was highly celebrated, and the preſerver *of his country*; he afterwards became the Sovereign of *Gógni:* he had a beautiful form.

9. From him *came* a ſon, whoſe-renown-was-far-extended-*and*-*who*-confounded-the-mind-with-his-wonderful-acts, the fortunate BAJJADA DE'VA: he was a monarch, a gem in-the-diadem-of-the-world's-circumference; who uſed only the forcible weapon of his two arms readily on the plain of combat; and in whoſe boſom the Fortune of Kings herſelf amorouſly played, as *in the boſom* of the foe of MURA (or VISHNU).

10. Like JAYANTA, *ſon* to the foe of VRITTA (or INDRA), like SHAN-

SHANMUC'HA (or CARTICE'YA) *ſon* to PURA'RI (or MAHA'DE'VA) then ſprang from him a fortunate ſon, with a true heart, invincible;

11. Who in liberality was CARNA before our eyes, in truth even YUDHISHTHIRA, in glory a blazing Sun, and the rod of CA'LA (or YAMA, *judge of the infernal regions)* to his enemies;

12. By whom the great counſellors, who were under his protection, *and* others near *him*, are preſerved in this world: he is a conqueror, named with propriety S'ARANA'GATA VAJRAPANJARADE'VA.

13. By whom when this world was over-ſhadowed with-continual-preſents-of-gold, for his liberality he was named JAGADARTHI (or *Enriching the World)* in the midſt of the three regions of the univerſe.

14. Thoſe Kings aſſuredly, whoever they may be, who are endued with minds capable of ruling their reſpective dominions, praiſe him for the greatneſs of his veracity, generoſity, and valour; *and* to thoſe princes, who are deprived of their domains, and ſeek his protection, he allots a firm ſettlement: may he, the Grandfather of the RA'YA, be victorious! *he is* the ſpiritual guide of *his* counſellors, *and they are* his pupils. Yet farther.

15. He, by whom the title of GO'MMA'YA was conferred on *a perſon* who attained the object of his deſire; by whom the realm, ſhaken by a man named E'YAPADE'VA, was even made firm, and by whom, being the prince of *Mamalambuva* (I ſuppoſe, *Mambéï*, or *Bombay)* ſecurity from fear was given to me broken *with affliction*; He was the King, named S'RI' VIRUDANCA: how can he be otherwiſe painted? *Here ſix ſyllables are effaced in one of the Grants; and this verſe is not in the other.*

16. His

16. His ſon *was* named BAJJADADE'VA, a gem on the forehead of monarchs, eminently ſkilled in morality; whoſe deep thoughts all the people, clad in horrid armour, praiſe even to this day.

17. Then was born his brother the prince ARICE'SARI (a lion among his foes), the beſt of good men; who, by overthrowing the ſtrong mountain of his proud enemies, did the act of a thunder-bolt; having formed great deſigns even in his childhood, and having ſeen the Lord of the Moon (MAHA'DE'VA) *ſtanding* before him, he marched by his father's order, attended by his troops, and by valour ſubdued the world.

Yet more———————.

18. Having raiſed up his ſlain foe on his ſharp ſword, he ſo afflicted the women in the hoſtile palaces, that their forelocks fell diſordered, their garlands of bright flowers dropped from their necks on the vaſes of their breaſts, and the black luſtre of their eyes diſappeared.

19. A *warriour*, the plant of whoſe fame grows up over the temple of BRAHMA'S Egg (the univerſe), from-the repeated-watering-of-it-with-the-drops-that-fell-from-the-eyes-of-the-wives-of-his-ſlaughtered-foe.

Afterwards by the multitude of his innate virtues *(then follows a compound word of an hundred and fifty-two ſyllables)* the-fortunate-ARICE'SARI-DE'VARA'JA-Lord-of-the-great-circle-adorned-with-all-the-company-of-princes-with-VAJRAPANJARA-of-whom-men-ſeek-the-protection-an-elephant's-hook-in-the-forehead-of-the-world-pleaſed-with-encreaſing-vice-a-Flamingo-bird-in-the-pool-decked-with-flowers-like-thoſe-of-paradiſe-and-with-A'DITYA-PANDITA-chief-of-the-diſtricts-of-the-world-through-the-liberality-of-the-lord-of-the-Weſtern-Sea-holder-of-innate-knowledge-who-bears-a-golden-eagle-on-his-ſtandard-deſcended-from-the-

the-ſtock-of JI'MU'TAVA'HANA-king-of-the-race-of-*Silára*-Sovereign-of-the-City-of-*Tagara*-Supreme-ruler-of-exalted-counſellors-aſſembled-when-extended-fame-had-been-attained *(the monarch* thus deſcribed) governs the-whole-region-of-*Cóncana*-conſiſting-of-fourteen-hundred-villages-with cities-and-other-places-comprehended-in-many-diſtricts-acquired-by-his-arm. Thus he ſupports the burden of thought concerning this domain. The Chief-Miniſter S'RI' VA'SAPAIYA *and* the very-religiouſly-purified S'RI' VA'RDHIYAPAIYA being at this time preſent, he, the fortunate ARICE'SARIDE'VARA'JA, Sovereign of the great circle, *thus addreſſes* even all who inhabit-the-city-S'RI' STHA'NACA *(or the Manſion of* LACSHM'I), his-own-kinſmen-and-others-there-aſſembled, princes-counſellors-prieſts-miniſters-ſuperiors-inferiors-ſubject-to-his-commands, alſo the-lords-of diſtricts,-the-Governors-of towns-chiefs-of-villages-the-maſters-of-families-employed-or-unemployed-ſervants-of-the-King-and-*his*-countrymen. Thus he greets all-the-holy-men-and-others-inhabiting-the-city-of *Hanyamana:* reverence be to you, as it is becoming, with all the marks of reſpect, ſalutation, and praiſe!

STANZA.

Wealth is inconſtant; youth, deſtroyed in an inſtant; *and* life, placed between the teeth of CRITANTA *(or* YAMA *before mentioned).*

Nevertheleſs neglect *is ſhown* to the felicity of departed anceſtors. Oh! how aſtoniſhing are the efforts of men!

And thus.—Youth is publickly ſwallowed-up-by-the-gianteſs Old-Age admitted-into-its-inner manſion; and the bodily-frame-is-equally-obnoxious-to-the-aſſault-of-death-of-age-and-the-miſery-born-with-man-of-ſeparation-between-united-friends-like-falling-from-heaven-into-the-lower regions: riches and life are two things more-moveable-than-a-drop-of water-trembling-on-the-leaf-of-a-lotos-ſhaken-by-the-wind;

and

and the world is like-the-firſt delicate-foliage-of-a-plantain-tree. Conſidering this in ſecret with a firm diſpaſſionate underſtanding, and alſo the fruit of liberal donations mentioned *by the wife*, *I called to mind theſe*

STANZAS.

1. In the *Satya*, *Trétá*, and *Dwáper* Ages, great piety was celebrated: but in this *Caliyuga* the *Muni's* have nothing to commend but liberality.

2. Not ſo productive of fruit is learning, not ſo productive is piety, as liberality, ſay the *Muni's*, in this *Cali* Age. And, thus was it ſaid by the Divine VYA'SA:

3. Gold *was* the firſt offſpring of Fire; the Earth *is* the daughter of VISHNU, and kine are the children of the Sun: the three worlds, *therefore*, are aſſuredly given by him, who makes a gift of Gold, Earth, and Cattle.

4. *Our* deceaſed fathers clap their hands, *our* Grandfathers exult: *ſaying*, " a donor of land is born in our family: he will redeem us."

5. A donation of land to good perſons, for holy pilgrimages, and on the (five) ſolemn days of the moon, is the mean of paſſing over the deep boundleſs ocean of the world.

6. White paraſols, and elephants mad with pride (the *inſignia* of royalty) *are* the flowers of a grant of land: the fruit *is* INDRA in heaven.

Thus, confirming the declarations of the-ancient-*Muni's*-learned-in-the diſtinction-between-juſtice-and-injuſtice, for the ſake of benefit to my mother, my father, and myſelf, on the fifteenth of the bright moon of *Cártica*, in the middle of the year *Pingala* (perhaps of the *Serpent)*, when

when nine hundred and forty years, ſave one, are reckoned as paſt from the time of King S'ACA, or, in figures, the year 939, of the bright moon of *Cártica* 15 (that is 1708—939=769 years ago from Y.C. 1787. The moon being then full and eclipſed, I having bathed in the oppoſite ſea reſembling-the-girdles-round-the-waiſt-of-the-female-Earth, tinged-with-a-variety-of-rays-like-many-exceedingly-bright-rubies,-pearls-*and-other*-gems, with-water-whoſe-mud-was-become-muſk-through-the-frequent-bathing-of-the-fragrant-boſom-of-beautiful-Goddeſſes-riſing-up-after-having-dived-in-it;-and having offered to the ſun, the divine luminary, the-gem-of-one-circle-of-heaven, eye-of-the-three-worlds, Lord of-the lotos, a diſh embelliſhed-with-flowers-of-various-ſorts (this diſh is filled with the plant *Darbha*, rice in the huſk, different flowers, and ſandal) have granted to him, who has viewed the preceptor of the Gods and of Demons, who has adored the Sovereign Deity the-huſband-of-AMBICA' (or DURGA'), has ſacrificed-cauſed-others-to-ſacrifice,-has read-cauſed-others-to-read-and-has-performed-the-reſt-of-the-ſix (Sacerdotal) functions; who-is-eminently-ſkilled-in-the-whole-buſineſs-of-performing-ſacrifices, who-has-held-up the-root-and-ſtalk-of-the-ſacred-lotos; who-inhabits-the-city-SRI ST'HA'NACA *(or abode of Fortune)*, deſcended from JAMADAGNI; who-performs-due-rites-in-the-holy-ſtream; who-diſtinctly-knows-the-myſterious-branches (of the *Védas)*, the domeſtick prieſt, the reader, SRĪ TICCAPAIYA, ſon of SRĪ CHCH'HINTAPAIYA the aſtronomer, for-the-purpoſe-of-ſacrificing-cauſing-others to-ſacrifice-reading-cauſing-others-to-read-and-diſcharging-the-reſt of-the-ſix-(Sacerdotal-) duties, of performing-the (daily ſervice of) *Vais'wadéva* with offerings of rice, milk, and materials of ſacrifice, and-of-completing-with due-ſolemnity the ſacrifice-of-fire-of doing-ſuch-acts-as-muſt-continually-be-done, and ſuch-as-muſt-occaſionally-be-performed, of paying-due-honours to gueſts and ſtrangers, and-of-ſupporting his-own-family, the village of *Chávinára*-ſtanding-at-the-extremity of-the-territory of *Vatſarája*, and the boundaries of which *are*, to the Eaſt the village of *Púa-*

gambà

gambà and a water-fall-from a mountain; to the South the villages of *Nágámbá* and *Múládóngaricà*; to the Weſt the river *Sámbarapallicà*; to the North the villages of *Sámbivè* and *Cát'iyálaca*; and beſides this the full *(diſtrict)* of *Tócabalà Pallicà*, the boundaries of which *are* to the Eaſt *Sídábalì*; to the South the river *Mót'hala*; to the Weſt *Cácádéva*, *Hallapallicà*, and *Bádaviraca*; to the North *Talávalì Pallicà*; and alſo the Village of *Aulacíyá*, the boundaries of which (are) to the Eaſt *Tádága*; to the South *Góviní*; to the Weſt *Charicà*, to the North *Calibalàyachóli:* (that land) thus ſurveyed-on-the-four-quarters-and limited-to-its-proper-bounds, with-its-herbage-wood-and-water, and with-power-of-puniſhing-for-the-ten-crimes, except that before given as the portion of *Déva*, or of *Brahmà*, I have hereby releaſed, and limited-by-the-duration-of-the-ſun-the-moon-and-mountains, confirmed with-the-ceremony-of adoration, with a copious effuſion of water and with the higheſt acts-of-worſhip; *and the ſame land* ſhall be enjoyed by his lineal-and-collateral-heirs, or cauſed-to-be-enjoyed, nor ſhall diſturbance be given by any perſon whatever: ſince it is thus declared by great *Muni's.*

STANZAS.

1. The Earth is enjoyed by many kings, by SA'GAR, and by others: to whomſoever the ſoil at any time belongs, to him at that time belong the fruits of it.

2. A ſpeedy gift is attended with no fatigue; a continued ſupport, with great trouble: therefore, even the *Rĭſhi's* declare, that a continuance of ſupport is better than a ſingle gift.

3. Exalted Emperors of good diſpoſitions have given land, as RA'MABHADRA adviſes, again and again: this is the true bridge of juſtice for ſovereigns: from time to time (O kings) that bridge muſt be repaired by you.

4. Thoſe

4. Thoſe poſſeſſions here below, which have been granted in former times by ſovereigns, given for-the-ſake-of-religion-increaſe-of-wealth-or of-fame, are exactly equal to flowers, which have been offered to a Deity: what good man would reſume *ſuch gifts?*

Thus, confirming the precepts of ancient *Muni's*, all future kings muſt gather the fruit-of-obſerving-religious-duties; and let not the ſtain-of-the crime-of-deſtroying-this-*grant* be borne henceforth by any-one: ſince, whatever *prince*, being ſupplicated, ſhall, through avarice, having-his-mind-wholly-ſurrounded-with-the-gloom-of-ignorance-contemptuouſly-diſmiſs-the-injured-ſupliant, He, being guilty of five great and *five* ſmall crimes, ſhall long in darkneſs inhabit *Raurava*, *Mahâraurava*, *Andha*, *Támiſra*, and the other places of puniſhment. And thus it is declared by the divine Vya'sa:

STANZAS.

1. He, who ſeizes land, given-by-himſelf or by-another (ſovereign), will rot among worms, himſelf a worm, in the midſt of ordure.

2. They, who ſeize granted-land, are born again, living with great fear, in dry cavities of trees in the unwatered foreſts on the *Vinddhian* (mountains).

3. By ſeizing one cow, one veſture, or even one nail's breadth of ground, *a king* continues in hell till an univerſal deſtruction of the world has happened.

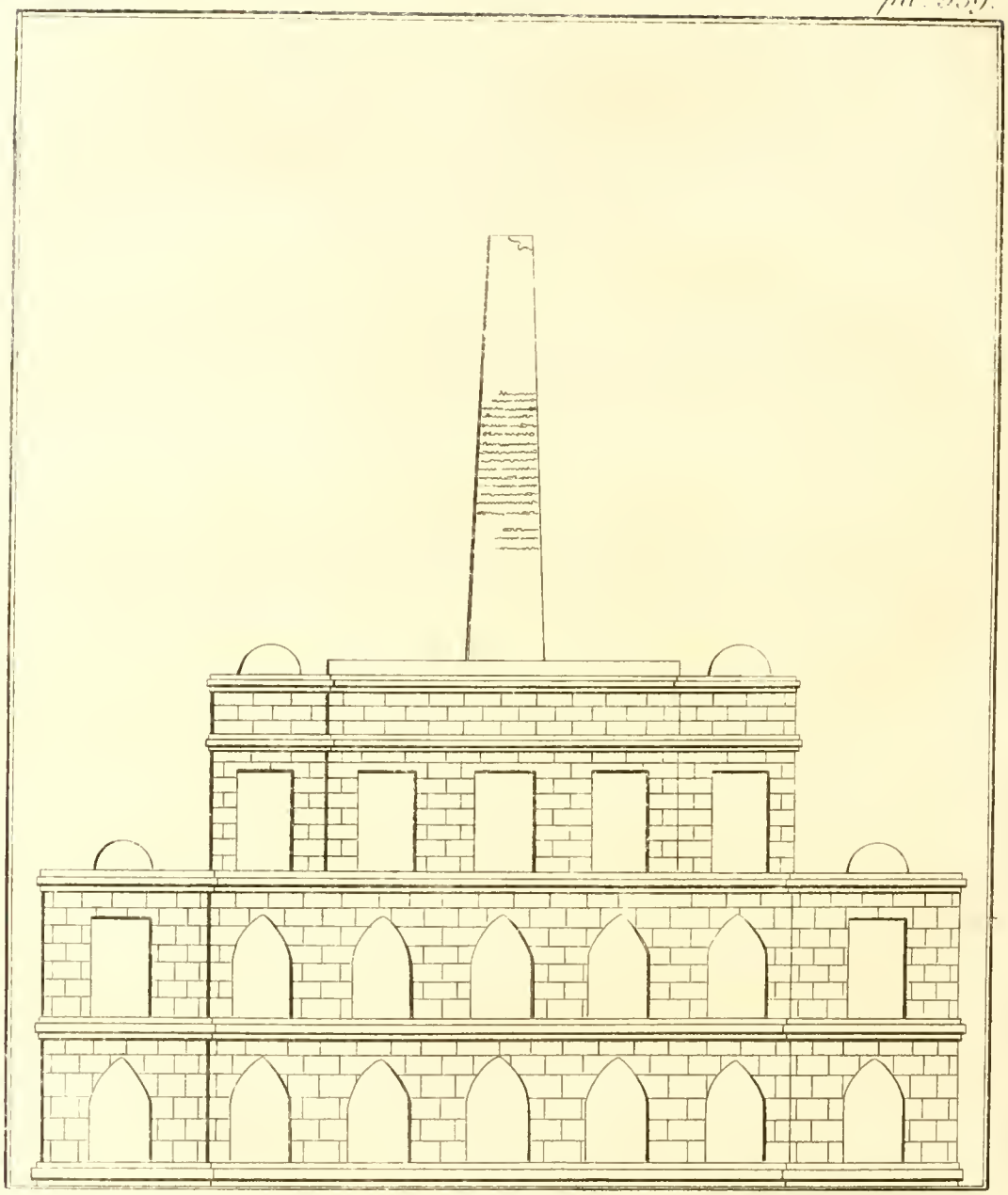
4. By (a gift of) a thouſand gardens, and by (a gift of) a hundred pools of water, by (giving) a hundred *lac* of oxen, a diſſeiſor of (granted) land is not cleared from offence.

5. A grantor of land remains in heaven ſixty thouſand years; a diſſeiſor, and he, who refuſes to do juſtice, continues as many (years) in hell.

And, agreeably to this, in what is written by the hand of the Secretary, (the King) having ordered it, declares his own intention; as it is written by the command of me, ſovereign of the great Circle, the fortunate ARICE'SARI DE'VARA-JA, ſon of the Sovereign of the Great Circle, the Fortunate, invincible, DE'VARAJA.

And this is written, by order of the Fortunate King, by me JO'-UBA, the brother's-ſon-of S'RI' NA'GALAIYA,-the great-Bard,-dwelling-in-the royal palace; engraved-on-plates-of-copper by VE'DAPAIYA's ſon MANA DHA'RA PAIYA. Thus (it ends).

Whatever herein (may be) defective in-one-ſyllable, or have-one-ſyllable-redundant, all that is (nevertheleſs) complete evidence (of the grant). Thus (ends the whole).



The Staff of FIRÚZ SHÁH.

INSCRIPTIONS

ON

THE STAFF OF FI'RU'Z SHAH.

TRANSLATED FROM THE SANSCRIT,

As explained by RA'DHA'CA'NTA SARMAN.

BY THE PRESIDENT.

ON a very ſingular monument near *Dehli*, an outline of which is here exhibited, and which the natives call the Staff of FI'RU'Z SHAH, are ſeveral old Inſcriptions partly in ancient *Nágarì* letters, and partly in a character yet unknown; and Lieutenant Colonel POLIER, having procured exact impreſſions of them, preſents the Society with an accurate copy of all the inſcriptions. Five of them are in *Sanſcrit*, and, for the moſt part, intelligible; but it will require great attention and leiſure to decypher the others: if the language be *Sanſcrit*, the powers of the unknown letters may perhaps hereafter be diſcovered by the uſual mode of decyphering; and that mode, carefully applied even at firſt, may lead to a diſcovery of the language. In the mean time a literal verſion of the legible inſcriptions is laid before you: they are on the whole ſufficiently clear, but the ſenſe of one or two paſſages is at preſent inexplicable.

I.

The firſt, on the Southweſt ſide of the pillar, is perfectly detached from

from the reſt: it is about ſeventeen feet from the baſe, and two feet higher than the other inſcriptions.

OM.

In the year 1230, on the firſt day of the Bright half of the month *Vaiſác'h* (a monument), of the Fortunate-VI'SALA-DE'VA-ſon of the-Fortunate-AMILLA DE'VA,-King-of-*Sácambharì*.

II.

The next, which is engraved as a ſpecimen of the character, conſiſts of two ſtanzas in four lines; but each hemiſtich is imperfect at the end, the two firſt wanting *ſeven*, and the two laſt *five*, ſyllables: the word *Sácambharì* in the former inſcription enables us to ſupply the cloſe of the *third* hemiſtich.

OM.

As far as *Vindhya*, as far as *Himádri* (the mountain of Snow), he was not deficient in celebrity . . . . . making *Aryáverta* (the Land of Virtue, *or India)*, even once more what its name ſignifies . . . . . He having departed, PRATIVA'HAMA'NA TILACA (is) king of *Sácambharì: (Sácam* only remains on the monument) by us (the region between) *Himawat* and *Vindhya* has been made tributary.

In the year from *Srì* VICRAMA'DITYA 123, in the Bright half of the month *Vaiſác'h* . . . . at that time the *Rájaputra Srì* SALLACA was Prime Miniſter.

The ſecond ſtanza, ſupplied partly from the laſt inſcription, and partly by conjecture, will run thus:

vritté sa prativáhamána tilacah sácambharíbhúpatih
aſmábhih caradam vyadháyi himawadvindhyátavímand'alam.

The

ಕಿಂ ಕಿಲ್ಬಿಷೈಃ ಕಿಮಪವರ್ಗಫಲೈಃ ಕಿಮರ್ಥೈಃ
ಕಿಂ ಕರ್ಮಭಿಃ ಕಿಮಿಹ ಜನ್ಮಭಿರಪ್ಯಲಂ ತೈಃ।
ಕಿಂ ಜನ್ಮನಾತ್ರ ಖಲು ತೇನ ಮನುಷ್ಯಜನ್ಮ
ಕಿಂ ಮಾನುಷೇಣ ಯದಿ ಕೌಶಲಮಾತ್ಮನೋ ನ ॥

ಕಿಂ ಕೌಶಲೇನ ಯದಿ ಸಾಧ್ಯಮಪಾಸ್ಯ ಕಿಂ ತೈಃ
ಸಾಧ್ಯಂ ಕಿಮತ್ರ ಯದಿ ಸಾಧ್ಯಮಸಾಧ್ಯಮೇವ ।
ಕಿಂ ಸಾಧ್ಯಮೇವ ಯದಿ ಸಾಧ್ಯಮಸಾಧ್ಯಮೇವ
ಕಿಂ ಸಾಧ್ಯಮೇವ ಯದಿ ಸಾಧ್ಯಮಸಾಧ್ಯಮೇವ ॥

ಕಿಂ ಸಾಧ್ಯಮೇವ ಯದಿ ಸಾಧ್ಯಮಸಾಧ್ಯಮೇವ
ಕಿಂ ಸಾಧ್ಯಮೇವ ಯದಿ ಸಾಧ್ಯಮಸಾಧ್ಯಮೇವ ।
ಕಿಂ ಕೌಶಲೇನ ಯದಿ ಸಾಧ್ಯಮಪಾಸ್ಯ ಕಿಂ ತೈಃ
ಕಿಂ ಕರ್ಮಭಿಃ ಕಿಮಿಹ ಜನ್ಮಭಿರಪ್ಯಲಂ ತೈಃ ॥

The date 123 is here perfectly clear; at leaſt it is clear, that only *three* figures are written, without even room for a cipher after them; whence we may gueſs, that the double circle in the former inſcription was only an ornament, or the neutral termination *am:* if ſo, the date of *both* is the year of CHRIST *ſixty-ſeven*; but, if the double circle be a Zero, the monument of VI'SALA DE'VA is as modern as the year 1174 or *nineteen* years before the conqueſt of *Dehli* by SHIHA'BU'DDI'N.

III and IV.

The two next inſcriptions were in the ſame words, but the ſtanzas, which in the fourth are extremely mutilated, are tolerably perfect in the third, wanting only a few ſyllables at the beginning of the hemiſtichs:

yah cſhívéſhu prahartá nripatiſhu vinamatcandharéſhu praſannah
—vah s'ambi puríndrah jagati vijayatè víſala cſhónipálah
. . . da ſájnya éſha vijayì ſantánajánátmajah
. . púnán cſhemáſtu bruvatamudyógas'únyanmanah

He, who is reſentful to kings intoxicated with pride, indulgent to thoſe, whoſe necks arehum bled, an INDRA in the city of *Cauſámbi* (I ſuſpect *Cauſámbi*, a city near *Haſtináput*, to be the true reading), *who* is victorious in the world, VI'SALA, ſovereign of the earth: he gives . . . . his commands being obeyed, he is a conqueror, the ſon of SANTA'NAJA'NA, whoſe mind, when his foes ſay, 'Let there be mercy,' is free from further hoſtility.

This inſcription was engraved, in the preſence of SR'I TILACA RA'JA, by SRI'PATI, the ſon of MA'HAVA, a *Cáyaſt'ha*, of a family in *Gaud'a*, or *Bengal*.

V.

The fifth ſeems to be an elegy on the death of a king named VI-

GRAHA,

GRAHA, who is repreſented as only ſlumbering: the laſt hemiſtich is hardly legible and very obſcure; but the ſenſe of both ſtanzas appears to be this.

O'M.

1. An offence to the eyes of (thy) enemy's conſort (thou) by-whom-fortune-was-given-to-every ſuppliant, thy fame, joined to extenſive dominion, ſhines, as we deſire, before us: the heart of (thy) foes was vacant, even as a path in a deſert, where men are hindred from paſſing, O fortunate VIGRAHA RA'JADE'VA, in the jubilee occaſioned by thy march.

2. May thy abode, O VIGRAHA, ſovereign of the world, be fixed, as in reaſon (it ought), in the boſoms, embelliſhed with love's allurements and full of dignity, of the women with beautiful eyebrows, who were married to thy enemies! Whether thou art INDRA, or VISHNU, or SIVA, there is even no deciding: thy foes (are) fallen, like deſcending water; oh! why doſt thou, through deluſion, continue ſleeping?

ON

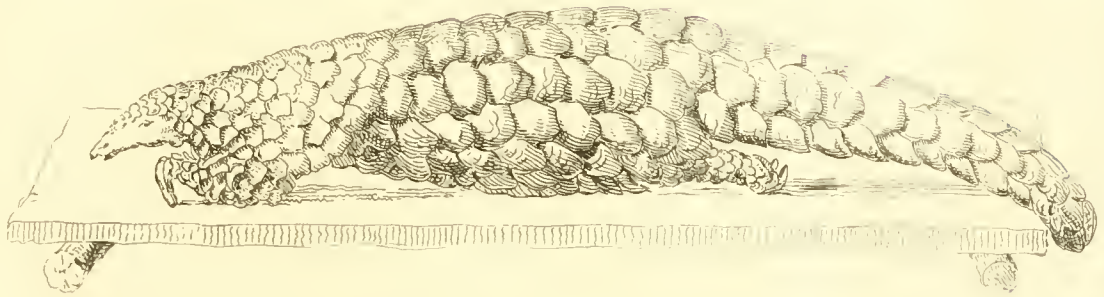
THE BAYA, OR INDIAN GROSS-BEAK.

Deſcribed by AT'HAR ALI' KHA'N *of Dehli.*

TRANSLATED BY THE PRESIDENT.

THE little bird, called *Bayà* in *Hindì*, *Berbera* in *Sanſcrit*, *Bábúì* in the dialect of *Bengal*, *Cíbù* in *Perſian*, and *Tenawwit* in *Arabick*, from his remarkably *pendent* neſt, is rather larger than a ſparrow, with yellow-brown plumage, a yellowiſh head and feet, a light-coloured breaſt, and a conick beak very thick in proportion to his body. This bird is exceedingly common in *Hinduſtàn:* he is aſtoniſhingly ſenſible, faithful, and docile, never voluntarily deſerting the place where his young were hatched, but not averſe, like moſt other birds, to the ſociety of mankind, and eaſily taught to perch on the hand of his maſter. In a ſtate of nature he generally builds his neſt on the higheſt tree, that he can find, eſpecially on the palmyra, or on the *Indian* fig-tree, and he prefers that, which happens to overhang a well or a rivulet: he makes it of graſs, which he weaves like cloth and ſhapes like a large bottle, ſuſpending it firmly on the branches, but ſo as to rock with the wind, and placing it with its entrance downwards to ſecure it from birds of prey. His neſt uſually conſiſts of two or three chambers; and it is the popular belief, that he lights them with fire-flies, which he catches alive at night and confines with moiſt clay, or with cow-dung: that ſuch flies are often found in

in his neſt, where pieces of cow-dung are alſo ſtuck, is indubitable; but, as their light could be of little uſe to him, it ſeems probable that he only feeds on them. He may be taught with eaſe to fetch a piece of paper, or any ſmall thing, that his maſter points out to him: it is an atteſted fact, that, if a ring be dropped into a deep well, and a ſignal given to him, he will fly down with amazing celerity, catch the ring before it touches the water, and bring it up to his maſter with apparent exultation; and it is confidently aſſerted, that, if a houſe or any other place be ſhown to him once or twice, he will carry a note thither immediately on a proper ſignal being made. One inſtance of his docility I can myſelf mention with confidence, having often been an eye witneſs of it: the young *Hindu* women at *Banáres* and in other places wear very thin plates of gold, called *tíca's*, ſlightly fixed by way of ornament between their eyebrows; and, when they paſs through the ſtreets, it is not uncommon for the youthful libertines, who amuſe themſelves with training *Bayà's*, to give them a ſign which they underſtand, and ſend them to pluck the pieces of gold from the foreheads of their miſtreſſes, which they bring in triumph to the lovers. The *Bayà* feeds naturally on graſs-hoppers and other inſects, but will ſubſiſt, when tame, on pulſe macerated in water: his fleſh is warm and drying, of eaſy digeſtion, and recommended, in medical books, as a ſolvent of ſtone in the bladder or kidneys; but of that virtue there is no ſufficient proof. The female lays many beautiful eggs reſembling large pearls: the white of them, when they are boiled, is tranſparent, and the flavour of them is exquiſitely delicate. When many *Bayàs* are aſſembled on a high tree, they make a lively din, but it is rather chirping than ſinging; their want of muſical talents is, however, amply ſupplied by their wonderful ſagacity, in which they are not excelled by any feathered inhabitants of the foreſt.



The VAJRACITA.

ON

THE PANGOLIN OF BAHAR.

Sent by MATTHEW LESLIE, *Eſq.*

AND DESCRIBED BY THE PRESIDENT.

THE ſingular animal, which M. BUFFON deſcribes by the name of *Pangolin*, is well known in *Europe* ſince the publication of his Natural Hiſtory and GOLDSMITH'S elegant abridgement of it; but, if the figure exhibited by BUFFON was accurately delineated from the three animals, the ſpoils of which he had examined, we muſt conſider that, which has been lately brought from *Caracdiah* to *Chitra*, and ſent thence to the Preſidency, as a remarkable variety, if not a different ſpecies, of the *Pangolin:* ours has hardly any neck, and, though ſome filaments are diſcernible between the ſcales, they can ſcarce be called briſtles; but the principal difference is in the tail; that of BUFFON'S animal being long, and tapering almoſt to a point, while that of ours is much ſhorter, ends obtuſely, and reſembles in form and flexibility the tail of a lobſter. In other reſpects, as far as we can judge from the dead ſubject, it has all the characters of BUFFON'S *Pangolin*; a name derived from that, by which the animal is diſtinguiſhed in *Java*, and conſequently preferable to *Manis* or *Pholidótus*, or any other appellation deduced from an *European* language. As to the *ſcaly lizard*, the *ſcaled Armadillo*, and the *five-nailed Ant-eater*, they are manifeſtly improper deſignations of this animal; which is neither a *lizard*, nor an *armadillo* in the common acceptation; and, though it be

an *ant-eater*, yet it eſſentially differs from the *hairy* quadruped uſually known by that general deſcription. We are told, that the *Malabar* name of this animal is *Alungu:* the natives of *Bahár* call it *Bajar-cít*, or, as they explain the word, *Stone-vermine*; and, in the ſtomach of the animal before us, was found about a teacupful of ſmall *ſtones*, which had probably been ſwallowed for the purpoſe of facilitating digeſtion; but the name alludes, I believe, to the *hardneſs* of the ſcales; for *Vajracít'a* means in *Sanſcrit* the *Diamond*, or *Thunderbolt*, *reptile*, and *Vajra* is a common figure in the *Indian* poetry for any thing exceſſively *hard*. The *Vajracít'a* is believed by the *Pandits* to be the animal, which gnaws their *ſacred ſtone*, called *Sálgrámas'ílà*; but the *Pangolin* has apparently no teeth, and the *Sálgráms*, many of which look as if they had been worm-eaten, are perhaps only decayed in part by expoſure to the air.

This animal had a long tongue ſhaped like that of a cameleon; and, if it was nearly adult, as we may conclude from the young one found in it, the dimenſions of it were much leſs than thoſe, which BUFFON aſſigns *generally* to his *Pangolin*; for he deſcribes its length as ſix, ſeven, or eight feet including the tail, which is almoſt, he ſays, as long as the body, when it has attained its full growth; whereas ours is but thirty-four inches long from the extremity of the tail to the point of the ſnout, and the length of the tail is fourteen inches; but, excluſively of the head, which is five inches long, the tail and body are, indeed, nearly of the ſame length; and the ſmall difference between them may ſhow, if BUFFON be correct in this point, that the animal was young: the circumference of its body in the thickeſt part is twenty inches, and that of the tail, only twelve.

We cannot venture to ſay more of this extraordinary creature, which ſeems to conſtitute the firſt ſtep from the quadruped to the reptile, until we have examined it alive, and obſerved its different inſtincts; but, as we are

are aſſured, that it is common in the country round *Khánpùr*, and at *Chátigám*, where the native *Muſelmans* call it the *Land-carp*, we ſhall poſſibly be able to give on ſome future occaſion a fuller account of it. There are in our *Indian* provinces many animals, and many hundreds of medicinal plants, which have either not been deſcribed at all, or, what is worſe, ill deſcribed by the naturaliſts of *Europe*; and to procure perfect deſcriptions of them from actual examination, with accounts of their ſeveral *uſes* in medicine, diet, or manufactures, appears to be one of the moſt important objects of our inſtitution.

ON

THE LORIS,

OR

SLOWPACED LEMUR.

By The PRESIDENT.

THE ſingular animal, which moſt of you ſaw alive, and of which I now lay before you a perfectly accurate figure, has been very correctly deſcribed by Linnæus; except that *ſickled* would have been a juſter epithet than *awled* for the *bent claws* on its hinder indices, and that *the ſize of a ſquirrel* ſeems an improper, becauſe a variable, meaſure: its configuration and colours are particularized alſo with great accuracy by M. Daubenton; but the ſhort account of the *Loris* by M. De Buffon appears unſatisfactory, and his engraved repreſentation of it has little reſemblance to nature; ſo little that, when I was endeavouring to find in his work a deſcription of the quadrumane, which had juſt been ſent me from *Dacca*, I paſſed over the chapter on the *Loris*, and aſcertained it merely by ſeeing in a note the *Linnean* character of the ſlowpaced *Lemur*. The illuſtrious *French* naturaliſt, whom, even when we criticiſe a few parts of his noble work, we cannot but name with admiration, obſerves of the *Loris*, that, *from the proportion of its body and limbs, one would not ſuppoſe it ſlow in walking or leaping*, and intimates an opinion, that

The slow paced Lemur.

that SEBA gave this animal the epithet of *ſlowmoving*, from ſome fancied likeneſs to the ſloth of *America:* but, though its body be remarkably long in proportion to the breadth of it, and the hinder legs, or more properly arms, much longer than thoſe before, yet the *Loris*, in fact, walks or climbs very ſlowly, and is, probably, unable to leap. Neither its genus nor ſpecies, we find, are new: yet, as its temper and inſtincts are undeſcribed, and as the *Natural Hiſtory* by M. DE BUFFON, or the *Syſtem of Nature* by LINNÆUS, cannot always be readily procured, I have ſet down a few remarks on the *form*, the *manners*, the *name*, and the *country* of my little favourite, who engaged my affection, while he lived, and whoſe memory I wiſh to perpetuate.

I. This male animal had four hands, each five-fingered; palms, naked; nails, round; except thoſe of the indices behind, which were long, curved, pointed; hair, very thick, eſpecially on the haunches, extremely ſoft, moſtly dark grey, varied above with brown and a tinge of ruſſet; darker on the back, paler about the face and under the throat, reddiſh towards the rump; no tail, a dorſal ſtripe, broad, cheſnut-coloured, narrower towards the neck; a head, almoſt ſpherical: a countenance, expreſſive and intereſting; eyes, round, large, approximated, weak in the day time, glowing and animated at night; a white vertical ſtripe between them; eye-laſhes, black, ſhort; ears, dark, rounded, concave; great acuteneſs at night both in ſeeing and hearing; a face, hairy, flattiſh; a noſe, pointed, not much elongated; the upper lip, cleft; canine teeth, comparatively long, very ſharp.

More than this I could not obſerve on the living animal; and he died at a ſeaſon, when I could neither attend a diſſection of his body, nor with propriety requeſt any of my medical friends to perform ſuch an operation during the heats of *Auguſt*; but I opened his jaw and counted only two inciſors above and as many below, which might have been a

defect, in the individual; and it is mentioned ſimply as a fact without any intention to cenſure the generick arrangement of LINNÆUS.

II. In his manners he was for the moſt part gentle, except in the cold ſeaſon, when his temper ſeemed wholly changed; and his creator, who made him ſo ſenſible of cold, to which he muſt often have been expoſed even in his native foreſts, gave him, probably, for that reaſon his thick fur, which we rarely ſee on animals in theſe tropical climates: to me, who not only conſtantly fed him, but bathed him twice a week in water accommodated to the ſeaſons, and whom he clearly diſtinguiſhed from others, he was at all times grateful; but, when I diſturbed him in winter, he was uſually indignant, and ſeemed to reproach me with the uneaſineſs which he felt, though no poſſible precautions had been omitted to keep him in a proper degree of warmth. At all times he was pleaſed with being ſtroked on the head and throat, and frequently ſuffered me to touch his extremely ſharp teeth; but at all times his temper was quick, and, when he was unſeaſonably diſturbed, he expreſſed a little reſentment by an obſcure murmur, like that of a ſquirrel, or a greater degree of diſpleaſure by a peeviſh cry, eſpecially in winter, when he was often as fierce, on being much importuned, as any beaſt of the woods. From half an hour after ſunriſe to half an hour before ſunſet, he ſlept without intermiſſion rolled up like a hedge-hog; and as ſoon as he awoke, he began to prepare himſelf for the labours of *his* approaching day, licking and dreſſing himſelf like a cat; an operation, which the flexibility of his neck and limbs enabled him to perform very completely: he was then ready for a ſlight breakfaſt, after which he commonly took a ſhort nap; but, when the ſun was quite ſet, he recovered all his vivacity. His ordinary food was the ſweet fruit of this country; plantains always, and mangos during the ſeaſon; but he refuſed peaches, and was not fond of mulberries, or even of guaiavas: milk he lapped eagerly, but was contented with plain water. In general he was not voracious, but never appeared

appeared ſatiated with graſshoppers; and paſſed the whole night, while the hot ſeaſon laſted, in prowling for them: when a graſshopper, or any inſect, alighted within his reach, his eyes, which he fixed on his prey, glowed with uncommon fire; and, having drawn himſelf back to ſpring on it with greater force, he ſeized the victim with both his forepaws, but held it in one of them, while he devoured it. For other purpoſes, and ſometimes even for that of holding his food, he uſed all his paws indifferently as hands, and frequently graſped with one of them the higher part of his ample cage, while his three others were ſeverally engaged at the bottom of it; but the poſture, of which he ſeemed fondeſt, was to cling with all four of them to the upper wires, his body being inverted; and in the evening he uſually ſtood erect for many minutes playing on the wires with his fingers and rapidly moving his body from ſide to ſide, as if he had found the utility of exerciſe in his unnatural ſtate of confinement. A little before day break, when my early hours gave me frequent opportunities of obſerving him, he ſeemed to ſolicit my attention; and, if I preſented my finger to him, he licked or nibbled it with great gentleneſs, but eagerly took fruit, when I offered it; though he ſeldom ate much at his morning repaſt: when the *day brought back his night*, his eyes loſt their luſtre and ſtrength, and he compoſed himſelf for a ſlumber of ten or eleven hours.

III. The names *Loris* and *Lemur* will, no doubt, be continued by the reſpective diſciples of BUFFON and LINNÆUS; nor can I ſuggeſt any other, ſince the *Pandits* know little or nothing of the animal: the lower *Hindus* of this province generally call it *Lajjábánar*, or the Baſhful Ape, and the *Muſelmans*, retaining the ſenſe of the epithet, give it the abſurd appellation of a cat; but it is neither a cat nor baſhful; for, though a *Pandit*, who ſaw my *Lemur* by day light, remarked that he was *Lajjálu* or *modeſt* (a word which the *Hindus* apply to all *Senſitive Plants*), yet he only ſeemed baſhful, while in fact he was dim ſighted and drowſy; for

at

at night, as you perceive by his figure, he had open eyes, and as much boldneſs as any of the *Lemures* poetical or *Linnean.*

IV. As to his country, the firſt of the ſpecies, that I ſaw in *India*, was in the diſtrict of *Tipra*, properly *Tripura*, whither it had been brought, like mine, from the *Garrow* mountains; and Dr. ANDERSON informs me, that it is found in the woods on the coaſt of *Coromandel:* another had been ſent to a member of our ſociety from one of the eaſtern iſles; and, though the *Loris* may be alſo a native of *Sílán*, yet I cannot agree with M. DE BUFFON, that it is the minute, ſociable, and docile animal mentioned by THEVENOT, which it reſembles neither in ſize nor in diſpoſition.

My little friend was, on the whole, very engaging; and, when he was found lifeleſs, in the ſame poſture in which he would naturally have ſlept, I conſoled myſelf with believing, that he had died without pain, and lived with as much pleaſure as he could have enjoyed in a ſtate of captivity.

ON

THE CURE OF THE ELEPHANTIASIS.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

BY THE PRESIDENT.

AMONG the afflicting maladies, which puniſh the vices and try the virtues of mankind, there are few diſorders, of which the conſequences are more dreadful or the remedy in general more deſperate than the *judhám* of the *Arabs* or *khórah* of the *Indians:* it is alſo called in *Arabia dáül'áſad*, a name correſponding with the *Leontiaſis* of the *Greeks*, and ſuppoſed to have been given in alluſion to the grim diſtracted and *lionlike* countenances of the miſerable perſons, who are affected with it. The more common name of the diſtemper is *Elephantiaſis*, or, as LUCRETIUS calls it, *Elephas*, becauſe it renders the ſkin, like that of an *Elephant*, uneven and wrinkled, with many tubercles and furrows; but this complaint muſt not be confounded with the *dáül'fil*, or *ſwelled legs*, deſcribed by the *Arabian* phyſicians, and very common in this country. It has no fixed name in *Engliſh*, though HILLARY, in his *Obſervations on the Diſeaſes of Barbadoes*, calls it the *Leproſy of the joints*, becauſe it principally affects the extremities, which in the laſt ſtage of the malady are diſtorted and at length drop off; but, ſince it is in truth a diſtemper corrupting the whole maſs of blood, and therefore conſidered by PAUL of *Ægina* as an *univerſal ulcer*, it requires a more general appellation, and may properly be named the *Black Leproſy*; which term is in fact adopted by M. BOIS-

M. Boissieu de Sauvages and Gorrœus, in contradiſtinction to the *White* Leproſy, or the *Beres* of the *Arabs* and *Leuce* of the *Greeks*.

This diſeaſe, by whatever name we diſtinguiſh it, is peculiar to hot climates, and has rarely appeared in *Europe:* the philoſophical Poet of *Rome* ſuppoſes it confined to *the banks of the Nile*; and it has certainly been imported from *Africa* into the *Weſt-India* Iſlands by the black ſlaves, who carried with them their reſentment and their revenge; but it has been long known in *Hinduſtan*, and the writer of the following Diſſertation, whoſe father was Phyſician to Na'dirsha'h and accompanied him from *Perſia* to *Dehli*, aſſures me that it rages with virulence among the native inhabitants of *Calcutta*. His obſervation, that it is frequently a conſequence of the *venereal infection*, would lead us to believe, that it might be radically cured by *Mercury*; which has, nevertheleſs, been found ineffectual, and even hurtful, as Hillary reports, in the *Weſt-Indies*. The juice of *hemlock*, ſuggeſted by the learned Michaelis, and approved by his medical friend Roederer, might be very efficacious at the beginning of the diſorder, or in the milder ſorts of it; but, in the caſe of a malignant and inveterate *judhám*, we muſt either adminiſter a remedy of the higheſt power, or, agreeably to the deſponding opinion of Celsus, *leave the patient to his fate, inſtead of teaſing him with fruitleſs medicines*, and ſuffer him, in the forcible words of Aretæus, *to ſink from inextricable ſlumber into death*. The life of a man is, however, ſo dear to him by nature, and in general ſo valuable to ſociety, that we ſhould never deſpond, while a ſpark of it remains; and, whatever apprehenſions may be formed of future danger from the diſtant effects of *arſenick*, even though it ſhould eradicate a preſent malady, yet, as no ſuch inconvenience has ariſen from the uſe of it in *India*, and, as Experience muſt ever prevail over Theory, I cannot help wiſhing, that this ancient *Hindu* medicine may be fully tried under the inſpection of our *European* Surgeons, whoſe minute accuracy and ſteady attention

tion muſt always give them a claim to ſuperiority over the moſt learned natives; but many of our countrymen have aſſured me, that they by no means entertain a contemptuous opinion of the native medicines, eſpecially in diſeaſes of the ſkin. Should it be thought, that the mixture of ſulphur muſt render the poiſon leſs active, it may be adviſable at firſt to adminiſter orpiment, inſtead of the *cryſtalline arſenick*.

ON

THE CURE OF THE ELEPHANTIASIS,

AND

OTHER DISORDERS OF THE BLOOD.

TRANSLATED BY THE PRESIDENT.

God is the all-powerful Healer.

IN the year of the MESSIAH 1783, when the worthy and reſpectable *Maúlavi* MI'R MUHAMMED HUSAI'N, who excels in every branch of uſeful knowledge, accompanied Mr. RICHARD JOHNSON from *Lac'hnau* to *Calcutta*, he viſited the humble writer of this tract, who had long been attached to him with ſincere affection; and, in the courſe of their converſation, 'One of the fruits of my late excurſion, ſaid he, is a pre-'ſent for you, which ſuits your profeſſion, and will be generally uſeful 'to our ſpecies: conceiving you to be worthy of it by reaſon of your 'aſſiduity in medical inquiries, I have brought you a preſcription, the 'ingredients of which are eaſily found, but not eaſily equalled as a power-'ful remedy againſt all corruptions of the blood, the *judhám*, and the '*Perſian* fire, the remains of which are a ſource of infinite maladies. It 'is an old ſecret of the *Hindu* Phyſicians; who applied it alſo to the 'cure of cold and moiſt diſtempers, as the palſy, diſtortions of the face, 'relaxation of the nerves, and ſimilar diſeaſes: its efficacy too has been 'proved by long experience; and this is the method of preparing it.

'Take of white *arſenick*, fine and freſh, one *tólá*; of picked black 'pepper ſix times as much: let both be well beaten at intervals for four 'days ſucceſſively in an iron mortar, and then reduced to an impalpable 'powder in one of ſtone with a ſtone peſtle, and thus completely levi-'gated, a little water being mixed with them. Make pills of them as 'large as tares or ſmall pulſe, and keep them dry in a ſhady place *.

'One of thoſe pills muſt be ſwallowed morning and evening with 'ſome *betel*-leaf, or, in countries where *betel* is not at hand, with cold

* The loweſt weight in general uſe among the *Hindus* is the *reti*, called in *Sanſcrit* either *rettiçà* or *ractiçà*, indicating *redneſs*, and *criſhnalà* from *criſhna*, *black*: it is the *red* and *black* ſeed of the *gunjà*-plant (1), which is a creeper of the ſame claſs and order at leaſt with the *glycyrrhiza*; but I take this from report, having never examined its bloſſoms. One *rattiçà* is ſaid to be of equal weight with three barley-corns or four grains of rice in the huſk; and eight *reti*-weights, uſed by jewellers, are equal to ſeven carats. I have weighed a number of the ſeeds in diamond-ſcales, and find the average Apothecary's weight of one ſeed to be a grain *and five-ſixteenths*. Now in the *Hindu* medical books *ten* of the *rattiçà*-ſeeds are one *máſhaca*, and eight *máſhaca's*, make a *tólaca* or *tólà*; but in the law-books of *Bengal* a *máſhaca* conſiſts of *ſixteen ractiçà's*, and a *tólaca* of *five máſhà's*; and, according to ſome authorities, *five reti's* only go to one *máſhà*, *ſixteen* of which make a *tólaca*. We may obſerve, that the ſilver *reti*-weights, uſed by the goldſmiths at *Banáres*, are *twice* as heavy as the *ſeeds*; and thence it is, that *eight reti's* are commonly ſaid to conſtitute one *máſhà*, that is, *eight* ſilver weights, or *ſixteen* ſeeds; *eighty* of which ſeeds, or 105 grains, conſtitute the quantity of arſenick in the *Hindu* preſcription.

(1) The *gunjà*, I find, is the *Abrus* of our botaniſts, and I venture to deſcribe it from the wild plant compared with a beautiful drawing of the flower magnified, with which I was favoured by Dr. ANDERSON.

CLASS XVII. *Order* IV.

CAL. *Perianth* funnel-ſhaped, indented above.

COR. Cymbiform. *Awning* roundiſh, pointed, nerved.
Wings, lanced, ſhorter than the awning.
Keel, rather longer than the wings.

STAM. *Filaments* nine, ſome ſhorter; united in two ſets at the top of a divided, bent, awl-ſhaped body.

PIST. *Germ* inſerted in the calyx. *Style* very minute at the bottom of the divided body. *Stigma*, to the naked eye, obtuſe; in the microſcope, feathered.

PER. A legume. *Seeds*, ſpheroidal; black, or white, or ſcarlet with black tips.

LEAVES, pinnated; ſome with, ſome without, an odd leaflet.

'water:

' water: if the body be cleanſed from foulneſs and obſtructions by gentle ' catharticks and bleeding, before the medicine is adminiſtered, the re- ' medy will be ſpeedier.'

The principal ingredient of this medicine is the *arſenick*, which the *Arabs* call *Shucc*, the *Perſians mergi múſh*, or *mouſe-bane*, and the *Indians*, *ſanc'hyá*; a mineral ſubſtance ponderous and *cryſtalline*: the *orpiment*, or *yellow* arſenick, is the weaker ſort. It is a deadly poiſon, and ſo ſubtil, that, when mice are killed by it, the very ſmell of the dead will deſtroy the living of that ſpecies: after it has been kept about ſeven years, it loſes much of its force; its colour becomes turbid; and its weight is diminiſhed. This mineral is hot and dry in the fourth degree: it cauſes ſuppuration, diſſolves or unites, according to the quantity given; and is very uſeful in cloſing the lips of wounds, when the pain is too intenſe to be borne. An unguent made of it with oils of any ſort is an effectual remedy for ſome cutaneous diſorders, and, mixed with roſe-water, it is good for cold tumours and for the dropſy; but it muſt never be adminiſtered without the greateſt caution; for ſuch is its power, that the ſmalleſt quantity of it in powder, drawn, like *álcohol*, between the eye-laſhes, would in a ſingle day entirely corrode the coats and humours of the eye; and fourteen *reti's* of it would in the ſame time deſtroy life. The beſt antidote againſt its effects are the ſcrapings of leather reduced to aſhes: if the quantity of arſenick taken be accurately known, four times as much of thoſe aſhes, mixed with water and drunk by the patient, will ſheath and counteract the poiſon.

The writer, conformably to the directions of his learned friend, prepared the medicine; and, in the ſame year, gave it to numbers, who were reduced by the diſeaſes above mentioned to the point of death: GOD is his witneſs, that they grew better from day to day, were at laſt completely cured, and are now living (except one or two, who died of other

other diſorders) to atteſt the truth of this aſſertion. One of his firſt patients was a *Pársì*, named MENU'CHEHR, who had come from *Surat* to this city, and had fixed his abode near the writer's houſe: he was ſo cruelly afflicted with a confirmed lues, here called *the Perſian Fire*, that his hands and feet were entirely ulcerated and almoſt corroded, ſo that he became an object of diſguſt and abhorrence. This man conſulted the writer on his caſe, the ſtate of which he diſcloſed without reſerve. Some blood was taken from him on the ſame day, and a cathartick adminiſtered on the next. On the third day he began to take the *arſenick-pills*, and, by the bleſſing of GOD, the virulence of his diſorder abated by degrees, until ſigns of returning health appeared; in a fortnight his recovery was complete, and he was bathed, according to the practice of our Phyſicians: he ſeemed to have no virus left in his blood, and none has been ſince perceived by him.

But the power of this medicine has chiefly been tried in the cure of the *juzám*, as the word is pronounced in *India*; a diſorder infecting the whole maſs of blood, and thence called by ſome *ſiſádi khún*. The former name is derived from an *Arabick* root ſignifying, in general, *amputation*, *maiming*, *exciſion*, and, particularly, the *truncation* or *eroſion of the fingers*, which happens in the laſt ſtage of the diſeaſe. It is extremely contagious, and, for that reaſon, the Prophet ſaid: *ferrú mina'lmejdhúmi camá teferrú mina'l áſad*, or, 'Flee from a perſon afflicted with the '*judhám*, as you would flee from a lion.' The author of the *Bahhru'ljawáhir*, or *Sea of Pearls*, ranks it as an infectious malady with the *meaſles*, the *ſmall-pox*, and the *plague*. It is alſo *hereditary*, and, in that reſpect, claſſed by medical writers with the *gout*, the *conſumption*, and the *white leproſy*.

A common cauſe of this diſtemper is the unwholeſome diet of the natives, many of whom are accuſtomed, after eating a quantity of *fiſh*, to ſwallow

ſwallow copious draughts of *milk*, which fail not to cauſe an accumulation of yellow and black bile, which mingles itſelf with the blood and corrupts it: but it has other cauſes; for a *Bráhmen*, who had never taſted *fiſh* in his life, applied lately to the compoſer of this eſſay, and appeared in the higheſt degree affected by a corruption of blood; which he might have inherited, or acquired by other means. Thoſe, whoſe religion permits them to eat *beef*, are often expoſed to the danger of heating their blood intenſely through the knavery of the butchers in the *Bázár*, who fatten their calves with *Baláwer*; and thoſe, who are ſo ill-adviſed as to take *provocatives*, a folly extremely common in *India*, at firſt are inſenſible of the miſchief, but, as ſoon as the increaſed moiſture is diſperſed, find their whole maſs of blood inflamed and, as it were, aduſt; whence ariſes the diſorder, of which we now are treating. The *Perſian*, or venereal, Fire generally ends in this malady; as one DE'VI' PRASA'D, lately in the ſervice of Mr. VANSITTART, and ſome others, have convinced me by an unreſerved account of their ſeveral caſes.

It may here be worth while to report a remarkable caſe, which was related to me by a man, who had been afflicted with the *juzám* near four years; before which time he had been diſordered with the *Perſian* fire, and, having cloſed an ulcer by the means of a ſtrong healing plaiſter, was attacked by a violent pain in his joints: on this he applied to a *Cabirája*, or *Hindu* Phyſician, who gave him ſome pills, with a poſitive aſſurance, that the uſe of them would remove his pain in a few days; and in a few days it was, in fact, wholly removed; but, a very ſhort time after, the ſymptoms of the *juzám* appeared, which continually encreaſed to ſuch a degree, that his fingers and toes were on the point of dropping off. It was afterwards diſcovered, that the pills, which he had taken, were made of cinnabar, a common preparation of the *Hindus*; the heat of which had firſt ſtirred the humours, which, on ſtopping the external diſcharge, had

fallen

fallen on the joints, and then had occaſioned a quantity of aduſt bile to mix itſelf with the blood and infect the whole maſs.

Of this dreadful complaint, however cauſed, the firſt ſymptoms are a numbneſs and redneſs of the whole body, and principally of the face, an impeded hoarſe voice, thin hair and even baldneſs, offenſive perſpiration and breath, and whitlows on the nails. The cure is beſt begun with copious bleeding, and cooling drink, ſuch as a decoction of the *nílúfer*, or *Nymphea*, and of violets, with ſome doſes of manna: after which ſtronger catharticks muſt be adminiſtered. But no remedy has proved ſo efficacious as the pills compoſed of arſenick and pepper: one inſtance of their effect may here be mentioned, and many more may be added, if required.

In the month of *February* in the year juſt mentioned, one *Shaikh* RAMAZA'NI', who then was an upper-ſervant to the Board of Revenue, had ſo corrupt a maſs of blood, that a black leproſy of his joints was approaching; and moſt of his limbs began to be ulcerated: in this condition he applied to the writer, and requeſted immediate aſſiſtance. Though the diſordered ſtate of his blood was evident on inſpection, and required no particular declaration of it, yet many queſtions were put to him, and it was clear from his anſwers, that he had a confirmed *juzám:* he then loſt a great deal of blood, and, after due preparation, took the arſenick-pills. After the firſt week his malady ſeemed alleviated; in the ſecond it was conſiderably diminiſhed, and, in the third, ſo entirely removed, that the patient went into the bath of health, as a token that he no longer needed a phyſician.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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